



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

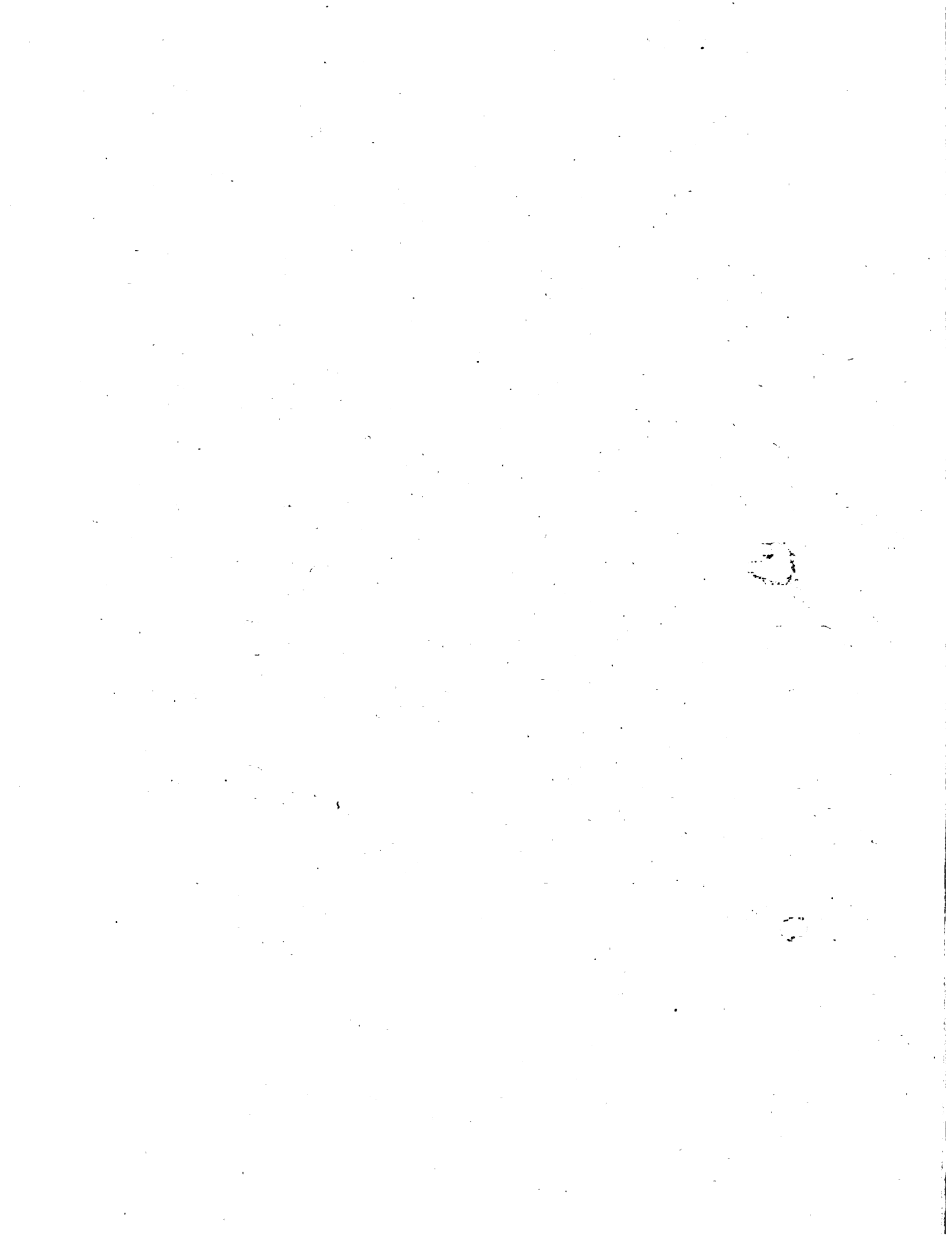
THIS BOOK
FORMS PART OF THE
ORIGINAL LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
BOUGHT IN EUROPE
1838 TO 1839
BY
ASA GRAY

BX

953

.1379

1750



3-9

345-

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPE S,

FROM THE
Foundation of the SEE of *ROME*,
TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

VOL. VII.

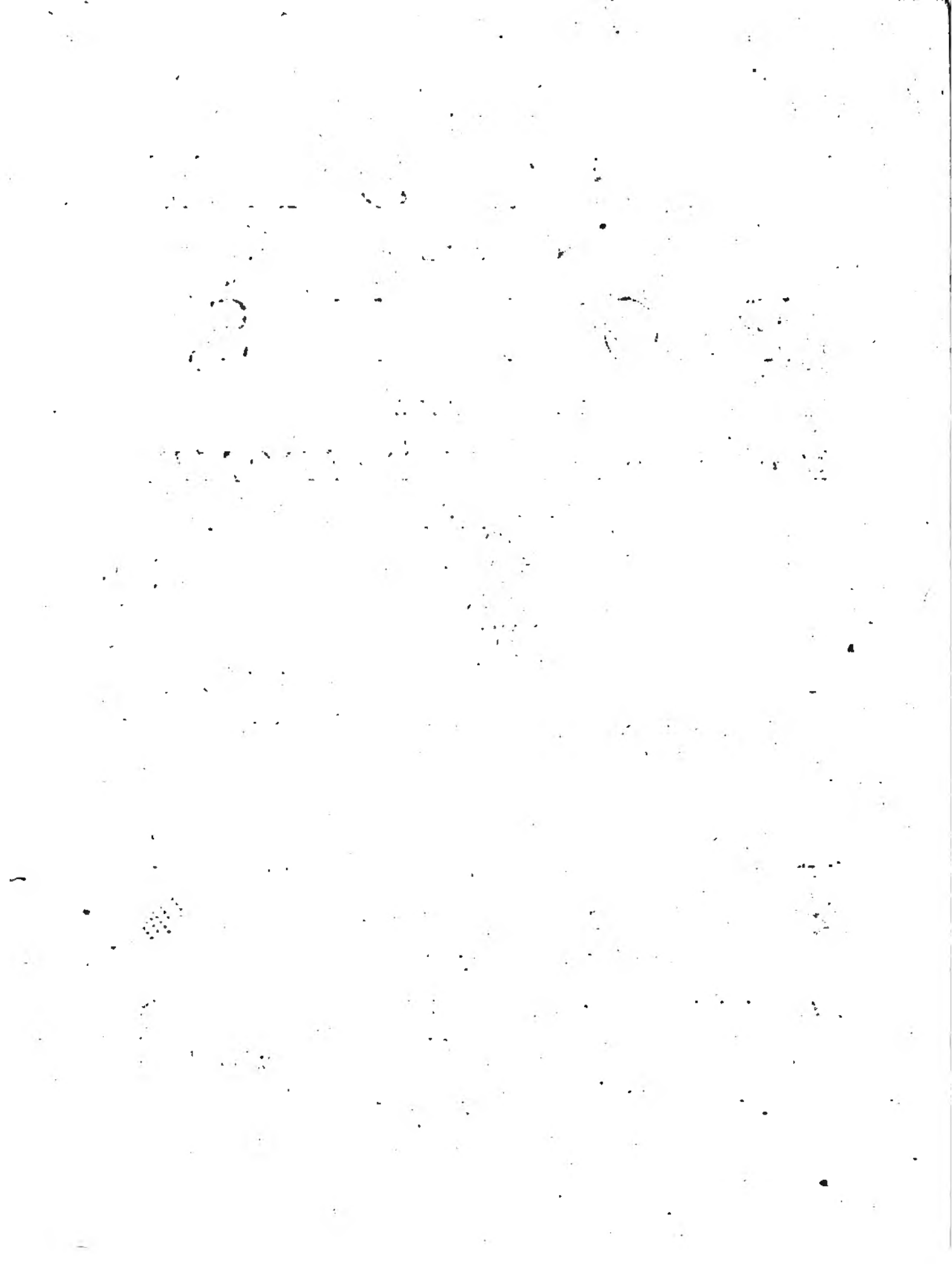
By ARCHIBALD BOWER, *Esq*;
*Heretofore Public Professor of Rhetoric, History, and Philosophy, in the
Universities of Rome, Fermo, and Macerata,
And, in the latter Place, Counsellor of the Inquisition.*

L O N D O

Printed for the A U T

And to be had at W. SANDBY's, the *Ship*, in *F*
Ludgate-street; Z. STUART's, the *Lamb*
FRITH's, in the *Poultry*; and at the A U
street, near *New Bond-street*.

M.DCCCLXVI.





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPPES,
OR
BISHOPS of ROME.

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

URBAN V.

CHARLES IV.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and Ninety-seventh BISHOP of Rome.

INNOCENT dying on the 12th of September, the Cardinals performed his Exequies the following Day, and Nine Days after, that is, on the 22d of the same Month, shut themselves up according to Custom in the Conclave, being in all Twenty. In the Scrutiny of the 28th of September, One of the Cardinals, a Black Monk, that is, a *Benedictine*, a Native of *Limoges*, a Man advanced in Years, and wholly addicted to a spiritual Life, was found to have Fifteen Suffrages out of the Twenty, and consequently to be lawfully elected. But he declined the offered Dignity before his Election was made public. Thus *Villani*, a contemporary Writer*. But he does not name the Cardinal, and there were at this Time Two Cardinals, both Natives of *Limoges*, both Black Monks or *Benedictines*.

Year of
Christ 1362.

* *Villani*, l. ii. c. 26.

Year of
Christ 1362.

Urban V.
elected.

and both Bishops, viz. *Hugh Roger*, Brother to *Clement VI.* and *William de Agrifolio*. However, as the Cardinal, who would not consent to his Election, is said by *Villani* to have been stricken in Years, and *William de Agrifolio* could not be above Forty-five Years of Age, as has been made to appear by *Baluzius*, we may well conclude with *Spondanus* the Pontificate to have been refused by the other b. Upon his Refusal the Cardinals, not agreeing among themselves in the Election of One of their own Body, chose with one Consent *William Grimoardi*, Abbot of the *Benedictine* Monastery of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*. But as he was absent, having been sent by the late Pope to *Naples* with the Character of his Legate on Occasion of the Death of that King, the Cardinals, apprehending that if his Election were publicly known, the *Italians* would not suffer him to depart out of *Italy*, carefully concealed it, and only wrote to him to hasten to *Avignon*, in order to deliver his Opinion concerning an Affair of the utmost Importance. Upon the Receipt of that Letter he set out immediately from *Naples*, and his Election being notified to him upon his Landing at *Marseilles* on the 28th of *October*, he consented to it, and repairing to *Avignon*, entered that City privately on the 31st of the same Month c. The Cardinals had agreed to elect him before the 28th of *October*; but as he sent his Consent on that Day, he is said to have been elected on that Day.

Enthroned
and crowned
at Avignon.

He was enthroned on the Day of his Arrival at *Avignon*, and on that Occasion took the Name of *Urban V.* But his Consecration and Coronation were put off till the following *Sunday* the Sixth of *November*, those Ceremonies being by an ancient Custom performed on *Sundays* only. To shew his Aversion to all Pomp and Grandeur, instead of riding, as other Popes had done, in solemn Cavalcade through the City to shew himself in the gorgeous Apparel of High Pontiff, he privately withdrew to his Palace d. We are told that, though free from all Ambition, he accepted the Pontificate with great Pleasure, out of the Desire he had of restoring the Apostolic See to *Rome*; which he had so much at Heart, that when News was brought to him at *Florence* of the Death of *Innocent*, he was heard to say, *Could I but see a Pope who would return to his own Church at Rome, and quash the petty Tyrants of Italy, I should die with great Satisfaction the next Day e.*

b Spondan. ad ann. 1362. c Villani, l. 11. c. 27.

d Auctores primæ et secundæ vitæ Urban.

e Ibidem.

Urban V. BISHOPS of Rome.

3

Urban was the Son of *William Grimoardi*, Lord of *Grifas* in the Province of *Gevaudan* and Diocese of *Mende*. He embraced very early a religious Life among the *Benedictines*, studied Civil and Canon Law at *Montpelier*, and afterwards taught both in that University, at *Avignon*, at *Toulouse*, and at *Paris*, being reputed One of the best Civilians and Canonists of his Time. About the Year 1346 he was made Abbot of *St. Germain of Auxerre*, and soon after preferred to the Abbey of *St. Victor at Marfeilles*. While Abbot of that Monastery he was sent by *Innocent VI.* who entertained a high Opinion of his Abilities, with the Character of Apostolic Legate into the Kingdom of the *Hither Sicily* or of *Naples*, as has been said above.

Year of
Christ 1369.
His Birth,
Education,
&c.

The See of *Avignon* had remained vacant ever since the Year 1349, the Two preceding Popes, *Clement VI.* and *Innocent VI.* having applied to their own Uses the Revenues of that Church. But *Urban* soon after his Promotion, that is, on the 12th of *December*, preferred to the vacant See *Anglic Grimoardi*, his own Brother, Canon Regular of *St. Rufus*, and at the Time of his Promotion Prior of *Die f.*

Prefers his
Brother to
the See of
Avignon.

The new Pope was honoured, in the Beginning of his Pontificate, with a Visit from Three Kings in Person, *John*, King of *France*, happening to pass the Autumn in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*, went on the 20th of *November* to congratulate his Holiness upon his Advancement to the Pontifical Throne, and dined that Morning, says the Historian, with our Holy Father. On the 26th of *January* of the following Year 1363 came to *Avignon* *Waldemoris*, King of *Denmark*, but what Business brought him thither History does not inform us. On the 29th of the following *March* arrived from *Cyprus* *Peter Lusignan*, King of that Island, come to solicit the Assistance of the Pope and the Western Princes against the *Turks* threatening his Kingdom with an Invasion. In that Affair *Urban* engaged with great Warmth, and as the *French* King still continued in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*, his Holiness prevailed upon him, and likewise upon the King of *Denmark*, to take the Cross, and they both took it, as well as the King of *Cyprus*, at the Pope's Hands, on Good Friday the 31st of *March*, blading themselves to pass into the East against the Infidels in the Term of Two Years. The *French* King was appointed by the Pope Commander in Chief, and Cardinal *Talarandus*, Bishop of *Osia*, was

Is visited by
Three Kings.

Whom he en-
gages in a
Crusade a-
gainst the
Turks.
Year of
Christ 1363.

Auctores prima et secunda vit. Urban. apud Baluz.

B 2

nominated

Year of
Christ 1363.

nominated to attend him with the Character of Legate *a latere*. But while the necessary Preparations were carrying on throughout the whole Kingdom of *France*, in Spite of the repeated Remonstrances of the Nobility, apprehending, and not without Reason, that the King of *England* would invade the Kingdom in his Absence, the King died in April 1364: And thus to the great Joy of the *French*, and Grief of the Pope, the intended Expedition came to nothing ^m.

Bull against
Barnabo Visconti.

Barnabo Visconti, Lord of *Milan*, and at this Time One of the most powerful Princes, or rather Tyrants of *Italy*, had seized in the late Pontificate on several Cities belonging to the Church, and on that Account had been over and over again excommunicated. However, upon the News of *Innocent's* Death, and the Promotion of *Urban*, he sent Embassadors to *Avignon* to treat of a Peace with the new Pope. But as *Urban* insisted upon his restoring all the Places he had taken, and giving the Church Satisfaction for the many enormous Crimes which he was charged with, the Treaty was broken off as soon as begun. Upon the Departure of the Embassadors the Pope published a Bull on the 28th of *November* 1362, and caused Copies of it to be dispersed all over *Italy*, enumerating the many Crimes charged upon *Barnabo*, and summoning him to appear by the 1st of *March* of the following Year at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See, and hear his Sentence. The Bull contains many Charges of a very extraordinary Nature against *Barnabo*. For he is there said to have countenanced and protected condemned Heretics; to have One Day sent for the Archbishop on Occasion of his refusing to ordain a worthless Monk whom he had recommended to him, and to have addressed that Prelate, when he appeared before him, in the following Terms, *Dost thou not know, thou old Fornicator, that I am King, Pope, and Emperor in my own Dominions*; that the Pope has no Power over me, nor any of my Subjects; that it is my Part to command, and yours blindly to obey? Many other still more heavy Charges are brought against *Barnabo* in *Urban's* Bull, viz. that he practised unheard-of Cruelties upon the Clergy and the Religious of all Orders, who did not readily obey his Commands, how repugnant soever to Reason, Justice, and Religion; that he had caused some to be burnt alive in an iron Cage, and others to be tortured to Death; that he had ordered the Ears of a

Crimes laid
by the Pope
to his Charge.

^m Anchor. secunda vit. Raymund. ad ann. 1363. num. 14. et 1364.

Urban V. BISHOPS of Rome.

5

holy Minorite to be pierced with a red hot Iron ; that he had prohibited all his Subjects, on Pain of being burnt alive, to entertain any Correspondence with the Pope or his Legates, to lend them any Assistance, or receive from them any Favours or Preferments, and that Prohibition he had caused to be notified to all by the public Crier ; and lastly, that he had obliged a Priest of *Parma* to anathematize from the Top of a Tower the late Pope and all his Cardinals ⁿ.

Year of
Christ 1363.

As *Barnabo* did not appear at the Time appointed, the 1st of *March*, ^{Crusade} to clear himself from these Imputations, or to plead guilty, and give ^{preached} what Satisfaction should be required, *Urban* in a full Consistory, held on that Day, excommunicated him with great Solemnity, and all who should any-ways aid or assist him, or even keep him Company ; deprived him of all Privileges, Honours, Dignities, and Titles whatsoever ; interdicted his Dominions, and forbade Divine Service to be any-where performed in his Presence. *Urban*, besides, ordered a Crusade to be preached against him with the same Indulgences as were granted to those who went against the Infidels. But in the mean time

A Peace concluded between him and the Church, and upon what Terms.

the *French* King, whose Daughter *Barnabo* had married, interposing, a new Treaty was begun, and a Peace at last concluded between *Barnabo* and the Church upon the following Terms : I. That *Barnabo* should renounce all Claim to the City of *Bologna*. II. That he should restore all the Castles and strong Holds that he had seized in *Romagna*, and in the Districts of *Modena* and *Bologna*. III. That he should not persecute nor molest those of the *Guelph* Party in his Dominions. IV. That the Pope, on his Side, should absolve *Barnabo* from the Censures he had incurred, should restore him to all his Privileges and Dignities, and pay him, in the Term of Eight Years, Five hundred thousand Florins of Gold for the Castles and strong Holds, which he had built in the Territories, that he was by the present Treaty to restore to the Church. These Articles being agreed to and signed, in the Month of *February* 1364, by *Barnabo*, and Cardinal *Androinus de Rocha* the Pope's Legate, he was absolved by the Cardinal from all Censures on what Account soever incurred, was restored to the Communion of the Church, to all the Privileges, Dignities, and Honours he ever had enjoyed, and the Interdict was taken off that had been laid on all his Dominions ^o.

Year of
Christ 1364.

ⁿ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1362. num. 12, 13: Villani, l. 11. c. 41.

^o Spondan. ad ann. 1364: et

Urban in-
vited by the
Romans to
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1365.

Peace being thus concluded with the powerful Family of the *Visconti*, and most of the rebel Cities brought again under Subjection by the Legate *Alvarez*, the Romans sent a solemn Embassy to congratulate the Pope upon these Events, and at the same time invite him to come and reside at his own Church, as the most effectual Means of maintaining the Peace of *Italy*. *Urban* received the Embassadors with extraordinary Marks of Kindness, assured them that he had nothing so much at Heart as to restore his See to the Place of its Foundation, and promised to comply, in due Time, with their Request as well as his own Inclination p. *Urban*, says one of the Authors of his Life, had resolved to leave *Avignon*, and restore the Apostolic See to *Rome* before the Arrival of the *Roman* Embassadors, and would have carried his Design into Execution immediately after his Election, had not the Roads been infested by numerous Companies of Banditti, who robbed and often murdered all the Travellers they met with. These Companies consisted chiefly of the disbanded Soldiery. For a Peace being concluded at *Bretigni* on the 8th of *May* 1360, after a most bloody War between *France* and *England*, many, who had served in that War, wanting Bread, and not caring to return to their former Occupations, formed themselves into different Companies under different Leaders, and laid not only Villages, but large Cities and whole Provinces under Contribution. From One of *Petrarch's* Letters it appears, that they besieged and kept the Pope himself shut up in *Avignon*, till he purchased his Liberty with a large Sum of Money q.

The Emperor
at *Avignon*.

Urban, in a Letter to the Emperor, had expressed a great Desire of conferring with him in Person about some Affairs of the utmost Importance. That Letter *Charles* no sooner received than, like a true Son of the Church, he flew to *Avignon*, and arrived there on the 23d of *May* of the present Year. The Emperor of the Romans, says One of the Authors of *Urban's* Life, who lived at this Time, came to Pope *Urban* at *Avignon*, attended by a great Number of *German* Princes and Noblemen, and was received by his Holiness and the Cardinals with all the Marks of the highest Respect and Esteem r. The Pope and the Emperor frequently conferred; but what was the Subject of those Conferences History has not informed us. The Continuator of

p Auctor primæ vit. *Urban*. apud Baluz.
primæ vit.

q *Petrarch*. rer. senil. l. 7.

r Auctor

Nangius supposes the Pope to have invited the Emperor to *Avignon*, in order to communicate to him the Plan he had formed of a Crusade against the *Turks*, and persuade him to engage in that Undertaking. Others say that the Pope wanted to conclude an Alliance with the Emperor against the Tyrants of *Italy*, and utterly extirpate them. But the above-mentioned Writer of *Urban's* Life says no more than that the Pope and the Emperor had frequent Conferences about the State of the Church and the Empire; and he knew no more, nor indeed did any body else; what passed at those Conferences being kept inviolably secret. *Charles* arrived, as has been said, at *Avignon* on the 23d of *May*, assisted in his Imperial Robes at high Mass celebrated by the Pope with great Solemnity on *Whitsunday*, the 1st of *June*, and the next Day went to *Arles* to be crowned there King of that Kingdom, which then belonged to the Empire. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 4th of *June* by the Archbishop of *Arles* in the Presence of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Bourbon*, of the Seneschal of *Provence*, and a great many Bishops. On the 7th of *June* he returned to *Avignon*, continued there conferring privately with the Pope till the 29th of *June*, when he took Leave of his Holiness, and returned to *Germany*.^u

Year of.
Christ 1365.

Urban had resolved, from the Beginning of his Pontificate, to restore the Apostolic See to *Rome*, and this Resolution he publicly declared soon after the Departure of the Emperor, ordering his Palaces at *Viterbo* and at *Rome* to be got ready for his Reception against *Easter* of the following Year 1366. He likewise wrote to the *Venetians* and the *Genoese* for their Gallies to convey him and his Court to *Italy*.^w In the mean time he created Three new Cardinals, viz. *William Sudre*, a *Dominican* Friar, and Bishop of *Marseilles*, *Marcus of Viterbo*, General of the *Minorites*, and his own Brother *Anglicus Grimoardi*, Bishop of *Avignon*, whom he is said to have preferred to that Dignity at the earnest Request of the whole College of Cardinals, being a Man of an unexceptionable Character, but of no great Learning.^x

The Pope resolves to go to Rome.

Creates Three new Cardinals.
Year of Christ 1366.

On the 7th of *January* of the following Year the Pope went to *Montpellier*, to visit a Monastery which he had built there in Honour of St. *Benedict* and St. *Germanus*, and richly endowed. He continued

Sets out for Italy.
Year of Christ 1367.

^a Idem apud Baluz.
^w Auctor primæ vit.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

^u Auctor secundæ vitæ, et Albert. Argentin.
^x Aymericus de Peyr. in vit. Urban.

Year of
Christ 1367.

there till the Month of *March*, when he returned to *Avignon*, and on the last Day of *April* set out from thence for *Italy*, to the great Grief, says *Petrarch*, of many of the Cardinals and the whole *Roman Court*, as if they were not going to *Rome*, the Head Quarters of Christianity, but were dragged by the *Saracens* to *Ctesiphon* or *Memphis*. Five Cardinals only, according to some, chose to remain at *Avignon*, and according to others only Four; but One of the Authors of *Urban's* Life, who lived at this Time, writes, that no more than Five attended the Pope into *Italy*, the rest all preferring *Avignon* to *Rome*.

His Journey. From *Avignon* the Pope went to *Marseilles*, in order to embark there for *Italy*. He remained at *Marseilles* in the Monastery of *St. Victor*, of which he had been Abbot, till the 20th of *May*, and on the 12th of that Month conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *William de Agrifolio*, though then but Twenty-eight Years of Age. *Urban* had lived from his tender Years in the greatest Friendship and Intimacy with Cardinal *William de Agrifolio* the elder, and owed chiefly to his Interest, as he was a Man of great Weight in the Sacred College, his Promotion to the Papacy. Thus One of the Authors of *Urban's* Life accounts for his creating his Friend's Nephew, though yet so young, a Cardinal, especially as he was already in holy Orders, had been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Canon Law, and was Notary of the Apostolic See.

Arrives at
Genoa.

The Pope embarking on the 20th of *May* on board a *Venetian Galley*, set sail the same Day for *Genoa* with Twenty-three Gallies, and a great Number of other Vessels sent by the *Genoese*, the *Venetians*, the *Pisans*, and by *Joan Queen of Naples*. He landed safe at *Genoa* on the 23d of the same Month, was received at his Landing by the Doge and the People with the greatest Respect and Esteem, and attended by them to the House of the *Knights Hospitalers*, where he chose to lodge during his Stay in that City. As he arrived on the Sunday preceding *Holy Thursday* he resolved to pass the *Rogation Days* and celebrate there the Festival of the *Ascension*, which he did accordingly, performing Divine Service on that Day with great Solemnity in the Church of the *Knights Hospitalers*. The Day after the *Ascension*, the 28th of *May*, the Pope re-embarked, leaving Cardinal *Mark of Viterbo* at *Genoa*, to com-

^a Petrarch, l. 9. p. 2.
scores primæ & secundæ vit.

^a Auctor secundæ vit.

^a Auctor primæ vit.

^a Auc-

pose some Differences between *Barnabo Visconti* and the *Genoese*. On the 4th of *June* the Pope landed on the Coast of *Corneto*, a City subject to the Apostolic See, and about Fifty Miles distant from *Viterbo*, where he designed to reside some time before he went to *Rome*. On his Landing he caused Mass to be celebrated in his Presence under a magnificent Pavilion prepared on the Shore for his Reception, and then, taking some Refreshment, set out for *Corneto* on Horse-back, and reached that Place about Noon. He received there the Deputies of the *Romans*, who delivered to him the Keys of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, which they had hitherto kept. At *Corneto* he celebrated the Festival of *Whitsunday* in the Church of the *Minorites*, with whom he lodged, and the next Day, the 7th of *June*, he pursued his Journey to *Viterbo*, and, arriving there on the 10th, was visited a few Days after by most of the *Italian Bishops*, of the Nobility, and the Deputies of the Communities, all come to congratulate him upon his safe Arrival in *Italy*. Year of Christ 1367.

The Pope had been but a few Days at *Viterbo* when a Quarrel arose between the Inhabitants and the Domestics of the Cardinals; and the Inhabitants prevailing, not only the Domestics of the Cardinals, but the Cardinals themselves, were most grossly insulted by the enraged Multitude; their Houses were plundered, and they obliged to fly for Shelter to the Pope's Palace. The Tumult lasted Three Days, but was quelled in the End by the Magistrates; and the People, returning to themselves, expressed great Sorrow for the Outrages they had committed, and carried all their Arms to the Pope's Palace. But as Four Domestics of the Cardinals had been killed, Ten of the Ring-leaders of the People were hanged at their own Doors, and a general Pardon was granted to the Rest. Of this Tumult Mention is made by *Petrarch*, who calls it *Motumculam*, a small Commotion; and adds, that some flattered themselves that the Pope would take Occasion from thence to return to *France*. Tumult raised in that City.

Urban, leaving *Viterbo* in the Month of *October* of the present Year, set out for *Rome*, and on the 16th of the same Month made his public Entry into that City, being met at the Gate by the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Magistrates in a Body, and attended by them amidst Urban's Arrival at Rome.

^c Auctores primæ & secundæ vit. apud Baluz.

^d *Petrarch* Senil. l. 9. epist. 1.

Year of
Christ 1368.

the loud Acclamations of the Multitude to the Church of *St. Peter*. He prayed there some time at the Tombs of the holy Apostles, and then blessing the Multitude dismissed them and retired to the *Vatican* Palace, where he chose to reside.

Adorns the
Heads of the
Apostles *St.*
Peter and *St.*
Paul.

He first Care was to repair several Churches in the City, and rebuild others quite gone to Decay. On the 1st of *March* of the following Year he went in solemn Procession from *St. Peter's* to the *Lateran Basilic*, and entering the Place called the *Sancta Sanctorum*, where the supposed Heads of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* were kept, he shewed them from a Balcony to the immense Multitude assembled in the Square. As the Cases of those Reliques were but coarse, and of very little Value, the Pope ordered new ones to be made of Gold and Silver, and adorned them with a great Number of Jewels and precious Stones, to the Value of Thirty thousand Florins.

Queen Joan
at Rome.

While the Pope was thus engaged, *Joan*, the celebrated Queen of *Naples*, came to *Rome*, to congratulate his Holiness upon his Arrival in that City. She was met at some Distance by *Peter*, King of *Cyprus*, who happened to be then at the Pope's Court, was received at the Gate by all the Cardinals and the *Roman* Nobility in a Body, and attended by them to the Church of *St. Peter*, where the Pope waited for her on the Steps of that *Basilic*, and conducted her to the Tombs of the Apostles. As the Queen was still in *Rome* on the Fourth Sunday of *Lent*, when the Pope used to send the Golden Rose, which he blessed and wore that Day, to some Person of high Rank and great Merit, he gave it to her as she stood near him, preferring her to the King of *Cyprus*, who was likewise present; which, we are told, did not at all please some of the Cardinals. The Popes used to bless at High Mass on *Easter-day* a Sword, and send it to some Prince or Person of distinguished Merit, and that Sword too *Urban* bestowed upon the Queen, who with his Holiness's Permission gave it to the King of *Cyprus*. The Sword and with the Sword a Cap, called the Cap of Liberty and Justice, were originally blessed by the Pope on *Christmas-day*, and sent to some Prince or chief Commander, who had distinguished himself in War against the Infidels and gained a signal Victory over them. When, or by what Pope, this Custom was first introduced Authors are at a

Extraordi-
nary Honours
bestowed on
her by the
Pope.

* Auctores primæ & secundæ vit. f Auctor primæ vit. & Chron MS. regni Siciliae,
apud Baluz ad ann. 1368.

Urban V. BISHOPS of Rome.

11

Loss to determine. But it still obtains: For both the Sword and Cap were sent by *Innocent XI.* to *John Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, for obliging the *Turks*, with great Slaughter, to raise the Siege of *Vienna*, and by *Clement XI.* to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, for the signal Victory he gained over the *Turks* at *Waradin* in 1716.

Year of
Christ 1368.

The Pope, soon after the Departure of the Queen, left *Rome*, apprehending that the excessive Heat of that Climate, in the Summer Season, might hurt his Constitution, and retired to the pure and wholesome Air of *Montefiascone*. The Popes had a Palace there, which he caused to be repaired, and at the same time he ordered a Well to be dug in the Middle of the Place, as the Inhabitants had no other than Rain-water. He continued there from *May* till *October*, with a few Cardinals and a very small Number of Attendants, the Rest of his Court residing, for Want of Room at *Viterbo*, but Eight Miles distant from *Montefiascone*. *Urban* during his Stay in that Place erected their Collegiate Church into a Cathedral and the Place itself into an Episcopal See, withdrawing it from the Jurisdiction of the See of *Bagnarea*, to which it was subject &c.

Urban retires to Montefiascone, and erects it into a Bishopric.

On the 22d of *September* of the present Year *Urban* made at *Montefiascone* a Third Promotion of Cardinals, adding Seven new Ones to the College, and among them *Simon de Langham*, an *Englishman*, of the Order of *St. Benedict*, and then Archbishop of *Canterbury*^b. On the 9th of *October* the Pope removed from *Montefiascone* to *Viterbo*, and there received on the 17th of the same Month the Emperor *Charles*, who, at his earnest Request, had entered *Italy* the preceding Month at the Head of an Army of 20,000 Men, chiefly with a Design to keep in awe the *Visconti*, who, notwithstanding the Peace concluded with the late Pope, had seized upon some Territories belonging to the Church. The Emperor ravaged all the *Milaneze*, and even laid Siege to *Milan*, which he was obliged to raise, and turn his Arms against the less powerful Tyrants. Most of these he subdued, and, arriving at *Viterbo* on the 17th of *October*, gave the Pope an Account of his Exploits, and set out the next Day for *Rome* to attend his Holiness at his Entry into that City. The Pope arrived at *Rome* on the 21st of *October*, and was attended from the *Collina Gate*, near the Castle of *St. Angelo*, to

The Emperor invited by the Pope into Italy.

Urban returns to Rome, and

^a Auctor primæ vit. 1368.

^b Auctor secundæ vit. & Continuator Nangii, ad ann.

Year of
Christ 1368.
crowns the
Empress.

the Church of *St. Peter* by the Emperor walking on Foot and holding his Bridle. On the 29th of the same Month came to *Rome* the Empress *Elizabeth*, the Emperor's Fourth Wife; and on the 1st of *November* she was anointed at the Altar of *St. Peter* by the Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia* and crowned by the Pope. The next Day the Emperor took his Leave of the Pope and returned to *Germany*. But the Empress remained at *Rome*, and was magnificently entertained by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility till the 23d of *November* 1.

Repairs
several
Churches
in Rome.

Year of
Christ 1369.

The following Year was employed by the Pope, during his Stay at *Rome*, in repairing and embellishing several Churches, those especially of *St. John Lateran* and *St. Paul*. The latter he repaired with the Money of the Abbot, who supplied him with a very large Sum for that Purpose, hoping, says the Abbot *Peter de Herentals*, that the Pope would reward his Generosity with the Red Hat. But the Pope, adds that Writer, did with the Abbot's Money what the Abbot himself ought to have done, and left him as he found him^k. On the 15th of *April* *Urban* canonized with the utmost Solemnity Count *Elzearius de Sabrano*, who died at *Paris* in 1323, and was said to have wrought many stupendous Miracles after his Death. The Pope had no sooner performed that Ceremony than he left *Rome* and returned to *Montefiascone*, where he staid till the 8th of *August*, when he went to *Viterbo*, and remained there till the 13th of *October*. During his Residence in that City he excommunicated the People of *Perugia*, and interdicted their City. They had not only withdrawn their Obedience to the Apostolic See, and declared themselves a free People, but sent out Parties to insult the Pope himself under the very Walls of *Viterbo*. A Crusade therefore was by the Pope's Order preached against them, with the same Indulgences as were granted to those who went to the Holy Land. Thus was the Rebellion soon suppressed, and the Authors of it, says the Historian, came to an unhappy End^l.

Canonizes
Count Elze-
arius.

Subdues the
Perugians.

The Greek
Emperor
John Palæ-
ologus at
Rome.

On the 13th of *October* the Pope returned to *Rome*, where *John Palæologus*, the Greek Emperor, waited for him. That Prince, no longer able to withstand the *Turks*, who had already over-run several Provinces of the Empire, came in Person to solicit the Assistance of

^l Auctor primæ & secundæ vit.
tor primæ vit.

^k Herentals in vit. Urban, apud Baluz.

^l Auc-

Urban V. BISHOPS of Rome.

13

the Pope and the Western Princes. *Urban* received him with all possible Marks of Friendship and Esteem, and ordered the same Honours to be paid to him as to the *Roman* Emperor. On the 18th of *October* the Emperor made a solemn Confession of the Faith held, taught, and professed by the *Roman* Church, declaring, in particular, that he held the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; that he believed in Purgatory; that he owned the Primacy of the *Roman* Church, and the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiff over all Bishops and Patriarchs. This Profession the Emperor made in the Presence of Three Cardinals, of all the Notaries of the *Roman* Church, and a great many Persons of Distinction, and delivered it, signed with his own Hand, and sealed with a Golden Seal or Bull, to the Pope, swearing on that Occasion perpetual Obedience to the *Roman* Church and the Apostolic See. The same Profession that was delivered to the Pope by the Emperor is still preserved in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and has been translated out of the original *Greek* into *Latin* by *Bzovius* and *Raynaldus* ^m. The Emperor, now reconciled to the *Roman* Church, went to *St. Peter's*, where the Pope received him, and attending him to the High Altar, performed Divine Service in his Presence. He was still at *Rome* on the 20th of *January* 1370, as appears from a Diploma of his dated that Day at *Rome*, whereby he declared, in order to avoid all Ambiguity, that by the *Roman* Church he meant that Church over which presided at present Pope *Urban*, and his Predecessors had presided ^a. *Palaeologus* frequently visited *Urban* during his Stay at *Rome*, and, being taken with his affable Manner and instructive Conversation, he often dined with him though not invited. The Pope used his utmost Endeavours to form an Alliance in his Favour, but without Success, the Christian Princes being then all at War, or at the Eve of a War, with one another.

Year of
Christ 1369.
Is reconciled
to the *Roman*
Church.

Urban remained at *Rome* to celebrate there the Festival of *Easter*; but the following *Wednesday*, the 17th of *April*, he set out for *Montefiascone*, the Place of his Summer Residence, and going, after a short Stay there, to *Viterbo*, he notified to the Court, what greatly surprised them all, his Intention of returning very soon to *Avignon*, and ordered them to prepare, without Loss of Time, for the Journey. Whether it was to transfer his See again to *Avignon*, or to mediate a Peace in Per-

Urban re-
solves to re-
turn to *Avig-*
non.
Year of
Christ 1370.

^a *Bzovius* & *Raynald*. ad ann. 1370.

^a *Apud Raymund*. *ibid*.

Year of
Christ 1370.

son between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and then return to *Italy*, is uncertain. He indeed gave out, that it was to procure an Interview between those Two Princes, at which he himself intended to be present, and to lay hold of every Opportunity that offered of interposing his good Offices, that he removed to *Avignon*. But most Authors suppose that to have been a mere Pretence for leaving *Italy*, and enjoying that Tranquillity at *Avignon* which he despaired of being ever able to enjoy at *Rome*. *Ægidius* of *Viterbo* tells us, that *Urban* had no Reason to complain of the *Italians*; that he never thought of settling at *Avignon*; but was, on the contrary, resolved to return to *Rome* as soon as he had composed the Differences lately arisen between *France* and *England*, which he had above all Things at Heart°. Had he really intended to return, he would have naturally declared it; the rather as the *Romans*, and indeed the Subjects of the Church in general, expressed great Concern when they first heard of his intended Departure, and took it for granted that he designed to restore the See to *Avignon*. But from none of the contemporary Historians does it appear, that he ever so much as mentioned his Return. *St. Bridget*, so famous for her Revelations, hearing, as she happened to be at this Time in *Italy*, that the Pope was preparing to repass the Mountains and return to *France*, sent *Alphonfus*, her Confessor, or, as others write, *Nicholas*, Count of *Nola*, to let him know, that if he undertook his intended Journey he never would complete it. But *Urban*, paying no Regard to that Revelation or Prophecy, continued unalterable in the Resolution he had taken: A plain Proof that he entertained no great Opinion of the Saint's Revelations, though received as Gospel by the Rest of the World.

Whether with
a Design to
settle there.

Leaves Italy. From *Viterbo* the Pope returned to *Montefiascone*, and continued there till the 26th of *August*, when he set out for *Corneto*, on his Return to *Avignon*, leaving his Brother, Cardinal *Anglicus*, Bishop of *Albano*, and Cardinal *Peter de Stagno*, whom he had lately raised to that Dignity, with the Character of his Legates in *Italy*. At *Corneto* he found a numerous Fleet of Gallies and other Vessels sent by the Kings of *France* and *Arragon* and Queen *Joan* of *Sicily* to attend him. He embarked on the 5th of *September*, and landing at *Marseilles* on the

° *Viterb.* in notis ad *Ciacon*.

Urban V.

BISHOPS of Rome.

15

16th, he remained there till the 24th of the same Month, when he made his public Entry into *Avignon* amidst the loud Acclamations of the People p. Year of Christ 1370.
Arrives at Avignon.

Urban, a few Days after his Arrival, sent to acquaint the Kings of *France* and *England* with the Motives of his Journey, and at the same time to propose an Interview between them, at which he intended to assist in Person, having nothing in View but the public Good, and the Welfare of both. But while he was wholly intent upon the Means of composing their Differences to the Satisfaction of both Parties, he was taken dangerously ill, and his Illness daily increasing, he laid aside all Thoughts of the Things of this World, and employed his Time wholly in preparing for another. He frequently confessed, and finding his End approached, he caused his Bed to be placed before the Altar of *St. Peter*, and there declared, in the Presence of his Chamberlain, of his Confessor, and of many Persons of Distinction, that he held and firmly believed whatever the holy Catholic Church held and believed, and that he had never knowingly departed from her Definitions; which, by the way, was tacitly owning, that he might have departed from them unknowingly, and consequently was not infallible. He then caused himself to be clad in his monastic Habit, and the Doors being thrown open by his Order, he expired in the Sight of all, holding a Cross in his Hand, and recommending, with his last Breath, his departing Soul to the Mercy of the just Judge, at whose Tribunal he was going to appear q. His Death happened on the 19th of *December* after a Pontificate, reckoning from his Coronation, of Eight Years One Month and Fourteen Days. His Remains were deposited in the great Church of *Avignon*, but Two Years after translated to the Church of the Monastery of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*, of which he had been Abbot. Is taken dangerously ill.
His Death.

The contemporary Writers, all to a Man, speak of this Pope with the highest Commendations, extolling him for his humane Disposition, his universal Benevolence, his Generosity, and his indefatigable Endeavours utterly to extirpate the many Abuses that had been introduced by some of his Predecessors, and connived at by others. He made it his Business to encourage Learning, to reward Virtue, and rescue Merit from Obscurity r. He looked upon Pluralities as an intolerable

p Auct. primæ et secund. vitæ.
primæ vitæ.

q Auctores vit. apud Baluz. p. 302. 412.

r Auct.

Abuse,

Year of
Christ 1370.

Abuse, would suffer no Clergyman to hold more Benefices than were necessary to support him according to his Condition and Rank in the Church, and obliged those, who were possessed of more, to resign them, nay, and published Two Constitutions, the One beginning with the Words *Consuetudo sollicitudo*, and the other with the Word *Horribilis*, both calculated to banish that *horrid Custom*, as he called it, from the Church. As upon his Accession to the Pontificate a great many Bishops and other Dignitaries had flocked from all Parts, some even from the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he had been Legate, to court his Favour, he ordered them all to return to their respective Sees and Churches, and to reside there; nor would he suffer any to remain at *Avignon*, unless upon urgent Business, which he took care to dispatch with the greatest Expedition. *Anglicus Grimoardi*, his own Brother, a Man of eminent Probity, was the only Relation he preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal during the Eight Years of his Pontificate, and it was at the pressing Instances of the whole College of Cardinals that he conferred upon him that Dignity. Far from enriching his Relations, as most other Popes had done, with the Wealth of the Church, he would not allow his Father, who lived to the Fourth Year of his Pontificate, and died in the Hundredth of his Age, to accept of a very considerable Pension which the *French King* had settled upon him. He lived in the Pontifical Palace with the Pope, but never received any Thing from him, except Indulgences at the Point of Death. Instead of procuring great Alliances for his Family, he persuaded his only Nephew to marry one much inferior to him in Rank, the Daughter of a Merchant of *Montpelier*, whom he would not have married even before his Uncle had attained to any Preferment in the Church. He was a generous Encourager of Learning, maintained and furnished with Books a Thousand Students in different Universities during the whole Time of his Pontificate. At *Montpelier* he founded and endowed a College for Twelve Students in Physic, that Place being then famous for that Study. To conclude, *Urban V.* is ranked by all the Writers, who speak of him, amongst the best Popes; and after his Death Endeavours were used by *Waldemar*, King of *Denmark*, by *Charles V.* King of *France*, by *Lewis*, King of *Sicily*, and above all

* Idem ibid. et tom. 2. Concil. p. 1938.
primæ vit.

† Auctor. tertiæ vit.

‡ Auctor.

¶ Auctores secundæ et tertiæ vit.

GREGORY XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

17

by the City of *Marfeilles*, to procure him a Place in the Calendar. But the dreadful Schism that arose in the Church upon the Death of his immediate Successor diverted the succeeding Popes from attending to Matters of that Nature.

Year of
Christ 1370.

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

GREGORY XI. CHARLES IV.
Emperor of the West.

The Hundred and Ninety-eighth BISHOP of Rome.

URBAN died, as has been said, on the 19th of *December*, and Gregory XI. the Cardinals, Nineteen in Number, shutting themselves up in the Conclave on the 29th of the same Month, chose with one Consent, the very next Day, *Peter Roger*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary the New*, who was ordained Priest on the 4th of *January* 1371, and on the 5th consecrated Pontiff, and crowned with the usual Solemnity, *Lewis*, the *French King's* Brother, who happened to be then at *Avignon*, performing the Office of Equerry as he rode in his Pontificals through the City *. He acquainted the *French King* with his Election by a Letter dated the 3d of the Calends of *January*, that is, the 30th of *December*, the very Day on which he was elected. At his Coronation he took the Name of *Gregory*.

Consecrated
and crowned.
Year of
Christ 1371.

Gregory was the Son of *William Roger*, Lord of *Beaufort*, and Brother to *Clement VI.* was born at *Maumont* in the Diocese of *Limoges*, and preferred by his Uncle to the Dignity of Cardinal in *May* 1348, when he had not yet completed the Seventeenth Year of his Age. He afterwards applied himself wholly to the Study of the Civil and Canon Law, as well as of Divinity, and by constant Application became one of the ablest Civilians, Canonists, and Divines of his Time.

His Birth,
Education,
&c.

The new Pope, treading in the Footsteps of his Predecessor, dispatched immediately after his Consecration Two Legates to mediate a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and wrote a long Letter to both Princes, setting forth with great Eloquence the Calamities of War, and exhorting them to spare the Blood of their Sub-

Endeavours
to mediate a
Peace be-
tween France
and England.

* Auctor. primæ vit. apud Baluz. p. 255, et seq.

Year of
Christ 1371.

jects, and compose their Differences in a Christian and amicable Manner. But the inveterate Hatred those Kings bore to each other did not allow them to hearken to any Terms of Accommodation whatever. Besides, the Legates themselves could not agree; but as the one, Cardinal *Simon de Langham*, had been Chancellor to the King of *England*, and the other, Cardinal *John de Dormannis*, to the King of *France*, instead of acting as Mediators, they made themselves Parties, and thus rather exasperated the Two Kings still more than reconciled them ^y.

Creates
Twelve Car-
dinals.

In the present Year, on the 6th of *June* according to some; on the 8th according to others, and according to some on the 30th of *May*, the Pope created Twelve Cardinals, Eight Presbyters and Four Deacons. He created so many at once, says one of the Authors of his Life, in order to oppose them to the old Cardinals who had elected him, and upon that Merit pretended he should pay greater Regard to their Counsels, and grant them more Favours than was fit he should ^z. It was customary for the new Cardinals to receive the Red Hat immediately from the Pope. However, as *Bertrandus de Cospaco*, Bishop of *Cominges*, promoted on this Occasion by *Gregory*, was absent, being employed in mediating a Peace between *Ferdinand*, King of *Portugal*, and *Henry*, King of *Castile*, the Pope dispatched a Nuncio to him with the Red Hat on the very Day of his Promotion. In the Promotion of Cardinals made by *Innocent VI.* in 1356, was preferred to that Dignity amongst the rest *Nicholas Roselli*, Inquisitor-General for the Kingdom of *Arragon*. As the new Cardinal was in *Arragon* at the Time of his Promotion, the King wrote to *Innocent*, begging he would be pleased to send the Red Hat to him, and not oblige him to leave the Kingdom, where his Presence was so necessary, even for a short Time.

The Red Hat
sometimes
sent to absent
Cardinals.

The Pope answered, that by an ancient Custom the Red Hat was delivered to the new Cardinal with the Pope's own Hand, but nevertheless, being desirous to gratify the King, he had consulted the Cardinals, who had all opposed his dispensing with the ancient Custom. Yet *Innocent* himself was afterwards prevailed upon to dispense with that Custom in Favour of *Peter de Foresta*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, and Chancellor to the *French* King; and his Example was followed by *Gregory* in sending the Hat to the Bishop of *Cominges*. In the *Ordo Romanus* it is said,

^y Auctor. primæ vit.

^z Idem ibid.

Gregory XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

19

The Red Hat is not regularly sent by the Pope to a new Cardinal, but sometimes only by a special Favour, when the newly created Cardinal has been sent with the Character of Nuncio or Legate to treat of a Peace between Kings or Princes; and it is sent then, that his Dignity may add Weight to his Counsels, and his Negotiations may, by that Means, be attended with the wished for Success ^a. The Red Cap, or *Biretum*, which in Gregory's Time was not yet used by Cardinals, is now sent to every new Cardinal who is absent, but the Red Hat to Persons only of a very high Rank. Thus it was sent by *Paul V.* to *Ferdinand of Austria*, the Son of *Philip III.* King of *Spain*. But others must all go to *Rome*, and receive it immediately from the Pope himself. With the Red Hat the new Cardinal receives his Title, taken from some Church in *Rome*. But his being nominated to that Dignity gives him a Right to vote in the Election of a new Pontiff, though he may not have yet received either his Hat or his Title.

Year of
Christ 1371.

A Peace had been concluded in 1302 between *Frideric of Arragon*, who had seized on the Island of *Sicily*, and *Charles II.* of *Anjou*, upon the following Conditions among the rest, that upon the Death of *Frideric* the Island of *Sicily* should revert to *Charles* and his Heirs upon their paying to *Frideric* or his Heirs an Hundred thousand Ounces of Gold, and that in the mean time *Frideric* should not be stiled King of *Sicily*, but of *Trinacria*, the ancient Name of that Island. But notwithstanding these Conditions, *Frideric* was succeeded by his Son *Peter* in 1337, *Peter* by his Son *Lewis* in 1342, and *Lewis* by his Brother *Frideric II.* in 1355. In *Frideric's* Reign *Lewis* of *Taranto*, Queen *Joan's* Second Husband, undertook the Reduction of *Sicily*, and had already made himself Master of great Part of that Island. But he dying in the mean time, the Queen, who foresaw that his Death would be attended, as it was, with great Disturbances, thought it adviseable to conclude a Peace with *Frideric*. A Treaty was accordingly set on Foot, and after several Conferences between *John*, Bishop of *Gravina*, the Queen's Confessor, and *Ubertin* of *Corillon*, King *Frideric's* First Chaplain, a Peace was concluded upon the following Terms. I. That *Frideric* and his Successors should hold the Island of *Sicily* immediately of the Queen and her Successors. II. That they should pay yearly to the Queen and her Successors the Sum of Fifteen thousand Ducats,

The Island of
Sicily yielded
by Queen
Joan to Fri-
deric of Ar-
ragon.
Year of
Christ 1372.

^a Ordo Roman. apud Mabillon. Musæi Italici, tom. 2. p. 433.

Year of
Christ 1372.

And erected
by Gregory
into a sepa-
rate King-
dom.

Year of
Christ 1373.

as an Acknowledgement of their holding the Crown of her and her Heirs. III. That they should yearly furnish the Queen and her Heirs with Ten Gallies, and an Hundred able and well-armed Men. To these the Pope added the following Conditions, that the Kings of *Sicily* and *Trinacria* should do Homage to him and his Successors, as holding their respective Kingdoms of the Apostolic See; that *Mary*, the Daughter of *Frideric*, should succeed to the Crown if he died without Male Issue, and likewise the Daughters of all the succeeding Kings of *Trinacria*; and that all the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of the Clergy should be for ever inviolably maintained, especially the Right of appealing to the Apostolic See. These Conditions were all received and sworn to by *Frideric* on the 2d of *March* 1373, in the Presence of *John de Revellone*, Bishop of *Sarlat*, sent by the Pope for that Purpose into *Sicily*, and by the Queen on the last Day of the same Month, in the Presence of *Bernard de Rovergue*, Archbishop of *Milan*, whom the Pope had appointed to receive her Oath. The Bishop of *Sarlat* continued some Time in *Sicily*, absolved the *Sicilians* from the Interdict that had been laid upon the Island on account of their having banished some Bishops, and *Frideric* marrying in the mean time *Antonia del Balzo*, the Duke of *Andria's* Daughter by the late King *Lewis's* Sister, the Bishop performed the Ceremony by the Pope's Order, and soon after crowned both with great Solemnity at *Palermo* ^c. Thus was the Island of *Sicily* erected by *Gregory* into a distinct Kingdom under the Name of *Trinacria*, Queen *Joan* renouncing for herself and her Successors all Claim to that Island. The learned *Giannoni* observes in his *Civil History of Naples*, that though by One of the Articles of the above-mentioned Treaty the Kingdom of *Naples* was to be called the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and that of *Sicily* the Kingdom of *Trinacria*, yet none of the Kings of *Sicily* ever took that Title in their Diplomas, but stiled themselves constantly Kings of *Sicily ultra Pharum*, and the Kings of *Naples* Kings of *Sicily citra Pharum*. Thus were the Two Kingdoms distinguished in all public Writings till the Time of *Alphonfus I.* of *Arragon*, who, upon both Kingdoms being united in his Person, took the Title of *King of both Sicilies* ^d; the Title used to this Day by all the Kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*.

^c Auctor. primæ vit. Greg. apud Baluz. Bzovius ad ann. 1373. et Raynald. ad ann. 1372.

^d Giannoni, l. 23. c. 2.

Gregory XI. - BISHOPS of Rome.

21

The following Year 1374 the *Romans* sent a solemn Embassy to Gregory, inviting him, with great Promises and Proteſtations of Obedience and Subjection; to come and reſide with his Court at *Rome*, where the Apoſtle *St. Peter*, the Founder of his See, and ſo many of his holy Predeceſſors, had choſen to reſide and to die. At the Head of this Embaſſy were *Philip*, Biſhop of *Tivoli*, and *James*, of the illuſtrious Family of the *Urſini*, and Canon of *St. Peter's*. Gregory received them in a moſt friendly Manner, and having communicated their Meſſage to the Cardinals, he expreſſed, in a Letter to the *Roman* People, a great Deſire of complying with their Requeſt, which he ſaid he had entertained ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Chair, and hoped he ſhould ſoon be able to carry into Execution. This Letter is dated the 20th of *March* in the Fourth Year of his Pontificate, that is, in 1374^e. On the 18th of *October* of the ſame Year he wrote to the Emperor, to the Kings of *Hungary* and *Trinacria*, to Queen *Joan* of *Sicily*, to the Dukes of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria*, to the *Venetians*, to the *Genoeſe*, and to all the Prelates and Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, to let them know that he had, upon the moſt mature Deliberation, reſolved to remove from *Avignon* to *Rome*, and there to reſide with his Court. In his Letter to the Emperor he fixed the Time of his Departure to the Month of *September* of the following Year 1375. On the 6th of *January* of that Year he wrote to the *French* King, *Charles* the Vth, to acquaint him with the Reſolution he had taken of removing with his whole Court to *Rome* the following Autumn, expreſſed great Concern at his parting with his Highneſs, and leaving the Country where he was born, where he was educated, and where he enjoyed, quite undiſturbed, all the Comforts this Life could afford; but at the ſame time alleged the abſolute Neceſſity of his reſiding at *Rome*, or in the Neighbourhood of that City, in order to awe with his Preſence the Tyrants of *Italy*, taking Occaſion from his Abſence to ſeize on the Patrimony of the Church, which it was incumbent upon him to defend and maintain. Purſuant to his Reſolution of ſetting out on his intended Journey in the Autumn of the preſent Year 1375, he wrote to *Joan*, Queen of *Sicily*, to *Frideric*, King of *Trinacria*, and to *Andrew Contareni*, Doge of *Venice*, deſiring them to ſend their Gallies by that Time to *Marſeilles*, where he intended to embark. This

Year of
Chriſt 1374.

Gregory in-
vited by the
Romans to
Rome.

Acquaints
the Chriſtian
Princes with
his Reſolution
of removing
to that City.

Fixes the
Time of his
Departure.
Year of
Chriſt 1375.

* Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1374. num. 23.

Year of Christ 1375. Letter is dated at *Avignon* the 8th of *July*. But on the 28th of the same Month he wrote again to inform them that, being engaged in mediating a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*, he had put off his Departure to the Spring of the following Year 1376 d.

But puts it off.

Enjoins Residence.

In the mean time *Gregory*, to remove the Evil of Non-Residence so often complained of by his Predecessors, and looked upon by him as an insufferable Abuse, issued a Constitution on the 29th of *March*, ordering all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Heads of Orders to return, in the Term of Three Months, to their respective Sees, Churches, and Abbies, and reside there. From this general Injunction the Cardinals, the Legates, the Nuncios were excepted, and with them such as bore any Employment in the Court, and the Patriarchs whose Sees were in *Partibus Infidelium* &c. The rest were all ordered to reside at their Churches, on Pain of being excluded from all further Preferment.

Creates Nine new Cardinals.

On the 20th of *December* of the present Year *Gregory* made a new Promotion of Nine Cardinals, so that there were now no fewer than Twenty-one Cardinals of his creating. Amongst those of the present Promotion was *Peter de Luna*, of whom we shall have Occasion to speak at Length in the Sequel under the Name of *Benedict XIII*.

The Florentines invade the Dominions of the Church.

The *Florentines*, entering into an Alliance with the *Visconti* of *Milan*, broke this Year unexpectedly into the Territories of the Church, made themselves Masters of several Cities, demolished the strong Holds, drove every-where out the Officers of the Pope, and setting up a Standard with the Word *Libertas* in capital Letters, encouraged the People to shake off the Yoke, and resume their Liberty: At their Instigation *Bologna*, *Perugia*, and most of the chief Cities in the Pope's Dominions openly revolted, and joining the *Florentines*, either imprisoned, or barbarously murdered those whom the Pope had set over them. *Gregory* was no sooner informed of that general Revolt, and the unheard of Barbarities committed by the *Florentines*, and those who had joined them, than he wrote to the People and Magistrates of *Florence*, exhorting them to withdraw their Troops forthwith out of the Dominions of the Church, to forbear all further Hostilities, to satisfy those whom they had injured, and revoke the many Decrees they had issued, absolutely inconsistent with the Ecclesiastical Immunity as established

^d Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. num. 21, et seq. ^e Apud eund. num. 23.

Gregory XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

23

by the Canons. As they paid no Regard to the Pope's Exhortations, he summoned the Magistrates to appear in Person, and the People by their Representatives, at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See by the last Day of *March* 1376, to answer for their Conduct. The *Florentines*, far from complying with that Summons, insulted the Pope's Messengers in the grossest Manner, and continuing their Hostilities, laid waste the greater Part of the Patrimony, destroying all before them with Fire and Sword. Gregory therefore, provoked beyond all Measure, issued the most terrible Bull against them that had ever yet been issued by any Pope. For by that Bull the Magistrates were all excommunicated; the whole People and every Place and Person under their Jurisdiction were laid under an Interdict; all Traffic, Commerce, and Intercourse with any of that State, in any Place whatever, were forbidden on Pain of Excommunication; their Subjects were absolved from their Allegiance; all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities were declared forfeited; their Estates real and personal, in what Part soever of the World, were given away, and declared to be the Property of the first who should seize them *Primi Occupantis*; all were allowed, and even exhorted and encouraged to seize on their Persons, where-ever found, as well as their Estates, and reduce them to Slavery; their Magistrates were declared intestable, and their Sons and Grandsons incapable of succeeding to their paternal Estates, or to any Inheritance whatever; their Descendents to the Third Generation were excluded from all Honours, Dignities, and Preferments both Civil and Ecclesiastic; all Princes, Prelates, Governors of Cities, and Magistrates were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to harbour any *Florentine*, or to suffer any in the Places under their Jurisdiction in any other State or Condition than that of a Slave. This Bull is dated in the Palace of *Avignon* in some Copies the 30th of *March*, and in some the 20th of *April*, in the Sixth Year of Gregory's Pontificate, that is, in 1376 ^f. *Walsingham* writes, that upon the Publication of this Bull the *Florentine* Traders, who had settled in *England*, delivered up all their Effects to the King, and themselves with them for his Slaves; and One of the Authors of Gregory's Life tells us, that in all other Countries, especially at *Avignon*, they abandoned their Effects, and returned, being no-where else safe, to their own Country ^g.

Year of
Christ 1375.

Sentence pronounced by
Gregory
against them.
Year of
Christ 1376.

^f Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 1. et seq. et Bzovium, num. 15.
primæ vit. Gregor.

^g Auctor

Year of
Christ 1376.

No Regard
had by the
Florentines
to the Pope's
Censures.

An Army
sent against
them.

St. Catherine
of Siena
chosen by the
Florentines
to mediate a
Peace.

Her Negoti-
ations unsuc-
cessful.

The Pope's Bull served only to exasperate still more the People and Magistrates of *Florence*. Being now determined to keep no Measures with *Gregory*, as he kept none with them, they committed more dreadful Ravages than ever, banished all whom they suspected to favour the Pope's Cause, and confiscated their Estates, obliged the Clergy to perform Divine Service, notwithstanding the Interdict, imprisoning and treating with the utmost Severity such as declined it. They even attacked the Character of the Pope, publishing and causing to be dispersed all over *Italy* a great Number of defamatory Libels against him ^h. *Gregory* therefore, finding that they were not to be restrained by the Spiritual Arms alone, resolved to add the Temporal to the Spiritual. Having accordingly raised in the different Provinces of *France* a Body of Six thousand Foot and Four thousand Horse, he sent them under the Command of *Robert*, Cardinal of the Twelve Apostles, with Orders to protect such Places as had not yet submitted to the *Florentines*, and recover, with the Assistance of their Allies, those that had. The Cardinal put a Stop to the Ravages and Incursions of the Enemy, but had not a sufficient Force to attempt the Reduction of any of the Places they had seized ⁱ.

In the mean time the *Florentines*, who were great Traders, finding their Trade was entirely ruined by the Pope's Bull, forbidding all Intercourse with them, resolved in the End to conclude a Peace with the Apostolic See, and the Person they employed for that Purpose was the celebrated St. Catherine of *Siena*, whom they knew to be held in great Esteem by the Pope for her eminent Sanctity. At their Request the Saint flew to *Avignon*, and being received by *Gregory* with the greatest Marks of Esteem, she acquainted him with the Motives of her Journey, begging his Holiness, how justly soever provoked, to hearken to an Accommodation with the *Florentines* upon such Terms as he should think reasonable. The Pope replied, *To shew to the whole World how desirous I am of Peace, I leave the concluding of it, my dear Daughter, entirely to you, only recommending to you the Honour of the Church*. Catherine, being thus declared the Pope's Plenipotentiary, returned to *Florence*. But the *Florentines* refusing to give any Satisfaction to those whom they had injured, or to yield up the Places they

^h Apud Baluz. p. 435.

ⁱ Apud Baluz. p. 436. et seq.

Gregory XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

25

had seized, the Treaty was soon broken off, and Hostilities recommenced on both Sides ^k.

Year of
Christ 1376.

From the deplorable State of the Ecclesiastical Territories at this Time in *Italy*, the *Romans* took Occasion to invite the Pope by a Second Embassy to *Rome*, promising to assist him to the utmost of their Power against all the Enemies of the Apostolic See, and assuring him that his Presence alone was wanting to restore the so long wished for Peace and Tranquillity. Being at the same time pressed by St. *Catherine of Siena*, whom he looked upon not only as a Saint, but a Prophetess, to hasten his Departure, he resolved to delay it no longer. One of the Authors of *Gregory's* Life tells us, that having one Day asked a Bishop why he did not repair to his See, the Bishop returned Answer, *And you, Holy Father, why do you not repair to your See?* The Author adds, that his Holiness, sensible of the Justice of that Reproach, resolved to practise himself what he recommended to the Practice of others ^l.

Gregory
resolves to
restore the
Apostolic See
to Rome.

As *Gregory* put off his Departure from time to time, the *Romans*, suspecting that he only amused them with fair Words, dispatched *Luke de Sabellis*, a *Roman* Prince, and another to *Avignon*, to represent to him, that being *Roman* Pontiff, and as such stiled and acknowledged by the whole Christian World, he ought to reside with his Court at *Rome*; that the *Romans* were determined to have a Pope who would reside among them; and that if his Holiness did not chuse it, they had determined to provide themselves with one who would. They therefore earnestly entreated him, as he tendered the Peace and Unity of the Church, to hasten his Departure, and obviate, by that Means, the Scandal that would certainly attend a further Delay. Some Authors write, that the *Romans* had several Conferences among themselves relating to the Election of another Pope; that they even sent Embassadors to the Abbot of *Monte Cassino* to offer him the Papal Dignity, in case *Gregory* did not speedily comply with their Request; and that the Abbot returned Answer, that he was a *Roman* Citizen, and thought himself bound in Duty to obey their Commands ^m. One of the Authors of *Gregory's* Life tells us, that while the See was yet vacant he bound himself by a Vow to go to *Rome*, and reside there, should he be elected; and that mindful of his Vow he overcame all the Obstacles

To what that
Resolution
was chiefly
owing.

^k Acta vitæ Sanctæ Catherin. apud Bolland. ad 30 April. et Instit. c. 14. tit. 23.

^l Auctor tertiz vit. ^m Apud Baluz. p. 1194.

Year of
Christ 1376.

Gregory per-
sists in it in
spite of all
Opposition.

that were thrown in his Way. That Writer adds, that the Pope's Mother, prostrating herself across the Threshold as he went out on his Journey, endeavoured to stop him, shewing him her naked Breast, and crying out bathed in Tears, *My dear Son, I shall never see you again*; but that the Pope, unaffected with her Tears, slept over her, repeating the Words of the *Psalm*, *Thou shalt walk over the Asps and the Basilisks, thou shalt trample upon the Lion and the Dragon*ⁿ. But this is all a mere Invention, it being said in *Gregory's* last Will, that his Mother died and was buried in the Cathedral of *Avignon* in 1346, that is Thirty Years before the present Time^o. However in this all Authors agree, that the Pope's Father, who was still living, that all his Relations, and with them all the Cardinals, nay and the *French* King, *Charles V.* left nothing unattempted to deter him from the Resolution he had taken. *Charles* even wrote to his Brother, *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, who was then at *Toulouse*, to repair to *Avignon*, and prevail upon his Holiness, if by any Means he could, to lay aside all Thoughts of his intended Removal to *Rome*, or at least to suspend it. The Pope received the Duke with the greatest Marks of Friendship, thanked him for the Trouble he had taken and the Concern he expressed for his Safety; but, unalterable in his Resolution, he even fixed the Day of his Departure before the Duke left *Avignon*, the 13th of *September* of the present Year, and gave Notice thereof to the Cardinals and the Rest of the Court, that they might be ready by that Time to attend him^p.

Recommends
to the French
King the a-
bolishing of
an unchristian
Custom.

A Custom had long obtained all over *France* of denying Confession and Absolution to Criminals condemned to Death for their Crimes. Against that unchristian Practice the Pope wrote to the King before he left *France*, entreating him, as he tendered the Salvation of the Souls of those unhappy Men and that of his own, not to suffer even the greatest Criminals to be excluded from the Benefit of Repentance when they repented of their Sins^q. What Answer the King returned we know not; but the Custom complained of was not, it seems, abolished by him, but by *Charles VI.* his Son and Successor: For we have a Constitution of that Prince, ordering even the most notorious Criminals,

ⁿ Auctor quartæ vit. apud Baluz. col. 1234. . ^o Idem ibid. ^p Apud Baluz. ibid.
^q Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. num. 28.

though

Gregory XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

27.

though sentenced to Death for their Crimes, to be admitted to Confession, if they desired it, and abolishing the contrary Custom^a.

Year of
Christ 1376

Gregory, persisting in his Resolution of re-establishing the Apostolic See at Rome, set out on his Journey to that City on the Day appointed, *Saturday* the 13th of *September* 1376, with his Court, and all the Cardinals but Six, who chose to remain at *Avignon*. The French Writers pretend the Departure of the Pope out of *France* to have been displeasing to and discountenanced by Heaven, and allege several Instances to prove it. They tell us, that his Horse, on all other Occasions remarkably tame and gentle, seemed on this Occasion to have changed his Nature, would scarce suffer his Holiness to mount him, and became so ungovernable that he was obliged to quit him. The stormy Weather, and the Danger to which the Pope was exposed by Sea, are likewise construed by those Writers into manifest Tokens of the Displeasure of Heaven^r. Gregory on his Way to *Marseilles*, where he was to embark, passed through *St. Maximinus* to visit the Reliques of *St. Mary Magdalen* preserved in that Place, and on the 22d of *September* entered the City of *Marseilles* on Horse-back. He lodged with the *Benedictines* in the Monastery of *St. Victor*, and remained there till the 2d of *October*, when he embarked with his whole Court on board the Fleet sent by the Queen of *Sicily* and other Princes to attend him. He did not reach *Genoa*, on account of the tempestuous Weather and contrary Winds, till the 18th of that Month, and having staid there Eleven Days, he put to Sea again, and after touching at several Places arrived at *Leghorn*, then subject to the Republic of *Pisa*: And there died of the Fatigues of the Voyage, *maris fractus laboribus*, Cardinal *Peter de Judicis*, the Pope's Cousin-german, preferred by him the preceding Year to that Dignity. From *Leghorn* the Fleet sailed to *Piombino*, to *Port Ercole*, and from thence to *Corneto*, in the Dominions of the Church. He kept there his *Christmas*, and having been, to his great Mortification, detained in that uncomfortable Place Five whole Weeks by the boisterous Weather and contrary Winds, he put to Sea again on the Thirteenth of *January*, and arrived the next Day at *Osia*. From thence he proceeded to *St. Paul's* on the *Ostian* Way, and remained there till the Seventeenth, when he made his public Entry into *Rome* with Thirteen Cardinals, who had set out with him from

Gregory sets
out for Rom^e

His Itine-
rary.

His Arrival
at Rome and
the Reception
he met with.
Year of
Christ 1377.

^a Apud Spond. ad ann. 1375.

^r Auctor secundæ vit. Greg. ibid.

Year of
Christ 1377.

Avignon. He was received at the Gate by the Clergy in a Body, by the Magistrates, and all the Nobility, and attended by them to *St. Peter's*, amidst such Demonstrations of Joy from People of all Ranks, Ages, and Conditions, as till that Time had never been known in *Rome*. *Peter Amelius*, Bishop of *Sinigaglia*, who attended the Pope from *Avignon* to *Rome*, and has given us his Itinerary, tells us, as an Eye-witness, that *Gregory's* Entry into *Rome* was the most glorious Triumph mortal Eye could behold, and that the *Romans* seemed to be all mad with Joy, *amentes præ gaudio* *.

The Romans
perform none
of the Pro-
mises they
had made.

Thus was the Apostolic See, or, to speak more properly, the Pope's Court, restored to *Rome* by *Gregory XI.* after it had been kept for the Space of about Seventy-two Years at *Avignon*. But the *Romans*, for all the Joy they expressed on that Occasion, and the extraordinary Honours they paid to his Holiness on his Arrival, fulfilled none of the mighty Promises they had made to intice him to *Rome*. The *Bannerets*, that is, the Heads of the different Wards of the City, so called from their different Banners, had usurped the Government, and governed without Controul, but had promised to resign all their Power into the Pope's Hands as soon as he arrived at *Rome*. They did so, but in a few Days resumed, in spite of the Pope, their former Authority, governing the City with the same absolute Authority as they had done before; which greatly alarmed *Gregory*, as he was not in a Condition to oppose their arbitrary Proceedings, and thought it dangerous to attempt it. The *Romans* had promised to assist him to the utmost of their Power against the *Florentines*, but yet declined, under various Pretences, to lend him the least Assistance †.

A Treaty of
Peace be-
tween him
and the Flo-
rentines be-
gun, and
soon broken
off.

However the *Florentines*, tired of a War that proved so prejudicial to their Trade, sent Embassadors to *Rome* to treat of an Accommodation with the Church. Some write, that the Pope, finding himself disappointed with respect to the Assistance he expected from the *Romans*, applied the first for Peace, and that the Embassadors were sent, at his Request, to *Rome*. Be that as it may, *Gregory* received them with all possible Marks of Friendship, admitted them to the Kiss of Peace, and, absolving them from the Excommunication and Interdict, allowed Divine Service to be performed in their Presence so long as

* Petrus Amel. Itinerarium Gregor. apud Ciacon. & apud Bzovium, num. 31. † Auc-
tor primæ vit. Greg. apud Baluz. p. 436, & seq.

they

Gregory XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

29

they remained at *Rome*. But as they insisted upon such Terms as *Gregory* could not in Honour and in Conscience grant, the Treaty was soon broke off, the Embassadors were recalled, and Hostilities begun anew. Upon the Departure of the Embassadors the Pope dispatched *Catherine of Siena*, with an unlimited Power to treat with the leading Men of the Republic. But the Populace rising against her, notwithstanding the high Opinion the Rest of the World entertained of her Sanctity, she narrowly escaped (we are told by a Miracle) with her Life. Thus was the War carried on with various Success between the Church and the *Florentines*, and the Ecclesiastical State miserably harassed so long as *Gregory* lived ^u.

Year of
Christ 1377.

In the mean time, the hot Season approaching, *Gregory* left *St. Peter's* in the *Translyberin* City, the lowest Part of *Rome*, where he had hitherto resided, and went to *St. Mary the Greater's*, on *Mount Exquilin*, on the 16th of *May*, with a Design to repair from thence, as the Heat increased, to *Anagni*, and pass the Summer there. He remained at *St. Mary the Greater's* till the 30th of *May*, when he set out for *Anagni*, which City he entered on the 2d of *June*, having passed Two Days at a *Greek* Monastery pleasantly situated on the Road ^w. It was during his Stay at *St. Mary the Greater's* and on the 22d of *May* that *Gregory* wrote the several Letters, that have reached our Times, against the famous *John Wickliff*, whose Doctrine was at this Time received by many with great Applause in *England*. By One of these Letters, addressed to the Chancellor and the University of *Oxford*, the Pope severely reprimands them for suffering the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, which he calls pestilential Errors, to take root in *England*, to the Disgrace of the Catholic Faith; and orders them to seize him and deliver him up to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London*, or to either of them. He wrote the same Day Letters to these Two Prelates, enjoining them by One of them to inform themselves privately concerning the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, and, if they found it to be such as it had been represented to the Apostolic See, to keep him carefully and closely confined till further Orders. By the other they were required, in case they could not apprehend him, to summon him by an Edict, published at *Oxford* and other frequented Places, to appear in the Term of Three

Writes several Letters into England against John Wickliff.

^u Aretin. lib. 8. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 1. num. 5. & vit. St. Catherin. part. 3. c. 8.
^w Petrus Amel. in Itiner. Greg.

Months

Year of
Christ 1377.

Months at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See. By a Third Letter *Gregory* charged the Two Prelates to inform the King, *Edward III.* his Children, and the Grandees of the Kingdom, of the Errors taught by *Wickliff*, and exhort them to concur with them in extirpating the said Errors *.

His Doctrine.

In the last of these Letters the Pope sent inclosed Sixteen Propositions, which *Wickliff* had been accused to him of holding and publicly maintaining; and these were, I. That the Eucharist is not the real Body of *Christ*, but only the Figure or Representation of it. II. That the Substance of the Bread and Wine remain after Consecration. III. That the Accidents of the Bread and Wine cannot possibly subsist without a Subject, or the Substance. IV. That *Christ* is not present really, identically, and corporally in the Eucharist. V. That the *Roman* Church is no more the Head of all Churches than any other. VI. That the Pope has no more Authority than any other Priest. VII. That the Temporal Princes may, nay and are bound, on Pain of Damnation, to deprive a delinquent Church of its Temporalities. VIII. That the Gospel alone is sufficient to direct every *Christian*. IX. That no Ecclesiastic ought to have Prisons for punishing Delinquents. X. That Excommunications, Interdicts, and other Ecclesiastical Censures, when employed for the Temporalities of the Church, are in themselves null. XI. That every Priest, lawfully ordained, is sufficiently empowered to absolve from any Sin whatever. XII. That the Sacraments administered by bad Priests are null. XIII. That Tithes are mere Alms, and the Parishoners may retrench them, if their Priest misbehaves or neglects his Duty. XIV. That those who forbear to preach the Word of God, to perform Divine Service, or assist at it, on Account of any Excommunication or Interdict, incur thereby the Excommunication. XV. That the Institution of the *Mendicant* Order is repugnant to the Gospel; and, lastly, that it is encouraging Idleness, and therefore sinful to relieve them.

Silenced by
the Arch-
bishop of Can-
terbury and
the Bishop of
London.

As many had embraced the Doctrine of *Wickliff* at *Oxford*, neither the Chancellor nor the University seemed inclined to comply with the Pope's Injunction. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London* sent them a peremptory Order to summon *Wickliff*, a Member of their University, to appear in the Term of Thirty Days before

* Concil. Labbei. tom. ii. p. 20. & seq.

them,

Gregory XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

31

Year of
Christ 1377.

them, or their Delegates, in the Church of *St. Paul* at *London*, and there answer for the Doctrine which he had been accused at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See of holding and publicly maintaining. They summoned him accordingly, and he appeared, pursuant to the Summons, at the Time and Place appointed. But being protected by the Ministers of King *Richard II.* who had succeeded *Edward III.* on the 22d of *June* of the present Year 1377, being then in the Eleventh Year of his Age, by the Duke of *Lancaster*, and by the greater Part of the Nobility as well as by the Citizens and People of *London*, no longer able to bear the daily Encroachments and Impositions of the Court of *Rome*, the Bishops dared not arrest nor imprison him, but were obliged to content themselves with only silencing him. *Walsingham*, who flourished in 1440, writes, that *Wickliff* on this Occasion softened, and, in some Degree, retracted such of his Assertions as had given most Offence, and thus escaped all Punishment for the present. Of *Wickliff* we hear no more during the Pontificate of *Gregory*. But we shall have Occasion to speak of him more than once under the succeeding Pontiffs.

And now to return to *Gregory*, whom we left at *Anagni*. Being informed, during his Stay there, that the Bishop of *Maguelon*, his Treasurer at *Avignon*, knowing he had contracted great Debts, and was daily importuned by his Creditors, had laid a new Tax on the *French* Clergy, to deliver him from that Trouble, he immediately wrote to the Bishop, and likewise to the Archbishop of *Rouen*, his Nuncio in *France*, declaring, that upon no Consideration whatever he would suffer the *French* Clergy to be loaded with any new Taxes, it not being reasonable, happen to him what would, that they should be put to any extraordinary Expences on his Account. He therefore ordered an immediate Stop to be put to the new Imposition, and the Money to be restored that had already been collected, though he wanted at that Juncture very large Sums to carry on the War against the *Florentines*, who would hearken to no Terms of Peace, and to ransom his Brother and his Nephew, taken Prisoners in the War by the *English*.

Gregory before he left *Anagni* received a Letter from the *French* King, *Charles V.* entreating him to exempt the Bishop of *Paris* from

*Will suffer no
new Taxes
upon the
Churches of
France.*

*Refuses to
exempt the
See of Paris*

† *Walsingham* in *Edward III.*

‡ *Vide Spöndan. ad ann. 1377. num. 18.*

Year of
Christ 1377.

from the Ju-
risdiction of
the See of
Sens.

all Subjection to the Archbishop of *Sens*, and to grant him the Use of the Pall. For though the City of *Paris* was now become the Metropolis of the Kingdom, yet the Bishop of that City was still subject to the Archbishop of *Sens* as his Metropolitan, and the King wanted the Church of his Metropolis to be independent of any other. But *Gregory*, notwithstanding the great Obligations he owed to the King, could not be prevailed upon to consent to the withdrawing of the See of *Paris* from all Subjection to that of *Sens*, alleging in his Answer to the King, that *Sens* was a very ancient and noble City, that it had been, what *Paris* was then, the Metropolis of the Kingdom; that his Uncle *Clement VI.* had been Archbishop of that City; that he himself had held One of the chief Dignities of that Church; and, lastly, that the Archbishop scarce had already what was sufficient to support his Dignity. However, to gratify the King, and confer some Mark of Distinction upon the Metropolis of his Kingdom, and so renowned an University, he granted to the Bishop the Use of the Pall for ever. But for all his Pall he continued subject to the Archbishop of *Sens* till the Year 1622, when, at the Request of *Lewis XIII.* the See of *Paris* was exempted from all Subjection to that of *Sens*, and erected by *Gregory XV.* into an Archiepiscopal See^a. *Henry Gondi*, called Cardinal *de Retz*, was the last Bishop of *Paris*, and his Brother *Francis Gondi* the first Archbishop.

*Gregory re-
solves to re-
turn to A-
vignon.*

Gregory continued at *Anagni* till the 5th of *November*, when he left that Place and returned to *Rome*. But finding he could not prevail upon the *Romans* to lend him any Assistance against the *Florentines*, nor persuade the *Bannerets* to resign their usurped Power, which they exercised quite independent of him, not suffering him any-ways to interfere in the Government of the City, he began seriously to think of leaving *Rome*, and returning to *Avignon*. We are told, that he had even writ into *Spain* for a sufficient Number of Gallies to convey him and his Court to *Marseilles*^b. But in the mean time the Illness with which he was seized soon after his Return from *Anagni* to *Rome* increasing daily, he laid aside all Thoughts of his Removal to *Avignon*, and spent his whole Time in consulting with the Cardinals concerning the most effectual Means of hastening the Election of his Successor, in case he should not recover, and prevent the Divisions which he foresaw

*Is taken ill.
Year of
Christ 1378.*

^a Spondan. ibid.

^b Thesaur. Anecd. tom. 2. col. 1081.

would

would probably arise at so critical a Juncture in the Conclave. In order to that he suspended some of the Regulations established by his Predecessor *Gregory X.* with respect to the Conclave. For by the Constitution of that Pope the Conclave was to be held in the Place where the Pope happened to die; the Cardinals were not to enter into the Conclave till Ten Days after his Decease, that the absent Cardinals might have Time to repair to the Place of the Election; and he alone was to be deemed lawful Pope who was elected by Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals. But by the present Constitution the Cardinals were not confined to any particular Place, but allowed to meet for the Election of a new Pope in the Place that should be thought by the greater Part of them the most proper and convenient, whether in *Rome* or out of it; they were to wait for the absent Cardinals as long or as short a Time as should be judged most expedient by the greater Part, or, if judged expedient, not wait at all; and he should be received as lawful Pope who should have a Majority however small. These Regulations were established by *Gregory* with respect to the next Election only, or to the Election of his immediate Successor. This Bull is dated at *St. Peter's* the 19th of *March*, that is, Nine Days before *Gregory's* Death^c.

Year of
Christ 1378.
Suspends the
Constitution
of Gregory
X. concern-
ing the Con-
clave.

He proposed making some other Regulations, calculated to prevent the Disturbances which he apprehended would arise upon his Death, and retard the Election of his Successor; but in the mean time a violent Fit of the Stone, a Complaint which he had been long liable to, put an End to his Life. He died on the 27th of *March* of the present Year 1378, after a Pontificate (reckoning from the Day of his Consecration) of Seven Years Two Months and Twenty-three Days, when he had not yet compleated the Forty-seventh Year of his Age^d. The celebrated *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*, who flourished in the Beginning of the following Century, tells us, that *Gregory*, when at the Point of Death, holding the Body of our Lord in his Hand, warned all about him to beware of those, whether Men or Women, who under Colour of Religion passed upon others the Visions of their own Brains for divine Revelations, since he, seduced by Persons of that Character, contrary to the Advice of all his Friends,

His Death.

^c Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1378. num. 2.

^d Auctor primæ vitæ.

Year of
Christ 1378.

had brought the Church into imminent Danger of a Schism^e. Some suppose the Pope to have meant by these Visionaries *Peter of Arragon*, *Bridget of Sweden*, and *Catherine of Siena*, who had all persuaded him, that it was the Will of God, revealed to them, that he should go and reside at *Rome*^f. But *Natalis Alexander* pretends *Gerson* to have been misinformed, and alleges the following Reasons to prove it. I. No Notice is taken of what *Gerson* writes, though worthy of particular Notice, by the Author of *Gregory's Life*, who lived at that very Time. II. *Gregory* was not originally induced by any Revelations to translate his See to *Rome*, but by other Motives, viz. to restore and maintain the Tranquillity of *Italy*, to recover the Dominions of the Church, seized and held by several petty Tyrants, and to engage the *Romans* to assist him, pursuant to their Promise, against the *Florentines*. III. *Gregory* could not think that he exposed the Church to any Danger of a Schism by restoring his See to *Rome*; but on the contrary knew, that if he continued at *Avignon* a Schism would certainly ensue, the *Romans* being determined in that Case to have a Pope of their own, One who would reside among them. Thus *Natalis Alexander* in his *Life of Gregory*; but whether these Reasons sufficiently evince the Falsity of what *Gerson* wrote, I shall, with Father *Pagi*, leave the Reader to determine.

His Learning
and Character.

Though he had not compleated the Eighteenth Year of his Age when he was preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal by his Uncle *Clement VI.* and consequently could not yet be well acquainted with any Branch of Literature, he nevertheless became by constant Application, being endowed with very uncommon Parts, One of the best Civilians, Canonists, Divines, and Philosophers of the Age^g. We are told, that his Decisions in Points of Justice and Equity were universally looked upon as so many Oracles; nay, that the famous *Baldus*, Professor of Civil Law at *Perugia*, in his Explanation of the Laws, frequently quoted him while he was yet living^h. In this all agree who mention *Gregory XI.* that in most Branches of Literature he was equalled by few and surpassed by none; that he took great Delight in conversing with learned Men, and by Choice preferred no other. He is no less commended by the contemporary Writers for his Piety, his Prudence,

^e Gerson de Examinatione Doctrinar. parte 2. Consideratione 3.
1378. num. 2 ^f Auctor primæ vit, ^g Auctor tertiz vit.

^h Spond. ad ann.

Gregory XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

35

Year of
Christ 1378.

his Generosity, chiefly to the Poor, and his Humanity and Good-nature, than he is for his Learning. He left no Writings behind him that we know of besides some Letters and Constitutions, which I have had Occasion to speak of in the Course of his History. He is charged even by his Panegyrist with too great an Attachment and Partiality to his Relations, especially to his Father, his Brothers, and his Nephews. He did not indeed confer any new Honours upon them, as they had been all raised by his Uncle *Clement* to the First Dignities, and the most lucrative Employments. But he removed none of them to make Room for others, perhaps, more deserving; kept them constantly about him; advised with them, and followed their Advice in most Matters of Moment; and in the Disposal of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Preferments had some Times more Regard to their Recommendations than to the Merits of the Persons whom they recommended. Thus the contemporary Author of *Gregory's* Life.

Gregory, by a Constitution dated at *Avignon* the 23d of *January* 1372, *The Lateran* the Second Year of his Pontificate, declared the Church of *St. John Lateran* to be the See of the *Roman* Pontiff, and the First Church, *St. Peter's* not excepted, in the whole World.——In the same Year he ordered the Festival of the *Presentation of the Virgin Mary* (when she was presented to the Temple in the Third Year of her Age) which had been observed in the East Time out of Mind, to be yearly kept as a Holiday in the West on the 21st of *November*, and it has been so kept from *Gregory's* Time to the present.——It is observed of this Pope, that he carefully avoided all Contests with any of the Christian Princes, chusing to dissemble in their Conduct what most other Popes would have highly resented.

Year of
Christ 1378. JO. PALÆOLOGUS,
MA. PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperors of the East.

U R B A N VI.

CHARLES IV.
WENCESLAUS,
Emperors of the West.

The Hundred and Ninety-ninth BISHOP of Rome.

The Death of
Gregory fol-
lowed by The
Great West-
ern Schism.

THE Death of Gregory was followed by a most dreadful Schism, commonly called in the History of the Church *The Great Western Schism*. It began in the present Year 1378, by the Election of *Clement VII.* in Opposition to *Urban VI.* and lasted till the Council of *Constance*, held in 1414. There were, during that Time, Two Popes, the One residing at *Rome* or in *Italy*, and the other at *Avignon*. But which of the Popes was the true One and which the Antipope has not yet been decided. St. *Antonine*, Archbishop of *Florence*, who wrote not long after an End was happily put to the Schism, speaks of it thus: "This Matter has been the Subject of many Disputations; and many Books have been published in Defence of the One and the other Party. Both not only had Men thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures and the Canon Law, but most religious Men, nay and some who even wrought Miracles. Yet the Question could never be so decided as not to remain in the Opinion of many still doubtful. For though it is necessary to believe, that as there is but One Catholic Church so there is but One Pastor, *Christ's* Vicar, upon Earth; yet if more than One should be created at the same time, it seems not necessary to Salvation to believe, that this Man in particular, or that, was lawfully elected, but only that One of them was. Which of them was canonically elected no Man is bound to know, and the People may therein follow their Betters or their Prelates i." *Wernerus Rollewink*, Author of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, who flourished in 1480, declares, that from *Urban VI.* to *Martin V.* raised to the See in 1417, he knew not who was Pope. Two General Councils, those of *Pisa* and *Constance*, were assembled, as we shall see in the Sequel, to put an End to this Schism; yet neither would take upon them to declare whether *Urban* and his Successors, or *Clement* and his, were canonically elected; but, leaving that Point undetermined, they were for having both re-

i Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 1.

sign. That Uncertainty was owing to the different and contradictory Accounts of the double Election, that were published at the Time, or soon after. These Accounts I shall here lay before the Reader, and leave him to determine, if he can, which of the Two Competitors had the best Right.

Year of
Christ 1378.

I shall begin with the Account of the anonymous Author of *Gregory's Life*, who was then, as he declares, in *Rome*, saw with his own Eyes what happened out of the Conclave, and learnt of several Cardinals what happened in it; and his Account is as follows: While *Gregory* lay dangerously ill, the *Bannerets* or *Banderefsians*, who presided over the different Wards or Quarters of the City, frequently met to deliberate about the Means of retaining the Apostolic See in *Italy*; and that they thought they could by no other Means more effectually procure than by getting a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, elected in the Room of *Gregory*. They therefore resolved to apply, upon his Death, to the Cardinals, and leave nothing unattempted to prevail upon them to fill the See, when it became vacant, with a Native of *Rome*, or at least of *Italy*. They were encouraged therein by several *Italian* Prelates, who, aspiring at the Pontificate, assisted at all their Conferences to court their Favour and Interest. Amongst these was *Bartolomeo Pignano*, Archbishop of *Bari*, a Man of an unbounded Ambition, of very uncommon Parts, of great Address, and generally reputed one of the most learned Men of the Age. In the mean time *Gregory* died, as has been said, on the 27th of *March* 1378, and the *Banderefsians* waiting upon the Cardinals as soon as they heard of his Death, earnestly entreated them to elect a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian* for his Successor, adding, that if they complied not with their Request, there was Reason to believe that the *Roman* People, provoked at their being so long deprived of their Pastor, would resent it in a Manner not pleasing to them. They therefore desired to know, before they entered into the Conclave, what the People might expect from them. Thus they applied to the Cardinals when assembled together, and to each of them in particular at his House. The Cardinals answered, that such Matters were not to be treated of out of the Conclave, and that in the Conclave they should act agreeably to their Conscience, without Exception, to any Person or Nation, having nothing in View but the Good of the Church, and the Christian Religion; and that

Account of
the Election
of Urban by
an anonymous
and
contemporary
Writer.

if

Year of
Christ 1378.

if any Violence were offered, or Menaces used, the Person thus elected would not be Pope, but an Intruder. The *Banderefsians* however still pressed them to grant them their Request, and consult their own Safety, by promising to elect a *Roman*, or an *Italian*. As they could extort no such Promise from them, they placed Guards at all the Gates, Bridges, and Avenues to the Town both by Land and Water, to prevent their retiring to some other Place, and holding the Conclave there, drove out all the Nobility, lest they should undertake the Defence and Protection of the Cardinals, and introduced in their Room Multitudes of Peasants, who stuck at nothing, and were entirely at their Devotion. These being supplied with Arms, continued running up and down the Streets Day and Night, threatening the Cardinals, and insulting such of their Domestics as they happened to meet. Besides, they committed the Guard of the Conclave, which Persons only of the first Distinction used to be charged with, to the very Scum of the People. As the Cardinals were entering into the Conclave, the Peasants and the Populace attending them, cried out aloud, with dreadful Menaces, we will have a *Roman* Pope, *Romano lo volemo lo Papa, Romano lo volemo*. Many of them even entered the Conclave with the Cardinals, while others surrounded the Palace on all Sides. When the Cardinals were ready to shut themselves up in the Conclave, the *Banderefsians*, breaking into the Palace, told them in plain Terms, that they must chuse a *Roman*, or, at least, an *Italian*; that such was the Desire and Request of the *Roman* People; and that if they did not comply with it, it was not in their Power to screen them from the Fury of the enraged Multitude. The Cardinals answered, that the Election ought to be free; that it was null if not free; and that where Menaces intervened there could be no Freedom. They desired them therefore to reflect that should they, intimidated by their Menaces, elect a *Roman* or an *Italian*, he would not be true Pope, how unanimously soever elected, but an Usurper of the Apostolic See. With this Answer the *Banderefsians* withdrew, and the Cardinals shut themselves up in the Conclave. But the Populace continued all Night making dreadful Noises, and crying out aloud, *A Roman, at least an Italian Pope, or immediate Death*, which kept the Cardinals awake and in great Fear all that Night, the Night between the 7th and the 8th of *April*; for they entered into the Conclave on the 7th
of

Urban VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

39

Year of
Christ 1378.

of that Month. Early next Morning, the 8th of *April*, while the Cardinals were assisting at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, in order to proceed afterwards to the Election, the Bells of *St. Peter* and the Capitol were suddenly rung, as upon the Irruption of an Enemy, for the People to take Arms. They flew to Arms accordingly, and flocking from all Parts of the City to the Pontifical Palace, surrounded it, crying out, as before, *A Roman, at least an Italian Pope, or certain Death.* They even began to break down the Door of the Conclave; but in the mean time the Window being opened, they desired to speak with the Cardinals; and the Deans of the Three Orders, *viz.* of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, being sent them by the Rest to hear and appease them, they insisted upon their electing, without further Delay, a *Roman*, or an *Italian*, threatening them with immediate Death if they complied not with this their Request. Upon the Report of the Three Cardinals, the Rest, apprehending themselves to be in imminent Danger of their Lives, sent one of the Officers of the Conclave to assure them, that the next Day they should have a *Roman* or an *Italian* Pope, and beg them to retire. *We will have a Roman, at least an Italian Pope this Moment*, replied the Multitude with one Voice; *nor will we depart from hence till you have complied with our Demand; immediate Compliance or immediate Death.* The Cardinals finding that there was no Medium, that they must gratify the People, or fall a Sacrifice to their Fury, resolved to gratify them. Having therefore first protested against the Violence that was offered them, they cast their Eyes, in that Hurry and Consternation, upon *Bartolomew Pignano*, Archbishop of *Bari*, a Native of *Naples*. As he was better acquainted with the Canons than most Men of his Time, he knew that his Election was not free, and was consequently null, they took it for granted that he would soon resign the Dignity, which they had only conferred upon him to save their Lives; and that the rather, as he was reputed a Man of Conscience, and had on several Occasions distinguished himself by his Zeal for the Observance of the Canons. Upon these Considerations they declared him Pope, and at the pressing Instances of the *Romans* immediately enthroned him; on which Occasion he took the Name of *Urban VI.* Thus the contemporary Writer of *Gregory's Life* ^k.

^k Apud Baluz. tom. 2. p. 442.

Year of
Christ 1378.
Deposition of
the Ultra-
montaine
Cardinals.

The Cardinals, by whom *Urban* was thus elected, not daring, so long as they continued in *Rome*, to question the Validity of his Election, outwardly acknowledged him for true Pope, nay, and wrote to the Cardinals, who had remained at *Avignon*, that they had unanimously placed *Bartholomew Pignano*, Archbishop of *Bari*, in the Chair of *St. Peter*. But retiring afterwards from *Rome* to *Anagni*, Twelve of them declared upon Oath before Cardinal *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain of the Holy *Roman* Church and Judge in Ordinary, that it was to avoid immediate Death, which they were threatened with, that they elected the Archbishop of *Bari*, whom they never would have thought of electing had no Violence been offered. They added, that being in all Sixteen, viz. Twelve *Ultramontaines* and Four *Italians*, they had all agreed to elect one of the College; but they disagreed in this, that the *Ultramontaines*, that is, those on this Side the *Alps*, were for having an *Ultramontaine* and not an *Italian* Pope, and the *Italians* contended for an *Italian*. In this Disposition they entered into the Conclave, and the *Ultramontaines* would certainly have carried their Point, but for the Violence that was offered them by the *Roman* People, threatening them with immediate Death if they chose not an *Italian*. They further attested, upon Oath, that some of the *Italian* Cardinals declared that, should they be elected, they would not consent to their Election, as it would be owing to Violence, and consequently null; that when the Archbishop of *Bari* was unexpectedly nominated, they agreed to that Nomination only because they durst not oppose it; that some did not absolutely agree to it, but only upon Condition that he should be freely re-elected in some other Place; but that the People, in the mean time, impatient of any further Delay, broke into the Conclave, and would in their Fury have cut them in Pieces, had not one of the Cardinals, to save his own Life, and the Lives of his Brethren, told them that they had elected Cardinal *Thebaldeschi*, who was by Birth a *Roman*, and Archpriest of *St. Peter's*, but had not been able to prevail upon him to consent to his Election, and that they would have what they wanted, a *Roman* Pope, if they could but persuade him to accept the Dignity which had been conferred on him to gratify them. Hereupon the People, crowding round Cardinal *Thebaldeschi*, placed him, notwithstanding his solemnly protesting against it, on the Pontifical Throne. While the People were thus employed, the

Urban VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

41

the Cardinals in the Conclave made their Escape, some of them retreating privately to their own Houses, others to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and some in Disguise out of *Rome*. The People, finding that they had been imposed upon, grew more outrageous than ever; but being informed that the Archbishop of *Bari*, a Native of *Italy*, was really elected, the Tumult ceased, and the News of his Election was received with the loudest Acclamations. The Archbishop remained in the Pontifical Palace, and from thence sent the next Day a peremptory Order to the Cardinals, who had withdrawn to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, or to their own Houses, to repair to the Palace, and assist at his Inthronation. They refused at first to comply with that Order; but finding he had the *Roman* Magistrates and the whole Body of the People on his Side, they thought it adviseable to yield for the present, and he was placed by them with the usual Ceremonies on the Pontifical Throne. The Cardinals, who had fled into the Country, likewise returned, apprehending that in their Absence their Houses would be plundered by the enraged Multitude, and together with the Rest outwardly acknowledged the Archbishop of *Bari* for Pope under the Name of *Urban VI.* intending that he should thereby acquire no better Right than he had by his Election. All this the Twelve *Ultramontaine* Cardinals attested, upon Oath, before Cardinal *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain of the Apostolic See, at *Anagni*, on the 2d of *August* 1378¹. This Attestation was copied by *Spondanus* from an authentic Manuscript in the Library of *St. Victor* at *Paris*; and in the same Library is lodged, as that Writer informs us, a Treatise written by *Simon de Gramand*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, where he declares that one *Pontius Veraldi*, who had lived in great Intimacy with the Archbishop of *Bari*, told him upon Oath, that being with the Archbishop, in the Church of *St. Peter* during the Tumult, he (the Archbishop) addressed him thus; *You see what Methods are used; but he, who shall be thus elected, will not be Pope; for my own Part I would not obey him, nor ought he to be obeyed by any good Catholic* ^m. He little imagined then that he himself should be thus elected.

Antonine, Archbishop of *Florence*, speaking of this Election, tells us, *St. Antonine's Account.* that the Cardinals apprehending, before they entered into the Conclave,

¹ Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378.

^m Idem ibid.

Year of
Christ 1378.

that their Lives would be in great Danger if they chose not a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, charged one of their Brethren, a *Limosin*, or Native of *Limoges*, deemed more sagacious than the Rest, to contrive some Means of appeasing the Multitude; that the Cardinal communicated the Affair to his Friend the Archbishop of *Bari*, knowing him to be a Man of great Craft and Address; that the Archbishop advised them to elect Two, One in Earnest, to be afterwards nominated in some other Place, where they might with Safety publish his Election; the other with no Intention that he should be really Pope, but only to deceive the People, and thus escape the present Danger; and that the Cardinals, applauding this Device, nominated the Archbishop himself, with a Design to nominate another when free from all Restraint; but the People, placing him in the Pontifical Throne, acknowledged him for lawful Pope, nor could he ever afterwards be prevailed upon to resign the Dignity thus conferred on him ⁿ. This Account of the Archbishop's Election *Antonine* copied from the History of *Peter Boninsegni*, a Citizen of *Florence*, who lived at this Time ^o.

Accounts
favourable to
Urban.

Gobelinus Persona, a contemporary Historian, writes in his History intituled *Cosmodromium*, that the Election of *Urban* was free and unanimous; that the *Romans* indeed surrounded the Pontifical Palace and the Conclave, crying out, *We will have a Roman, or at least an Italian Pope*, but used no Menaces; that when the Cardinals, who had retired to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, to their own Houses, or into the Country, met to enthrone him, he conjured them, by all that was sacred, to declare whether they had elected him freely, and that all to a Man answered, that they had elected him of their own Free-Will; that since that of *St. Peter* no Election had ever been more canonical ^p. These Reports commonly prevailed, the Cardinals, while in *Rome*, not daring to contradict them. But one of them, Cardinal *de Aigrefeuille*, gave private Notice to the King of *France* to pay no Regard to any thing they wrote from thence.—*James de Seva*, a Native of *Provence*, who lived at this Time, gives us the following Account of *Urban's* Election under the Title of *Factum Jacobi de Seva*. Upon the Death of *Gregory* the *French Cardinals*, says that Writer, disagreed among themselves be-

ⁿ Antonin. tit. 22. c. 1.
drom. stat. 6. c. 74.

^o Pagi, Vol. 4, p. 244.

^p Gobelin. in Cosmo-

fore they entered into the Conclave, as well as with the *Italian* Cardinals. The *French* Cardinals were Sixteen in Number, and the *Italians* only Four. But the greater Part of the *French* Cardinals being of the Province of *Limoges*, they were for electing one of the same Province. As there had been in the Course of a few Years Three Popes of that Province, namely, *Clement VI.* *Innocent VI.* and *Gregory XI.* who had filled the College with their Countrymen, the other *French* Cardinals joined the *Italians*, chusing rather to have an *Italian* Pope than a *Limosin*. Hereupon the *Limosin* Cardinals agreed among themselves to concur with the *Italians* in electing an *Italian*, if they could not carry the Election in Favour of one of their Province. Pursuant to this Agreement the *Limosin* Cardinals, finding the Election of one of the same Province opposed in the Conclave by the other, *French* as well as *Italian*, Cardinals, unexpectedly proposed the Archbishop of *Bari*. As the Archbishop had spent great Part of his Life at *Avignon*, and was besides a Native of *Naples* then in the Hands of the *French*, the other *French* Cardinals, looking upon him as a *Frenchman*, readily consented to his Election. Of the Four *Italian* Cardinals, Cardinal *Ursini* alone opposed the Election of the Archbishop, aspiring himself at the Pontificate, as he was a Native of *Rome*, and the People wanted a *Roman*. To satisfy the Multitude for the present, he proposed their sending for some *Franciscan* Friar, for their shewing him to the People in the Attire of High Pontiff, and retiring out of *Rome*, while the *Romans* were busied in paying their Adorations to the mock Pope, proceed to the Election of a true one in some other Place. This Proposal was rejected by the Rest of the Cardinals, declaring that they would not be accessory to the Idolatry of the People, and damn their own Souls. As the Archbishop therefore had a Majority, he was declared duly elected, and, before his Election was published, sent for by the Cardinals, apprehending that if his Election were publicly known, the People might fall upon him as he was not a *Roman*, and prevent his Promotion. Upon his Arrival at the Palace he was again freely elected by a great Majority, and the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, dreading the Fury of the People as they had not elected a *Roman*, began to retire before the Election was made public. But the People and Magistrates insisting upon their not going out of the Conclave till the Elect was publicly named, they prevailed on Cardinal *Thebaldefchi*, by Birth a

Year of
Christ 1378.

Roman, to personate the Pope, and while the People, transported with Joy, were wholly taken up in congratulating him upon his Promotion, they got in great Haste out of the Crowd, Five to their own Houses, Six to the Castle *St. Angelo*, and Three out of Town, leaving the pretended Pope alone in the Palace. Upon their Departure the Cardinal declared that the Archbishop of *Bari* was Pope, and not he, and the People, pleased with the Election of an *Italian*, dismissed him unhurt, and immediately paid all due Honours to the Archbishop as Pope. But he declined them till the Cardinals, meeting again, freely and unanimously confirmed his Election; and it was at their Desire and earnest Request that he submitted and accepted at last a Dignity, to which he thought himself altogether unequal. This Writer dissembles the Violence that was used; but that Violence was used sufficiently appears from his own Account.—The famous *Theodoric of Niem*, who was at this Time in *Rome*, and afterwards Secretary to *Urban*, has betrayed no less Partiality in his Account of this Election than *de Seva*. For according to him the Election was entirely free and unanimous, the *Roman* People used no Menaces, but, like Suppliants, only begged the Cardinals to elect a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, if they thought it consistent with the public Welfare, and the Good of the Church. He owns however great Disturbances to have been raised by the People, but ascribes them to a Mistake of theirs. For being told by the Cardinals when the Election was over, that the *Barese* was elected, meaning the Archbishop of *Bari*, they imagined that *John de Barre*, a *Lemosin*, the late Pope's Chamberlain, who by his insolent and haughty Behaviour had rendered himself odious to all Ranks of Men, was elected Pope; and that Report being spread all over the City, the enraged Populace, threatening the Cardinals, committed great Disorders, but were appeased as soon as undeceived.

Urban's
Election
deemed by
some valid,
though not
quite free.

These Three Historians, *Gobelinus Persona*, *James de Seva*, and *Theodoric of Niem*, are the only Writers who have pretended the Election of *Urban* to be quite free. The other Historians, even those who acknowledged *Urban* for lawful Pope, all allow his Election to have been owing to Violence. Among these *Leonardus of Arezzo*, commonly known by the Name of *The Aretin*, who was Chancellor

† Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378. et Hist. Universitat. Paris. tom. 4.
de Niem de Schif. l. 1. c. 1.

‡ Theod.

Urban VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

45

and Historian of the Republic of *Florence*, and wrote about the Year 1440, owns the Election of *Urban* to have been the Effect of Violence; but adds, that the Cardinals, when free from all Fear, obeyed him as lawful Pope, which, says he, was confirming his Election. *Baldus*, as famous a Civilian as any in his Time or since, owned the Cardinals to have elected *Urban* out of Fear, but yet looked upon him as lawful Pope, since he had been obeyed as such by all the Cardinals for the Space of Three Months. *St. Catherine* of *Siena*, espousing with great Zeal the Cause of *Urban*, wrote a great Number of Letters to different Persons, all calculated to shew that the Endeavours, used by the *Roman* People to get a *Roman* or an *Italian* Pope, were not sufficient to render the Election of *Urban* null. Innumerable Treatises have been written upon this Schism by different Authors, some maintaining, and others impugning the Validity of *Urban's* Election. In the *Vatican* Library alone are lodged, in Manuscript, no fewer than Thirty-two Volumes upon this Subject, containing all the Arguments that have been alleged on either Side. But which of the Competitors was the true Pope, and which the Antipope, has never been determined by the Church. Leaving therefore that Point undecided, I shall proceed to the History of *Urban's* Pontificate, and that of his Rival *Clement VI*.

Year of
Christ 1378.

Bartholomew, Archbishop of *Bari*, elected in the Manner we have seen, was a Native of *Naples*, descended from the illustrious Family of the *Prignani* originally from *Pisa*, was reputed one of the best Civilians as well as Canonists of his Time, and universally esteemed for his Probity, whether real or pretended. As Cardinal *de Monteruco*, Vice Chancellor of the Holy *Roman* Church, chose to remain at *Avignon* when *Gregory* removed with his Court to *Rome*, *Bartholomew* was appointed by that Pope to act as Vice Chancellor in his Stead. In that Office he acquitted himself to the Satisfaction of *Gregory*, and was by him, on that account, preferred to the Archbishopric of *Otranto*, and soon after translated to that of *Bari*. An anonymous Writer, who lived with him, gives us the following Account of his Manner of Life. "This Man," says that Author, "for many Years, while I was with him, when he withdrew at Night to Rest, caused the Bible to be read to him till he fell asleep, and while awake very seldom or ever

Urban's
Birth, Pre-
ferments,
and Character
before his
Election.

* Aretin. Hist. Florent.

† Bald. de Schif. tit. si quis aliquem.

" passed

Year of
Christ 1378.

“ passed idly any Part of his Time, but employed it in Study, in the Discharge of his Office, or in Prayer. He constantly wore Night and Day a Hair-cloth next to his Skin. He never appeared in the Streets but upon some urgent Business, and then rode on a Mule, being only attended by One Domestic on Horseback. He patiently bore his own Misfortunes, and was greatly affected with those of others. He most strictly observed all the Fasts of the Church, and added to them that of the Advent. He was a great Friend to the Religious, and took particular Delight in their Company. He encouraged Learning in others, being a Man of great Learning himself. Before his Promotion he was remarkable,” says his Secretary *de Niem*, “ for his Love of Justice, for his Abhorrence of Simony, for his Piety, Modesty, and Benevolence to all, especially to Men of Learning and Virtue. But after his Promotion one would have thought,” adds *Papirius Massonus*, “ that he never had been endowed with any of those Virtues, or had at once forfeited them all when he stood most in need of them.” He was elected on the 8th, and introned on the 9th of *April*, taking on that Occasion for his Motto the Words of the *Psalms*, *Arise, O Lord, and judge my Cause*. On the 18th of the same Month, *Easter-Day*, he was crowned with the usual Solemnity by Cardinal *Ursini*, in the Presence and with the Approbation of all the Cardinals then at *Rome*, being at that Time in the Sixtieth Year of his Age.

Letter from
the Cardinals
at Rome to
those at
Avignon.

Urban, thus elected, introned, and crowned, caused a solemn Mass to be said the Day after his Coronation in the Pontifical Chapel for the deceased Pope, at which all the Cardinals assisted. On the same Day, the 19th of *April*, the Cardinals at *Rome* wrote to the Six who had remained at *Avignon*, to acquaint them with the Election of the Archbishop of *Bari*, which they solemnly declared, in their Letter, to have been entirely free, and desired those Cardinals to give no Credit to any who should assert or write the contrary. “ Our late Father Gregory of holy Memory,” said the Cardinals, “ having left us to our unspeakable Concern on the 27th of *March*, we entered into the Conclave on the 7th of *April* to deliberate about the Election of a new Pontiff. The next Day being enlightened by the Rays of that Sun that never sets, about the Hour when the Holy Ghost descended

“ Apud Oldoin. in potis ad Ciacon.

“ Anonym. et *Papirius Masson*. apud Ciacon.

“ upon

Urban VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

47

Year of
Christ 1378.

“ upon the Apostles, we all freely and unanimously elected for High
“ Pontiff our Reverend Father and Lord in Christ *Bqr. bolomew*, Arch-
“ bishop of *Bari*, a Man endowed, in an eminent Degree, with every
“ Virtue becoming so high a Station. The News of his Election was
“ received with loud Acclamations by an innumerable Multitude of
“ People. On the 9th he was placed in the Apostolic Throne, taking
“ on that Occasion the Name of *Urban VI*. On the Day of the
“ Resurrection of our Lord he was solemnly crowned, according to
“ Custom, in the Basilic of *St. Peter*. We have thought it necessary
“ to transmit to you this Account, containing the Truth, and nothing
“ but the Truth, of what has passed within these few Days in the
“ *Roman Church*. You may safely rely upon what we write; and it
“ is incumbent upon you to contradict, as absolutely false, all Reports
“ to the contrary *.” Thus the Cardinals at *Rome* to their Brethren
at *Avignon*, and likewise to all the Christian Princes, apprehending, as
they afterwards owned, that had they wrote the Truth, their Letters
would probably have been intercepted, and they cut in Pieces by the
enraged *Romans*.

The Cardinals, so long as they remained at *Rome*, paid all the Obe-
dience to *Urban* that was due to a lawful Pope; and most Authors are
of Opinion that, to avoid a Schism, and the dreadful Consequences
attending it, they would have continued to obey him, but for his
unseasonable Severity. For in a Consistory held immediately after his
Coronation, he reprimanded the Cardinals very severely, and in very
coarse Terms, taxing them with Pride, Avarice, and Venality, with
engrossing to themselves all the best Benefices of the Church, and in-
solently lording it over the Rest of the Clergy. At the same time he
commanded them to retrench all unnecessary Expences, to lessen the
Number of their Attendants, to forbear all public and expensive Ban-
queting, threatening to cut off the Means of supporting their Extra-
vagance, if they did not reform it of their own Accord. He forbid
them to accept of any Presents or Pensions from secular Princes, on
Pain of being looked upon as Betrayers of the Rights of the Church,
and treated accordingly. While he thus behaved to the Cardinals, he
was all Complaisance to the *Romans*, made it his Study to gratify them
in all their Demands, and even distinguished with particular Marks:

*Urban dis-
obliges the
Cardinals
with his un-
seasonable
Severity.*

* Oldoin. in novis additionibus ad Ciacon. et Raymond. ad ann. 1378. num. 19.

Year of
Christ 1378.

His haughty
Behaviour to
Otho, Duke
of Brunf-
wick.

of his Favour such of them as had been the most active in the late Disturbances.

The News of his Election no sooner reached *Naples*, than *Otho*, Duke of *Brunswick*, Queen *Joan's* Third Husband, came to *Rome* to congratulate him upon that Occasion, and do him Homage, in the Queen's Name, for her Kingdom, a Fief of the Apostolic See. *Otho* was a Prince endowed with every princely Virtue; had in the latter End of *Gregory's* Pontificate negotiated, and happily concluded a Peace between the Church and the *Florentines* after a long and destructive War, and had been publicly thanked on that Account by the Pope and the whole College. Yet *Urban* received him with great Haughtiness, scarce deigned to return him an Answer when he congratulated him in the Queen's Name and his own upon his Promotion, and treated him with great Contempt during the whole Time he stayed at *Rome*. Of this *Theodoric de Niem*, *Urban's* Secretary, gives us the following Instance. The Pope happening to dine one Day in public, the Duke desired the Honour of waiting upon him at Table, and standing behind his Chair, when he called for Drink, offered it to him on his Knees; and in that Posture the Pope suffered him to remain, discoursing with those about him of different Matters, till One of the Cardinals took upon him to tell his Holiness, that it was Time for him to drink.

The Ultra-
montaine
Cardinals re-
solve to pro-
ceed to a new
Election, and
retire with
that View to
Anagni.

Many such like Instances are recorded by the contemporary Historians of his haughty and imperious Behaviour to all, more especially to the Cardinals, whom he looked upon as his Enemies, knowing that he owed not his Promotion to them, but to the *Roman* People, whose Favour he therefore courted, while he treated the Cardinals, the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, with the utmost Contempt; which so provoked them, that they came to a private Resolution among themselves to declare his Election uncanonical and null, as being entirely owing to Violence, and proceed in some other Place to a new Election. Pursuant to that Resolution the Sixteen *Ultramontaine* Cardinals retired with *Urban's* Permission, who entertained not the least Suspicion of their Design, to *Anagni*, not all together, but one after the other, and at different Times, under Colour of avoiding the excessive Heats of *Rome*, to which they were not accustomed. They all met at *Anagni* about the latter End of *June*, *Urban* himself repairing at the same Time with the Four *Italian* Cardinals for the Benefit of the Air to *Tivoli*. The

Cardinals,

Urban VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

41

Cardinals, being now out of all Danger, and free from all Fear, assembled at the House of *Peter de Gros*, Chamberlain and Judge in Ordinary of the Apostolic See, who had likewise retired with many other Prelates to *Anagni*, and in his Presence attested, upon Oath, all the Particulars mentioned above concerning the Election of the Archbishop of *Bari*, and the Violence to which it was owing. They then sent some Religious to acquaint *Urban* with what they had done, and exhort him, as he tendered the Peace and Welfare of the Church, to resign a Dignity, to which he himself could not but know that he had no legal Title. The Cardinals, finding after repeated Exhortations and Admonitions, that he was determined to maintain himself, at all Events, in the Pontifical Chair, resolved to proceed to another Election. But, in the first place, to guard against any Violence that might be offered them by *Urban's* Friends, they sent an Order to a Body of Troops, quartered at *Viterbo* under the Command of *Bernard de la Sale*, a *Gascon*, to repair to *Anagni*, in order to protect the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, assembled there to provide the Church with a true Pastor, instead of a ravenous Wolf. As they passed near *Rome*, the *Romans*, who by this Time had heard of the Proceedings of the Cardinals at *Anagni*, fallying out in great Numbers, attempted to stop them, but were repulsed with great Loss; which so enraged them, that upon their Return to the City they massacred all the Domestic of the *French* Cardinals, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands.

Year of
Christ 1378.

Exhort *Urban*
to re-
sign.

These Particulars we learn from a Letter of *Marcellus* or *Marcellinus* *Ingben*, formerly Rector of the University of *Paris*, to that University, dated at *Tivoli* the 27th of *July*. "The Church," says he in his Letter, "is at this present Time in greater Danger of being divided
" by a Schism than it has been for these Hundred Years. The Pope
" resides here with the Cardinals of *Florence*, of *Milan*, of *St. Peter*,
" and *Ursini*. The other Cardinals are all at *Anagni*; and it is re-
" ported that the Four *Italian* Cardinals, the *Roman* People, and the
" greater Part of *Italy*, acknowledge *Urban* for true and lawful Pope,
" while the Rest will have his Election to be null on account of the
" Violence used by the *Roman* People. The Cardinals at *Anagni* have
" sent for some Troops to protect them; and by those Troops many
" *Romans* have been killed as they passed by *Rome*. Their Death the
" *Romans* have revenged upon the *French* in *Rome*, of whom they

Letter writ-
ten at this
Time to the
University of
Paris.

Year of
Christ 1378.

" have massacred great Numbers; and the Foreigners were all in great Danger of their Lives. How the Cardinals intend to employ those Troops is not certainly known. Some say that they design to proceed to a new Election, and have with that View sent for the Cardinals at *Tivoli*. I beg you will lay your Commands upon me, that I may execute them without Delay; for I am here in great Danger, and at a much greater Expence than I can bear. Yesterday the Pope confirmed, in a public Consistory, the Election of the King of the *Romans*. The Queen of *Sicily* has sent Two hundred Horse and a great Body of Foot to guard and defend the Pope. It is said that he will return in a Week's Time to *Rome* &c."

Manifesto
sent by the
Cardinals at
Anagni to
Urban.

The Cardinals soon after the Arrival of the Troops at *Anagni* drew up a Manifesto, and sent it to the *Italian* Cardinals to be communicated by them to *Urban*. In that Manifesto, addressed to *Urban* himself with no other Title but that of Archbishop of *Bari*, they solemnly declared, that the Danger to which they were exposed of being massacred by the *Roman* People, if they chose not an *Italian*, had induced them to chuse him; that they had elected him in that Fright and Confusion, flattering themselves that as he was so well acquainted with, and pretended to be so strict an Observer of the Canons, he would not avail himself of an Election which he could not but know to be null by the Canons; but that as he nevertheless, trampling upon all Laws, and regardless of his own Salvation, had the Assurance to impose himself upon the World for true and lawful Pope, they thought it indispensibly incumbent upon them to undeceive those who received him as such, by declaring him an Apostate from the Church and an Usurper of the Apostolic See. At the same time *Peter de Cros*, by Order of the Cardinals at *Anagni*, sent him a formal Summons to appear at his Tribunal, and there answer what was urged by the Cardinals, who had elected him, against the Validity of his Election. The Summons was directed To *Bartholomew, Archbishop of Bari, intruded into the Apostolic See*: Which was, in Effect, summoning him to maintain the Validity of his Election, and at the same time declaring it to be null. The Four *Italian* Cardinals, who had attended *Urban* to *Tivoli*, were likewise summoned to *Anagni*, in order to proceed with the Rest, as the See was vacant, to the Election of a lawful

They summon
him to appear
before them.

Pope 2. Upon this Summons the *Italian* Cardinals left *Urban*; but, instead of repairing to *Anagni*, went to *Suessa*, situated between *Gaeta* and *Capua*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, who had espoused with great Warmth the Cause of *Urban*, did all in her Power to persuade them to return to *Tivoli*, reproaching them, in a very sharp Letter she wrote to them on that Occasion, with forsaking One whom they themselves had proclaimed to the whole World for lawful Pope. But no more Regard was had by them to her Reproaches and Exhortations, than to the repeated Invitations of the Ultramontaine Cardinals at *Anagni*, pressing them to come and proceed jointly with them to the Election of a new Pope, since they had sufficiently shewn, by their abandoning the Archbishop of *Bari*, that they looked upon him as an Usurper.

Year of
Christ 1378.
Urban for-
saken by the
Italian Car-
dinals.

The Ultramontaine Cardinals therefore, making more than Two Parts in Three of the College, resolved to proceed by themselves; and assembling accordingly on the 9th of *August*, in the great Church of *Anagni*, they first assisted at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, celebrated with great Solemnity by *James*, the *Latin* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and then caused the Sentence, which they had drawn up, declaring the Archbishop of *Bari* an Usurper and Intruder, to be publicly read, and Copies of it to be sent to all the Christian Princes, setting forth the Violence to which alone he owed his Election. The next Step was to elect another in his Room. But lest any Violence should be offered them at *Anagni*, in the Territories of the Church and at no great Distance from *Rome*, they resolved to remove from thence, and hold the Conclave at *Fondi*, a City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or, as it was then called, the *Hither Sicily*, subject to Queen *Joan*, who of a most zealous Friend to *Urban* was become his most bitter Enemy. As he was a Native of *Naples* the Queen expressed great Joy at the News of his Promotion, had espoused his Cause with uncommon Warmth, had sent a Body of Troops, upon whom he could depend, for his Guard, and besides assisted him with large Sums of Money. But she was in the mean time informed, that a Treaty was privately carried on between him and *Charles* of *Durazzo*, her Cousin-German by the Father, and that the Queen was by that Treaty to be deposed, and *Charles* raised to the Throne in her Room, upon Condition of his yielding the Principality

The Election
of Urban de-
clared null by
the Ultra-
montaine
Cardinals.

Who retire to
Fondi, under
the Protec-
tion of Queen
Joan.

² Apud Bzovium ad ann. 1378.

Year of
Christ 1378.

of *Capua* to *Urban's* Nephew. The Queen, provoked, and very justly, at such Treachery and Ingratitude, resolved to oppose *Urban* and support the Cardinals to the utmost of her Power. She therefore very readily granted them Leave to hold the Conclave at *Fondi*, and assured them of her Protection ^a.

Artfully en-
tice the Ita-
lian Cardi-
nals to join
them.

Urban in the mean time, leaving *Tivoli*, returned to *Rome*, and the Ultramontaine Cardinals, removing from *Anagni* to *Fondi*, wrote most pressing Letters to the Three *Italian* Cardinals at *Suessa* (the Fourth Cardinal, *Thebaldefchi*, being dead) to come to *Fondi*, and provide the Church, left to the Mercy of a furious Wolf, with a lawful Pastor. But the *Italian* Cardinals shewing themselves more disposed to hearken to St. *Catherine* of *Sienna* and return to *Urban*, than to have any Hand in the Electing of another, the Ultramontaines, to entice the into *Fondi*, wrote to each of them in particular, that they had agreed among themselves to elect him, provided he carefully concealed this their Agreement from the other Two, to obviate the Difficulties which they, aspiring at the same Dignity, might raise. There wanted no more; they flew all Three to *Fondi*, each of them looking upon himself as already placed in the Pontifical Throne. But (the cruel Disappointment!) the Ultramontaine Cardinals, entering a few Days after their Arrival into the Conclave, chose with One Voice *Robert* of *Geneva*, Cardinal Presbyter of the Title of the Twelve Apostles. He was Brother to *Peter*, Count of *Geneva*, was allied to most of the Christian Princes, had been Notary of the Apostolic See, and Bishop first of *Terrouane* and afterwards of *Cambray*, was raised in 1371 by *Gregory XI.* for his distinguished Merit to the Dignity of Cardinal, and was at the Time of his Promotion to the Pontificate but Thirty-six Years of Age. The *Italian* Cardinals neither voted for him nor opposed his Election; but, finding they had been made the Dupes of the Ultramontaines, they left *Fondi* as soon as the Conclave broke up, and returned no less confused than mortified to *Suessa*. *Robert* was elected on the 20th of *September*, and crowned, according to the most probable Opinion, the very next Day in the Presence of *Otho*, Duke of *Brunswick*, and the chief Nobility of the Kingdom; and on that Occasion he took the Name of *Clement VII.* The Cardinals immediately notified his Election to all the Christian Princes, giving them a particular and distinct

Cardinal
Robert of
Geneva
elected.

Who takes
the Name of
Clement VII.

^a Vit. Urban apud Baluz.

Urban VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

45

Account of the Violence to which alone that of the Archbishop of *Bari* was owing, and exhorting them to look upon him as an Usurper, and receive *Clement*, whom they had freely and canonically elected, for lawful Pope. These Letters were written and sent to all the Christian Princes and Bishops the Day after *Clement's* Coronation, that is, the 22d of September ^b.

Year of
Christ 1378.

The Election of *Clement* divided the whole Christian World, nay and even private Families, some adhering to one of the Competitors and some to the other. *Urban* was received as lawful Pope in *Italy* and almost all over *Germany*, in *England*, *Portugal*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Prussia*, and *Norway*, while *Clement* was acknowledged in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Sicily*, and in the Islands of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*. As nothing could be certainly determined in Favour of either of the Pretenders, some sided at one Time with the one, and at another with the other, as their Interest directed them. Indeed both had amongst their Partizans some of the most eminent Men of the Age for their Integrity, as well as their Knowledge in the Civil and Canon Law, and by those of one Party new Pieces were daily published, and answered by those of the other.

Urban acknowledged by some Princes and Clement by others.

Urban, finding himself abandoned by all the Cardinals, made a new Promotion on the 18th of *September* of no fewer than Twenty-nine, the most numerous that had ever yet been made. Of the Twenty-nine, whom he nominated to that Dignity, Three declined receiving it at his Hands, and were afterwards preferred to it by *Clement*. They were all Men of Merit, most of them *Italians* and of great Families, whom *Urban* wanted to gain to his Party. On the other Hand, *Clement* on the 17th of *December* added Six new Members to his College of Cardinals, of whom Three were Natives of *Italy* ^c.

Urban creates 29 Cardinals and Clement six.

As the *Romans* supported *Urban* to the utmost of their Power, the *Gascons* under *de la Sale*, whom *Clement* had taken into his Pay, committed most dreadful Ravages in their Territories, and threatened *Rome* itself with a Siege; insomuch that *Urban* had resolved to retire from thence and abandon the City to his Rival. But *Clement's* Troops being in the mean time defeated, and most of them cut in Pieces by a Body of Adventurers under the Command of an *Englishman*, whom Authors call

Clement retires to Naples.

^b Apud Spond. ad ann. 1378. Niem de Schism. Auctor primæ vit. Clement, & secundæ Greg. & Bzovius ad hunc ann. ^c Apud Baluz. col. 1261.

Flaucut,

Year of
Christ 1378.

Is received
and treated
as lawful
Pope by
Queen Joan.

Goes from
thence to re-
side at Avig-
non.

Year of
Christ 1379.

France de-
clares upon
the most ma-
ture Delibe-
ration for
Clement.

Haucut, Clement, thinking himself no longer safe at *Fondi*, removed from thence to *Splonata* in the Diocese of *Gaeta*, and soon after from *Splonata* by Sea to *Naples*. The Queen, who had, for very just Reasons, abandoned *Urban*, as we have seen, received *Clement* with extraordinary Marks of Honour and Respect, acknowledged him for lawful Pope, and entertained him with the greatest Magnificence in the Castle *dell'Ovo*. But the Populace mutinying and loudly complaining of the Queen, of the Duke her Husband, and the Nobility, for supporting a foreign Pope against an *Italian* and a Native of *Naples*, nay and flying Night and Day about the Streets and crying out aloud, *Viva Papa Urbano*; God save Pope *Urban*, *Clement* thought it adviseable to leave *Naples* and return to *Splonata*. He had not been long there when he was informed, that *Urban* was contriving the Means of getting him into his Power, which so alarmed him, as he was well acquainted with the cruel and savage Temper of his Antagonist, that, distrusting the *Italians*, he resolved to throw himself into the Arms of the *French*. Pursuant to that Resolution he embarked, in the Month of *May* 1379, with his Court and all his Cardinals on board some Gallies and other Vessels that accidentally put into *Gaeta*, and on the 10th of *June* landed safe at *Marseilles*. From thence he pursued his Journey to *Avignon*, and was there received with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, not only by the Inhabitants of all Ranks, but by the Cardinals, who had remained in that City when the late Pope went with the rest to reside at *Rome* d.

When the Election of *Clement* was known in *France*, the King, *Charles V.* not to proceed rashly in an Affair of such Importance, dispatched some Persons, in whom he could confide, to *Rome*, to enquire upon the Spot into all the Circumstances of both Elections. They returning to the King assured him, that the Election of *Urban* was owing to Violence alone, giving him at the same Time a minute Account of the outrageous Behaviour of the *Roman* People, threatening the Cardinals in the Conclave with immediate Death, if they chose not an *Italian*. What they attested was confirmed upon Oath by several Eye-witnesses, and among the rest by Cardinal *John de Cros*. Upon this Information the King assembled all the Prelates and learned M^en of the Kingdom in the Castle of *Vincennes*, and having first obliged them to swear upon the Body of our Lord that they would divest themselves of

* Auctor vit. Clement. apud Surita. Annal. Arragon. l. 20. c. 24.

all Partiality, and judge according to their Consciences, he caused all the Attestations, relative to the one and the other Election, to be laid before them. All that had been or could be urged for or against either of the Pretenders was strictly examined by that learned Assembly according to the established Laws or Canons of the Church; and it was upon the most mature Deliberation determined on the 16th of *November* of the present Year 1379, that the Election of *Urban* was null, as being intirely owing to Fear, and that *Clement*, freely elected by more than Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals, ought alone to be acknowledged for lawful Pope. This Determination the King immediately communicated to all his Allies, and caused it to be published throughout his Dominions, that his Subjects might all know which of the Two Popes they were to acknowledge and which to obey. The University of *Paris* had hitherto acknowledged *Urban*, and sent *Marcellus de Ingben*, of whose Letter to that University I have spoken above, to congratulate him in their Name upon his Promotion; nay they had, it seems, espoused his Cause with great Zeal, and publicly maintained the Legality of his Election against all who questioned it: For we have a Letter from him to the Members of that University, wherein he thanks them for having asserted his Right with such solid Reasonings, as had either convinced or silenced all who had dared to call it in question. But before the University received this Letter they had, agreeably to the Decision of the Assembly at *Vincennes*, disowned *Urban* and acknowledged *Clement* ^{e.}

In the mean time *Urban*, wholly intent upon being revenged on *Urban* ^{revives the old} *Joan*, Queen of *Naples*, for abandoning him and siding with his Rival, ^{Quarrel between the} revived the old Quarrel between her and King *Lewis* of *Hungary*, ^{King of Hungary and} whose Brother she had married and was accused of having treacherously murdered. She had been declared innocent of that Crime by *Clement* ^{Queen Joan.}

VI. in 1347, as has been related above. But nevertheless *Urban*, pretending she was guilty, left nothing unattempted to stir up *Lewis* and his *Hungarians*, who had once invaded the Kingdom, to invade it anew.

Charles of *Durazzo*, Count of *Gravina*, and next Heir to the Crown of the ^{Encourages.} *Hither Sicily* or *Naples*, served at this Time under *Lewis* of *Hungary*, his ^{Charles of Durazzo to} Cousin, in the War that Prince was carrying on in the *Trivigiana* against ^{drive her from the Throne.}

* Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1378. num. 61. Continuator Nangii, & Auctor vit. Clementis.

Year of
Christ 1379.

the *Venetians*. *Urban* therefore, thinking he could by no other Means more effectually compass the Ruin of the Queen, than by engaging *Charles* to invade her Kingdom, and the King of *Hungary* to assist him with his Troops, wrote most pressing Letters to that Prince, promising to depose the Queen and bestow the Kingdom upon *Charles*, provided he would allow him to employ the Troops under his Command to conquer it, which he represented as an Undertaking, that could not fail of Success, and was due to the Manes of his Brother. The King readily consented to the Proposal. But *Charles*, mindful of the many Favours he had received at the Queen's Hands, who had brought him up almost from his Infancy as her own Child, had given him her Niece in Marriage, and designed him for her Successor, shewed himself at first inclined not to disturb his Benefactress in the Possession of a Kingdom, that upon her Death, as she had no Children, would fall to him. But being importuned by *Urban*, and at the same time encouraged by *Catherine* of *Siena*, the great Saint of the Age, to forget, on such an Occasion, all Obligations, and embark, without Hesitation, in an Undertaking, which she assured him was pleasing to Heaven, and would be crowned with Success, he yielded at last, and acquainted therewith both *Catherine* and her Pope, to the unspeakable Joy of the one and the other^f.

Queen Joan
excommunicated.
by Urban,
and deposed.
Year of
Christ 1380.

Urban, having obtained *Charles's* Consent, in order to facilitate the Undertaking, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against the Queen for acknowledging, admitting into her Dominions, and honouring as lawful Pope an Apostate, an Intruder, and an Usurper of the Apostolic See; declared her a Schismatic, a Heretic, and guilty of High Treason; deprived her of the Kingdom, of all Fiefs and Possessions which she held of the Empire, of the *Roman* or of any other Church; confiscated all her Estates, her Moveables and Immoveables, bestowing them upon any who should seize them; and not only absolved her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, but forbade them, on Pain of Excommunication, to acknowledge or obey her for the future as their Sovereign. This Sentence is dated at *Rome* the 21st of *April*, in the Third Year of *Urban's* Pontificate, or in 1380 g.

Charles of
Durazzo

The Queen being thus excommunicated, anathematized, and deposed, and the Throne thereupon declared vacant, *Urban* gave imme-

^f Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz.
Niem de Schism. l. 1. c. 9.

§ Apud Raymund. ad eum ann. num. 2. &

diated Notice thereof to *Charles*, pressing him to hasten to *Rome*, in order to receive there the Investiture of his new Kingdom at his Hands, and invade it before the perfidious *Joan* could put herself in a Condition to oppose him. Upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter *Charles* set out for *Rome* at the Head of a numerous Body of *Hungarians*, was received on his Arrival in that City with all possible Marks of Distinction by *Urban* and his Cardinals, and on the 1st of *June* 1381 anointed and crowned King of *Sicily* with the usual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*. On that Occasion *Urban*, not satisfied with the Oaths that it was customary for the Kings of *Sicily* to take at their Coronation, insisted upon *Charles's* solemnly promising, before he crowned him, to yield to his Nephew *Francis Prignano*, surnamed *Butillus*, the Principality of *Capua*, with so many other Lordships, Territories, Cities, and Castles as made near One-third of the Kingdom. We are told by all the contemporary Historians, that it was not only to be revenged upon Queen *Joan*, for abandoning him and declaring for his Rival, that he deprived her of her Kingdom, but in order to aggrandize his own Family, not doubting but *Charles*, if raised by his Means to the Throne, would readily comply with all his Demands; nay, if we may rely upon the Testimony of some of the most credible Writers of the Times, while the Queen was supporting him both with Men and with Money to the utmost of her Power, he was secretly treating with *Charles*, and had even agreed to transfer the Kingdom to him, upon his promising to yield the Principality of *Capua*, and some other Demesnes of the Crown, to his Nephew *Butillus*; and it was, according to those Writers, on Account of this his unparalleled Baseness and Treachery that the Queen of a most zealous Friend became his most implacable Enemy ^k.

Year of
Christ 1380.
crowned
King of
Naples by
Urban.
Year of
Christ 1381.

Charles came attended by a strong Body of *Hungarian* Troops, but as he brought no Money to pay them, *Urban* was obliged to pay them himself; and in order to raise the necessary Sums for that Purpose, he was forced to lay most exorbitant Taxes upon the Clergy under his Obedience, to alienate or mortgage several Estates of the Churches and Monasteries, to sell the most valuable Ornaments that adorned them, the Gifts of Kings and Emperors, and even to melt down and turn into Money the Chalice themselves, and the Gold and Silver Images of the

The Churches
and Monasteries
pillaged
by Urban to
support the
War.

^k Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1381. num. 24.

Year of
Christ 1381.

Saints¹. Thus were the Churches pillaged, says the Author of *Clement's Life*, to gratify the Revenge and Ambition of an ambitious and furious Man, whom nothing could satisfy but the Exaltation of his Family to the Rank of Princes, and the Destruction of all who presumed to traverse his wicked Designs^m.

Queen Joan
adopts Lewis
of Anjou.

Charles, being thus supplied with the necessary Money to defray the Expences of the intended Expedition, set out from *Rome* on his March for the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the Queen had no other Allies but the *French*, being descended from the Royal Family of *France*, she had, as soon as informed of *Urban's* Designs, dispatched the Count of *Caserta* to implore the Assistance of that King, *Charles V.* and to engage him more effectually she had adopted, having no Children of her own, his Brother *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and made him her Heir and Successor to all her Dominions both in *Italy* and *Provence*. This Adoption was approved and confirmed by Pope *Clement*, as Lord Paramount of the Kingdom of *Naples*, by a Bull dated at *Avignon* the 22d of *August* 1380ⁿ. Upon this Bull was grounded the Claim of the Second Race of the Princes of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which, in Process of Time, involved that unhappy Country in endless Calamities.

Who is crown-
ed King of
Sicily by
Clement.

Year of
Christ 1382.

And now *Lewis*, looking upon the Kingdom of *Naples* as his own, began to make the necessary Preparations to support his Claim against *Charles* of *Durazzo*, Pope *Urban's* King. With that View he raised a strong Body of Troops in *France*, being upon the Death of his Brother *Charles V.* which happened at this Time, made Regent of the Kingdom, as *Charles VI.* the Son and Successor to the deceased King was but Twelve Years of Age. Before he set out for *Italy* he came to *Avignon*, attended by *Amedeus*, Count of *Savoy*, and many other Persons of Distinction, to receive at the Hands of Pope *Clement* the Investiture of his new Kingdom. *Clement* received him with all possible Marks of Esteem and Affection, and on the 30th of *May* of the present Year 1382 crowned him King of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, blessed his Standard, and declared him Commander in Chief of the Army of the Church against *Bartholomew Prignano*, who stiled himself Pope, and all his Adherents.

¹ Niem. l. 1. c. 21. Raynald. ad ann. 1381. num. 24.

ⁿ Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 11.

^m Apud Baluz, p. 5014.

In the mean time *Charles* of *Durazzo*, entering the Kingdom with his *Hungarians*, was welcomed and joined by many of the *Neapolitan* Barons, chusing to have rather for their King one, born and brought up among them, and nearly related to most of the great Families, than a Stranger, who, they apprehended, would bring new *Ultramontaines* with him, whom he could not help rewarding at the Expence of the Natives. *Charles*, encouraged by the Barons who flocked daily to him from all Parts of the Kingdom, advanced without Opposition to the very Gates of *Naples* itself, which obliged the Queen to retire with her Court to the Castle *dell'Ovo*. The Duke's Approach occasioned great Disturbances in the City, some declaring for the Queen, and some for *Charles*. But the latter prevailing, the Gates were opened, and *Charles* admitted, who immediately laid Siege to the Castle. On the other hand, the Duke of *Brunswick*, determined to relieve the Queen, or perish in the Attempt, approached *Naples* with what Troops he had been able to assemble. *Charles* met him with his Army in Battle-Array, and an Engagement thereupon ensuing, both Armies fought several Hours without losing or gaining One Inch of Ground. But while Victory still remained doubtful, the Duke of *Brunswick* rushing forward with more Courage than Caution to engage *Charles* Hand to Hand, was surrounded by the Enemy's Cavalry, and obliged to surrender. His Captivity was followed by a total Defeat of his Army; and *Charles* returning triumphant before the Castle *dell'Ovo*, summoned the Queen to surrender, assuring her that she should in every Respect be treated as Queen, and no Violence should be offered to her, or to any who belonged to her. Upon these Conditions she surrendered, being reduced to great Straits for Want of Provisions, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Anjou*, from whom alone she expected Relief. *Charles* being admitted into the Castle, saluted and addressed her as Queen, renewed all the Promises he had made, and allowed her to remain in the Royal Apartment of the Castle, and be there attended by her own Servants. But this Kindness of *Charles* was very short-lived. For finding the Queen was greatly pitied by the People of *Naples*, and apprehending, as he was well acquainted with their fickle and turbulent Temper, that they might attempt to rescue her out of his Hands, he first placed Guards about her, and soon after sent her Prisoner to the City of *Muro* in the Province called

Year of
Christ 1382.

Charles enters the Kingdom, and is joined by many of the Barons.

The Queen's Troops under the Duke of Brunswick defeated, and he taken Prisoner.

The Queen surrenders.

Year of
Christ 1382.

And is by his
Order put to
Death.

Bafilicata, and at the same time ordered her Husband Duke *Otto* to be conveyed under a strong Guard to the Castle of *Altamura* in *Apulia*. He then wrote to the King of *Hungary* to give him an Account of his Success, and to know of him how he should dispose of his Royal Captive. The King answered, that he ought to treat her as she had treated his Brother her Husband. Pursuant to this Sentence she was, according to *Niem*, by *Charles's* Order, strangled while she was praying in her Chapel, and, according to others, smothered in her Apartment with a Bolster. However that be, certain it is, that on the 22d of *May* 1382 she was put to Death by *Charles's* Order, and he is on that account very justly charged by all the contemporary Writers with the utmost Ingratitude, Cruelty, and a manifest Breach of the Conditions upon which she had delivered herself up into his Hands. Her Body was brought to *Naples*, was for the Space of Seven Days exposed to public View in the Church of *St. Clare*, and then interred there near the Remains of her Father the Duke of *Calabria*, King *Robert's* only Son, where her Tomb is to be seen to this Day. The Plague that broke out in the City of *Naples* soon after her Death, and swept off 27,000 Inhabitants, is commonly construed by the Writers of those Times into a Judgment upon them for their Ingratitude to one, who deserved so well of them and the whole Kingdom. With the Queen were taken, upon the Surrender of the Castle *dell'Ovo*, her Two Nieces, Sisters to the Duchess of *Durazzo*, *Charles's* Wife, and Two Cardinals of Pope *Clement's* Creation. The Two young Princesses *Charles* shut up, unmoved by the Entreaties and Tears of the Duchess, in different Prisons, where they soon died of the barbarous Treatment they met with. As to the Two Cardinals, *James de Itr* and *Leonardus de Giffono*, they were delivered up to Cardinal *Gentilis de Sangro*, who had attended *Charles* in this Expedition with the Character of Legate *a latere* from Pope *Urban*; and by him they were obliged to acknowledge *Urban* publicly, in the Church of *St. Clare*, for lawful Pope, to abjure *Clement* as an Usurper and Intruder, and to throw the Red Hats they had received from him into a Fire kindled for that Purpose in the said Church. All the Bishops and other Dignitaries, who had adhered to the Queen as their lawful Sovereign, were deposed by the Legate, and confined, after he had stript them of all their Effects, amongst the common Malefactors, to the public Gaols, with-
out

out any Regard to their Rank, Age, Merit, or Learning. These Cruelties, practised by the inhuman Cardinal, as *Urban's* Legate, upon so many innocent Men, we shall see in the Sequel retaliated upon him by *Urban* himself. Such is the Account the Writers, who lived in those Times, or near them, have given us of this Revolution, and the unhappy End of the famous Queen *Joan* °.

Year of
Christ 1382.

In the mean time *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whom *Clement* had crowned, as we have seen, King of *Naples*, having crossed the *Alps* at the Head of a very numerous Army, pursued his March through *Lombardy* with such Expedition, that *Charles*, not having Time to assemble his Forces, was obliged to abandon to him great Part of *Apulia*. His Arrival alarmed the *Romans*, and they had determined, says the Author of *Clement's* Life, if *Lewis* should prevail, to deliver up to him *Bartholomew* the Intruder, and all his Anticardinals. Of this *Urban* was apprized, and therefore distrusting them, he left *Rome* under Colour of avoiding the Infection that raged there, and retired to *Tivoli*, where he stayed a Month, and then removed first to *Valmontone* in *Campania*; and afterwards to *Ferentino* in his Way to *Naples*. The *Romans*, apprehending that he designed to leave them, and settle at *Naples*, his native Country, dispatched Messengers after him to invite him back, threatening, if he did not return, to look upon his Flight from his See (for they could call it by no other Name) as a Resignation, and appoint another in his Room. *Urban* answered, that he had some Affairs of the utmost Importance to transact with the King of *Sicily*, *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and would in a very short Time return to *Rome*. *Charles*, it seems, loth to part with the Principality of *Capua*, one of the best Jewels of his Crown, and the other Lordships, which at the Time of his Coronation he promised to yield to the Pope's Nephew *Butillus*, delayed, under various Pretences, to put him in Possession of those Lordships; and it was with a Design of obliging *Charles* to perform, without further Delay, what he had promised, that *Urban* undertook the present Journey to *Naples*. The Cardinals, apprehending the Consequences of a Rupture, which they foresaw would probably happen on this Occasion between *Charles* and the Pope, did all they could to dissuade him from entering the Kingdom; and putting himself in

Lewis of *Anjou* invades
the Kingdom.
Year of
Christ 1383.

Urban re-
pairs to
Naples.

° Niem. de Schism. c. 23. et 26. Naucerus Generat. 47. Kraanzius, l. 10. c. 15. Auctor. vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

Year of
Christ 1383.

the Power of that Prince. But *Urban* proceeding, without hearkening to their Remonstrances or Reasons, on his Journey, was met by *Charles* as he approached *Aversa*, and attended by him, leading his Horse on Foot as his Equerry, into the City. *De Niem*, who was present, tells us, that the Pope, dismounting from his Horse at a small Chapel not far from the Gate of *Aversa*, attired himself in his Pontifical Robes, and then remounting was met by the King, who came clad in Black, not by the high Road, but riding through the Vineyards, *per vineas equitando*. He was attended by a great Number of Peasants, who, prostrating themselves before the Pope, kissed his Foot after kissing Three Times the Ground p.

Is ill treated
by Charles:

Urban and *Charles* entered *Aversa* together, and were received by the Inhabitants with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy. *Charles* offered him the Castle to reside in, under Colour of doing him Honour, but in Truth to confine him till he renounced all Claim to the Principality of *Capua*, which he was determined to keep, at all Events, annexed to the Crown. *Urban*, suspecting his Design, declined his Offer, and went to reside in the Episcopal Palace. The next Day he sent to invite the Pope to the Castle, as he himself lodged there, and the Invitation was so pressing, that *Urban* thought it adviseable to comply. *Charles*, having now the Pope in his Power, and in a Manner his Prisoner, obliged him to revoke most of the Conditions upon which he had granted him the Kingdom. *Charles* then returned to *Naples*, whither he was followed the next Day, the 9th of *October*, by *Urban*. He had caused a magnificent Throne to be erected before the Gate, through which the Pope was to pass, and placing himself in it in his Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, and the Sceptre in his Hand, he descended as the Pope approached, kissed his Foot, and attended him, holding his Stirrup, to the Episcopal Palace. *Urban* remained there till the Feast of *All Saints*, or the 1st of *November*, when *Charles*, being informed that he was endeavouring by his Emis-
saries to stir up the People against him, sent some of his Officers to arrest him, and bring him to the *Castel Nuovo*, where he himself resided. Thus was his Holiness, says *Gobelinus*, carried as a common Malefactor to Prison; but undaunted even while in the Power of his Enemies, he excommunicated and anathematized all, who were any-

And confined
in a Castle.

ways concerned in so wicked an Attempt; and Heaven espousing his Cause, he, who first laid violent Hands on him, lost for ever the Use of his right Hand ⁹. *De Niem*, who then attended the Pope, knew nothing, it seems, of this Miracle. Be that as it may, *Urban* was by *Charles's* Order kept Three Days closely confined in the Castle, and then enlarged, but was not allowed to go out of the Castle, nor were any, besides those of his own Court, suffered to come near him. But a Reconciliation being in the End brought about, *Urban* was set at Liberty, upon Condition that he did not concern himself with the Affairs of the Kingdom. *Charles* even asked publicly Pardon for his past Behaviour; and to court his Favour, as *Lewis* of *Anjou* carried all before him in *Apulia*, he renewed the Promise he had made of giving the Investiture of the Principality of *Capua* to his Nephew *Butillus*, a Promise, says the Historian, which he never intended to perform. But what above all rivetted him in the Pope's Favour was his pardoning *Butillus*, sentenced to Death for forcibly entering a Monastery, and carrying off and debauching a professed Nun of the First Quality. Of such an Outrage the Relations of the Nun complained to the Magistrates, and they to the Pope. But his Holiness excusing it, and saying, that it was but a Sally of Youth, though *Butillus* was at that Time above Forty Years of Age, the Magistrates brought him to his Trial, and by them he was sentenced to Death, but pardoned by *Charles* ¹.

Year of
Christ 1383.

The Pope and
Charles re-
conciled.

As *Lewis* in the mean time made daily great Progress in *Apulia*, *Charles*, dissatisfied with the Conduct of his Generals, resolved to go and head his Army against him in Person. Before he set out he assisted at high Mass, celebrated, on the 1st of *January* 1384, with great Solemnity by *Urban*. When Mass was over the Pope thundered out, in the most solemn Manner, the Sentence of Excommunication against *Lewis* of *Anjou*, for presuming to invade a Kingdom that belonged to the Apostolic See, and against all who any-ways assisted or favoured him in so treasonable an Attempt; granted to all, who should join his beloved Son *Charles* in the present Expedition, a plenary Indulgence, with all the Privileges, Immunities, and Exemptions enjoyed by those who went to the Holy Land; presented him with a Standard, representing *St. Peter* and his Keys, and blessing it, appointed him Standard-Bearer of the Church. However, *Charles* did not set out till the Be-

Urban ex-
communi-
cates the
Duke of An-
jou.

Year of
Christ 1384.

⁹ Gobelin. ætate 6. c. 77.

¹ Niem, l. 2. c. 28.

Year of
Christ 1384.

beginning of *April*, the Pope refusing to grant him any Subsidies, and only supplying him with Indulgences and Pardons, upon which, he said, his Army could not subsist. Upon his Departure the Pope, finding that his Presence was no-ways acceptable either to the People of the Nobility, retired with his Court to *Nocera*, which had been granted to *Butillus*, and was distant but a Day's Journey from *Naples* ^a.

Death of the
Duke of An-
jou,

In the mean time *Charles* arrived with his Army in *Apulia*. But though the Duke of *Anjou* offered him Battle upon his Arrival, he wisely declined it, contenting himself with harassing the Enemy in their March, with ravaging the Country through which they were to pass, and intercepting their Convoys. Thus they passed the Summer; and on the 18th of *October*, as some write, or, as others will have it, on the 21st of *September*, *Lewis* of *Anjou* died of the Fatigue he had undergone, and his Army dispersed, some returning to *France*, and some submitting to *Charles*. An End being thus put to the War in *Apulia*, *Charles* returned to *Naples* in the Month of *November*, and entered that City amidst the loud Acclamations of all Ranks of People.

Urban and
Charles
quarrel
anew.

As *Urban* was still at *Nocera*, *Charles* soon after his Arrival sent to invite him to *Naples*, pretending he had some Affairs to impart to him of the utmost Importance. *Urban* answered with his usual Haughtiness, that it was customary for Kings, when they had any Business to transact with the Popes, to wait upon them, and not for the Popes to wait upon Kings. He added, that if he desired to live in Friendship with him, he must moderate, or entirely abolish, the oppressive Taxes with which he burdened his Subjects, the Vassals of the Church. *Charles*, having now no Enemy to contend with but *Urban*, returned Answer, that the Kingdom was his own by Right of his Wife as well as by Conquest, and that instead of lessening he would double the Taxes: And he did so accordingly, standing at that Time in great Want of Money to support his Claim to the Crown of *Hungary*, to which he was called, upon the Death of King *Lewis*, by some of the Grandees of that Kingdom ^b.

Urban's own Cardinals were no less dissatisfied with his Conduct than the Rest of the World; and some of them began privately to deliberate among themselves about the Means of controuling the Power which he so much abused. The Author of this horrid Plot,

^a Niem, l. 2. c. 28.

^b Idem ibid.

as he called it, was Cardinal *Bartholomew Mezzavacca*, called the Cardinal of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, as he had been Bishop of that City before his Promotion to the Dignity of Cardinal. Being at this time in *Naples*, under the Protection of *Charles*, he kept up a private Correspondence with the Cardinals who had attended the Pope to *Nocera*. The Subject of their Correspondence was, whether if a Pope neglected his Duty, if he was too much attached and indulgent to his Relations, if he acted arbitrarily without consulting the Cardinals, and by his Conduct brought the Church into Danger, whether in such Cases it was lawful to place some discrete Persons about him, chosen by the Cardinals, with full Authority to controul him. This Correspondence was privately discovered to *Urban* by One of the Cardinals themselves, Cardinal *Thomas Urfini*, and a Letter in Cyphers from Cardinal *Gentilis de Sangro* to the Four Cardinals who had withdrawn from *Nocera* to *Naples*, being at the same time intercepted and brought to *Urban*, he called a Consistory on the 11th of *January* 1385, and having acquainted the Cardinals with the horrid Conspiracy, as he called it, carried on by some of them against him, and shewn the intercepted Letter, he ordered his Nephew *Butillus*, who was present, to take Six of them, whom he named, into Custody. These were *Gentilis de Sangro*, who, as *Urban's* Legate, had, but Four Years before, treated with the utmost Barbarity all who did not acknowlege him, *Lewis*, a Native of *Venice*, *Adam de Aston*, an *Englishman*, *Bartholomew*, Archbishop of *Genoa*, *John*, Archbishop of *Corfinium* or *Valva*, and *Martin*, Archbishop of *Taranto*. These *Butillus* immediately seized, and, loading them with Irons, shut them up in separate Cells, so low and narrow that they could neither stand upright nor lie at length. The Bishop of *Aquileia*, who lived in great Intimacy with most of these Cardinals, was taken together with them, was put immediately to the Rack, and tortured till he declared, that the Conspirators, to his certain Knowledge, had agreed among themselves to depose the Pope, or, if they failed in that Attempt, by some Means or other to dispatch him. Upon the Bishop's Confession, though extorted by the most exquisite Torments, the Six Cardinals were most cruelly tortured for several Days together, till, finding that they must confess or die on the Rack, they owned every Article of the Charge brought against them. We are told by *Theodoric de Niem*, who was present, that *Butillus* assisted in Person at the torturing of these

Year of
Christ 1385.

Six Cardinals
imprisoned and
cruelly tortured
by
Urban's
Command.

Year of
Christ 1385.

unhappy Men, and that far from being affected with so shocking a Spectacle, he seemed rather to delight in it, insulting them with an Instance of Barbarity scarce to be matched, in the Height of their Torments c. Upon their Confession they were carried back to their Cells, and there kept upon Bread and Water for the Space of Seven Months, that is, till the following *August*, when *Urban* leaving *Nocera* carried them with him in Chains, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Makes a Promotion of Cardinals.

Urban soon after held a Consistory, in which he declared the Six above-mentioned Cardinals deprived of their Dignity, and at the same time promoted others, we are not told how many, in their Room. Among those whom he nominated to that Dignity were the Three Electors of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Treves*, the Bishop of *Liege*, and Two other *German* Bishops; but not One of them could be prevailed upon to accept it at his Hands; and, upon their declining it, he was obliged to confine that Honour to his own Countrymen the Natives of *Naples*; who indeed accepted it, but dared not publicly appear in their Robes; the King, says *de Niem*, meaning *Charles* of *Durazzo*, looking upon the Pope's Friends as his Enemies and the Enemies of his Kingdom d.

He excommunicates and deposes Charles and his Wife Margaret.

On the 15th of *January*, *Urban*, having assembled all the Clergy in *Nocera* and the Neighbourhood, acquainted them with the horrid Conspiracy against his Life, contrived, he said, by the Cardinal of *Rieti*; read to them the Confession of the Six Cardinals, but took no Notice of its having been extorted from them upon the Rack; charged *Charles*, stiling him only Duke of *Durazzo*, and his Wife *Margaret* with having been privy to it; inveighed in a long Speech and in most bitter Terms against both, setting forth the many Favours he had bestowed upon them, and the Ingratitude with which they had repaid them, &c. When he had done he caused a Cross to be erected and a great Number of Tapers to be lighted, and then, attended by all the Cardinals who had remained with him, he thundered out with great Solemnity the Sentence of Excommunication against *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who stiled himself King of *Sicily*, and his Wife *Margaret*, divested them, as the Vicegerent of him to whom all Power was granted in Heaven and on Earth, of the Royal and every other Dignity, absolved their Subjects from their Allegiance, and declared them Heretics, Schismatics, and Enemies to the Church, forbad any Obedience to be paid to

c De Niem, c. 50, 51. Gobelinus, c. 78.

d Niem, ibid.

them,

them, or to any acting in their Name. At the same time he excommunicated anew the Six Cardinals, with the Cardinal of *Rieti*, and all their Accomplices and Abettors, all who had been privy to their wicked Designs and had not discovered them, as being no less guilty than the Authors themselves of so black an Attempt; forbid on Pain of Excommunication all Intercourse with them; and, lastly, put the whole City of *Naples* and all its Inhabitants, without Distinction, under an Interdict, declaring such of the Clergy as should perform Divine Service, or exercise any Function of their Office in that City, to be *ipso facto* excommunicated, and deprived of all their Benefices and Dignities. Having pronounced this Sentence, he ordered all the Tapers to be put out and dashed to Pieces on the Ground.

Charles, provoked beyond all Measure at the unparalleled Insolence and Boldness of the Pope in thus excommunicating and deposing him in his own Kingdom, resolved to treat him no better than he was treated by him. He accordingly forbid all his Subjects under the severest Penalties to maintain any Correspondence with him, to pay any Obedience to him or to any acting in his Name, to have any Intercourse with the Inhabitants of *Nocera*, or to convey any Provisions into their City. Such of the Clergy as observed the Interdict met with the same Treatment from him as the Six Cardinals had done from the Pope. Some of them were by his Order shut up in dark and painful Dungeons, others were most cruelly tortured, and some thrown into the Sea. *Charles* did not stop here; but, determined to keep no Measures with the Pope as the Pope kept none with him, he sent a strong Body of Troops under the Command of the Cardinal of *Rieti*, the Pope's avowed Enemy, to besiege the City of *Nocera*. The Place was soon obliged to surrender at Discretion, was given up by the Cardinal to be plundered by the Soldiery, and then set on Fire. Upon the Surrender of the City the Pope fled to the Castle, where he was closely besieged, and soon reduced, for Want of Provisions, to the utmost Extremity. During the Siege the Pope regularly excommunicated Three Times a Day, and cursed with Bell, Book, and Candle, *Charles's* Army from One of the Windows of the Castle. *Charles* was not behind hand with him, for on the 10th of *May* of the present Year 1385 he caused it to be proclaimed throughout the Army by the public Crier,

The Friends
of Urban
treated with
great Seve-
rity by
Charles.

Urban be-
sieged in No-
cera.

* Niem, c. 49. Walsingham in Richard II. Kranzius Metrop. l. 10. c. 18.

Year of
Christ 1385.

that whoever delivered up Pope *Urban VI.* dead or alive to any of his Officers, or to any Civil Magistrate, should receive 10,000 Florins of Gold as a Reward; and that whoever procured or favoured his Escape, publicly or privately, by Day or by Night, should be deemed guilty of High Treason and punished as a Traitor^t.

Makes his
Escape.

Urban remained thus closely besieged in the Castle and greatly distressed for Want of Provisions till the 7th of *July*, when, to the great Disappointment of *Charles*, expecting hourly the News of his Captivity, he was unexpectedly delivered out of his Hands. Of this remarkable Event the contemporary Writers give us the following Account. *Raymund Urfini*, Son of the Count of *Nola*, either pitying the deplorable Condition of *Urban*, or expecting to be well rewarded by him, should he save him from the imminent Danger he was in of falling into the Hands of his most implacable Enemies, resolved at all Events to attempt it. With that View he applied to *Thomas Sanseverino*, a Native of *Naples*, and to a German Officer named *Lotharius*, who had both served with him in the Army of the Duke of *Anjou*, and distinguished themselves no less by their Courage than their Conduct. Both approved the Undertaking, and readily engaged in it, being encouraged by *Urfini* with the Hopes of great Rewards. It was therefore agreed between them, that they should with the utmost Secrecy assemble the dispersed Troops that had served under them, and, meeting through Bye-ways in a Wood at a Distance from *Nocera*, should fall upon the Besiegers. The Day appointed for the Execution of their Design was the 10th of *July*, and on that Day it was executed with all the Success they could have wished. For *Charles's* Troops, seeing themselves attacked when they expected nothing less, and knew not by what Enemy, nor by what Force, betook themselves to a precipitate Flight. *Urfini* would not allow his Men to pursue the Fugitives, but entering the Castle, which he found must have surrendered in a few Days, took from thence the Pope with his Cardinals, even the Prisoners, whom *Urban* would by all means carry with him, and, travelling through Bye-roads almost impracticable, got safe to the Plains of *Salerno*. He was there attacked by a Body of *Charles's* Troops, whom he repulsed with great Loss on their Side, and then pursuing his March, or rather his Flight, being harrassed by Parties of

^t Niem, Walsingham, Kranzius, ibid. Baluz in notis ad vit. Pap. Aven. col. 1332.

the Enemy constantly at his Heels, he arrived, by Way of *Benvento* and *Minerbium* in *Apulia*, at a Place between *Trana* and *Barletta*, where Ten Gallies, sent by the Republic of *Genoa*, waited for him: For *Urban* from the very Beginning of the Siege of *Nocera* had writ to that Republic, begging they would send Ten Gallies to convey him out of the Kingdom, in case he should by some Means or other make his Escape out of the besieged City. For he expected that his Friends in *Naples*, especially the Relations of those whom he had preferred to the Dignity of Cardinals, would attempt his Rescue. *Urban* during his whole Journey carried his Prisoners, the Six Cardinals and the Bishop of *Aquileia*, along with him on Horse-back, and near his Person, left *Ursini*, who could not help shewing some Compassion for them, should connive at their Escape. As the Bishop of *Aquileia*, whose Limbs had been all disjointed on the Rack, could not keep up with the Rest, the Pope, suspecting that he only wanted to be left behind and to make his Escape, ordered the Soldiers to dispatch him; and they dispatched him accordingly with many Wounds, and left his mangled Body unburied on the public Road. *Urban* before he embarked presented *Raymund Ursini* with 11,000 Florins of Gold besides some Lordships in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, as he could spare no larger Sum for the present, he solemnly promised to pay as soon as he conveniently could 26,000 more, to be divided amongst the other Officers and the Soldiery.

The Fleet with the Pope, his Court, and his Prisoners sailed first to *Messina* and from thence to *Palermo*, and in both Places he caused his Bulls to be published excommunicating and deposing *Charles* of *Durazzo* and his Wife *Margaret*, as Schismatics, Heretics, and Enemies to the Church. The Pope after a very short Stay at *Palermo* re-embarked for *Genoa*, not thinking it safe for him to appear at *Rome*, as he was there universally hated, and *Charles* had a strong Party in that City. He landed safe at *Genoa* on *Saturday* the 23d of *September*, and remained there till the latter End of the following Year 1386. His first Care and chief Concern after his Arrival in that City was to have his Prisoners closely shut up and carefully guarded in different Jails, all but *Adam*, the *English* Cardinal, and him he dismissed at the Request of *Richard*, King of *England*, whom he was unwilling to disoblige.

* Gobelinus, Walsingham, Kranzius, Summontius apud Spondan. ad ann. 1385. & Niem, c. 50.

Year of
Christ 1385.

That Cardinal had been no less cruelly treated than the other Five ; and yet the only Crimes laid to his Charge were his having spoken disrespectfully of the Pope, and not having discovered what the others were machinating against him. The Pope in discharging him degraded him from the Dignity of Cardinal, and deprived him of all the Benefices he possessed : But he was restored to his former Condition by *Boniface IX.* the immediate Successor of *Urban* ^b.

The French
Clergy bur-
dened by *Cle-*
ment, and
relieved by
the King.

In the mean time *Clement*, residing constantly at *Avignon*, on the 12th of *July* of the present Year created Seven new Cardinals. As he stood in great Need of Money to support his own Dignity and that of his Cardinals, the unsuccessful Expedition of *Lewis* of *Anjou* against *Charles* of *Durazzo* having been, in great Measure, carried on at his Expence, he was obliged to load the *Gallican* Clergy with most exorbitant Taxes, exacting One Half of all Benefices, as well as of the Revenues of all the Churches and Abbies throughout the Kingdom. But the King, interposing upon the Complaints of the Clergy, ordered their Revenues to be divided into Three equal Parts, One to be employed in their Maintenance, another in discharging the Burdens laid upon them, and the Third in repairing the Fabrics. At the same time he forbade any Gold or Silver to be carried out of the Kingdom. The Ecclesiastical Revenues were thus to be divided and laid out, not by the Ecclesiastics themselves, but by the King or his Ministers. To this Ordinance *Clement*, though greatly distressed for Want of Money, was forced to agree ⁱ.

Urban puts
his Prisoners
to Death.
Year of
Christ 1386.

Urban, who had remained at *Genoa* from the 23d of *September* to the latter End of the present Year 1386, began now to think of removing to some other Place. As he found by Experience that the cruel Treatment of his Prisoners prejudiced all, who had any Sense of Humanity, against him, he resolved to carry them no longer about with him ; and accordingly ordered them to be all put to Death a few Days before he left *Genoa*. There is a strange Disagreement among Authors with respect to the Manner of their Death. *De Niem*, who was then absent from the Pope's Court, says it was reported, that by a remarkable Instance of Severity or Justice, Five of them were either shut up in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, or strangled in Prison, or beheaded, and that their Bodies were privately conveyed from the

^b *Iidem* *ibid.*

ⁱ *Apud* *Spond.* ad ann. 1385.

Urban VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

63

Year of
Christ 1386.

Prison to the Pope's Stables, and there consumed with quick Lime ^k. The Author of *Clement's* Life, who lived at this Time, writes that, if public Report may be relied on, the unhappy Prisoners were either thrown into the Sea and drowned, or buried alive, or beheaded, being first buried in the Ground up to the Chin ^l. *Blondus*, who flourished in 1440, only says that they were drowned ^m. *Pietro Giannone* tells us, in his *Civil History of Naples*, that *Urban* caused the Heads of Two of the Cardinals to be struck off, and their Bodies to be dried in Ovens, and reduced to Powder, which he ordered to be put into Bags, and carried with their Red Hats upon Mules before him when he travelled, to deter others from conspiring against him ⁿ. But *Collinuccio*, whom *Giannone* quotes, is a modern Writer, and of what he relates, no Notice is taken by any of the Historians who lived in those Times, or near them. *Boninsigni*, the *Florentine* Historian, who lived and wrote at this Time, says, that with the Five Cardinals Five eminent Prelates were put to Death in the same cruel Manner ^o.

Two of *Urban's* favourite Cardinals, shocked at his Cruelty, on this ^{Is forsaken} Occasion left him, namely, *Pileus de Prata*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, ^{by Two of his} formerly his Legate in *Germany* and *England*, and *Galeatto Tarlato de Petramala*, who had hitherto adhered to him with unshaken Fidelity, and had ever been his inseparable Companion. They both declared for *Clement*, and afterwards repaired to *Avignon*. Cardinal *de Prata*, not satisfied with abjuring *Urban*, burnt in the public Market-Place at *Pavia*, and in the Presence of Duke *Galeazzi*, Lord of *Milan*, the Red Hat he had received at the Hands of *Urban*, which gave great Pleasure, says the Historian, to the Duke, provoked against *Urban* on Account of his having refused him the Title of King. *Urban* excommunicated both the Cardinals, deprived them of their Dignity, and declared them incapable of holding any Benefice, or being ever raised to any Preferment in the Church. But *Clement* reinstated both in their former Dignity. *Galeatto* adhered to *Clement* and his Successors in *Avignon* to the Hour of his Death. But *Pileus*, upon the Death of *Urban*, changed Sides again, and leaving *Clement*, joined *Boniface IX.* *Urban's* Successor, whence he was commonly called *Car-*

^k Niem, c. 60.
^l 24. c. 1.

^l Apud Baluz.
^o Boninsigni, l. 4.

^m Blond. l. 2. de ad. 10.

ⁿ Giannone.

Year of
Christ 1386.

Leaves
Genoa, and
repairs to
Lucca.

dinal de Tricarelli, the Cardinal of Three Hats, having received One from *Urban*, another from *Clement*, and a Third from *Boniface* p.

Urban, having resided at *Genoa* a whole Year and upwards, left that City in the latter End of *December* of the present Year 1386, either on Account of a Misunderstanding between him and the Doge *Antonio Adorno*, as we read in the History of *Genoa* by *Folietta* q, or because the *Genoese*, says *Walsingham*, treated him not with due Respect, but insisted upon his paying them an immense Sum of Money for the Use of their Gallies in delivering him out of the Hands of his Enemies; for it was more for the Sake of Money, adds that Author, than the Love of God, that they undertook his Rescue r. From *Genoa* he repaired to *Lucca*, being attended at his Departure by the Gallies of the Republic. At *Lucca* he resided Nine whole Months, and on *Christmas-Night* solemnly blessed, at High Mass, and delivered to the supreme Magistrate of the City a gilt Sword, richly adorned with Jewels, and the Cap of Liberty, a Mark of Distinction hitherto conferred only upon great Princes or Commanders, when they marched against the Infidels, or had obtained a signal Victory over them.

The Kings of
Navarre and
Arragon for-
sake Urban,
and declare
for Clement.

The Two Kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* had hitherto acknowledged *Urban*. But *Charles* of *Navarre* dying the following Year 1387, and *Peter* of *Arragon* soon after him, an Assembly was convened by their Successors of all the learned Men and Grandees of their respective Kingdoms, and the Right of the Two Pretenders being strictly examined, the Election of *Clement* was declared canonical, and that of *Urban* null; and it was decreed that *Clement* alone should be thenceforth acknowledged for lawful Pope. This Change is said to have been chiefly owing to Cardinal *Peter de Luna*, a Man of extraordinary Parts, and at this Time *Clement's* Legate to the Courts of *Spain*. Thus of all the *Spanish* Princes the King of *Portugal* alone now adhered to *Urban* s. In *Lucca* *Urban* received the Embassadors of several *German* Princes, sent to propose an Accommodation between him and *Clement*. But to all he returned the same Answer, that he never would, nor was it reasonable that he should suffer the Legality of his Election to be called in Question t.

p Gobelin. in Persona, c. 81. Auctor vit. Clement. Rubens Hist. Ravenn. l. 6. p. 591.

q Folietta Hist. Gen. l. 9.

r Walsingham, in Rich. II.

s Bellegard. Hist. General.

Mispan. tom. 3. p. 326.

t De Niem, c. 66.

At this Time great Disturbances and a general Confusion reigned throughout the Kingdom of *Naples*. For *Charles* of *Durazzo* being gone into *Hungary*, at the Invitation of many of the Grantees, to take Possession of that Crown as the next Male Heir, *Lewis* the deceased King having left but One Daughter, who was yet very young, he was treacherously murdered, as an Usurper, by One of the young Queen's Friends. By his Wife *Margaret*, Niece to the celebrated Queen *Joan*, he left Two Children, *Joan* already a Woman, and *Ladislaus* at the Time of his Father's Death but Ten Years of Age. No sooner was the News of the unhappy End of *Charles* brought to *Naples*, than *Ladislaus* was proclaimed King by One Party, and *Lewis* the Son of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who died in *Apulia* in 1384, by another. Thus was a most cruel and bloody War kindled in the Bowels of the Kingdom. *Clement* supported *Lewis* to the utmost of his Power, both with Men and Money; but *Urban* would lend no Assistance to the one or the other, having formed a Design, as afterwards appeared, of seizing on the Kingdom for himself, and bestowing it, as was supposed, upon his Nephew *Butillus*, in order to raise his Family by that Means to the Royal Dignity. Pursuant to this Design he forbore declaring for either of the Competitors, till thinking that both were sufficiently weakened, and that either would rather submit to him than yield to the other, he notified to all the Bishops by a circulatory Letter, that the Kingdom of *Naples* neither belonged to *Ladislaus* nor to *Lewis*, but to the Apostolic See, to which it had devolved by the Excommunication and Deposition of *Charles* of *Durazzo*; that he was determined to ascertain his Right by dint of Arms, and therefore ordered the Bishops to cause a Crusade to be preached in their respective Dioceses, with the same Indulgences, Exemptions, and Immunities for such as should serve in this War, as had ever been granted by his Predecessors to those who fought in the Holy Land against the Infidels. The Pope's Letter is dated at *Lucca* the 29th of *August*, in the Tenth Year of his Pontificate, that is, in 1387^u. St. *Antonine* writes, that the Crusade was published chiefly against *Otho* of *Brunswick* and *Thomas Sanseverino*, who sided with *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and made themselves Masters of *Naples*, but that none took the Cross, though great Indulgences were offered to all who should take it^w.

Year of
Christ 1386.

New Disturbances in the Kingdom of Naples.

Urban attempts to seize it for himself.

Year of
Christ 1387.

^u Raymund. num. 7.

^w Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 2.

Year of
Christ 1387.

Urban sets
out upon his
Expedition
against the
Kingdom of
Naples.

Year of
Christ 1388.

Urban however, unalterable in his Resolution of subduing the Kingdom of *Naples*, set out from *Lucca* in the latter End of *September* with a Design to assemble his Troops at *Perugia*, and march from thence into *Apulia*. We are told, that as he rid out of the Gate at *Lucca*, his Bridle broke, and the Mitre fell off his Head, which was by many reputed a bad Omen. But *Urban*, looking upon such Incidents as merely casual, pursued his Journey, and arrived safe at *Perugia*. He remained there wholly employed in assembling his Forces from the Beginning of *October* 1387, till the Month of *August* 1388, when he left that Place with a numerous Body of Cavalry, in order to proceed upon the intended Expedition. But Heaven declared against it, says the *Historian*. For he had scarce gone Ten Miles, when his Mule stumbling he fell, and was so bruised with the Fall, as not to be able to travel any otherwise but in a Litter. He avoided *Rome*, and rested a few Days at *Tivoli*, having resolved to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* not by *Apulia*, agreeably to his First Plan, but by *Campania*, where he expected to be joined by many of the Barons. At *Tivoli* he was met by the Deputies of the *Roman* People sent to invite him to *Rome*, and divert him, if by any Means they could, from concerning himself at all, at least for the present, with the Affairs of *Naples*. But he, paying no Regard to their Invitation or Remonstrances, pursued his March to *Ferentino*, flattering himself that he should be able to reduce the Frontier Cities in that Part of the Kingdom before either of the Competitors could come to their Relief. But being obliged for Want of Money to curtail the Soldiers Pay, they all forsook him *. Thus de *Niem*. But according to St. *Antonine* the Mercenaries, consisting chiefly of *English*, left the Pope at *Narni*, and went to serve the *Florentines*, by whom they first had been hired †. However that be, *Urban*, now despairing of being able to carry his Design upon the Kingdom of *Naples* into Execution, dropt in the End that wild Undertaking, and, returning to *Rome* in the Beginning of *October* of the present Year, spent there undisturbed the small Remains of his Life.

Which he is
obliged to
drop, and
return to
Rome.

Terms of Ac-
commodation
proposed by
Clement, but
rejected by
Urban.

In the mean time *Clement*, pretending great Zeal for the Peace and Union of the Church, dispatched Nuncios to all the Christian Princes and States to propose the assembling of a General Council, and declare, in his Name, that he was ready to acquiesce in their Judgment; that

* *Niem*, l. 1. c. 99.

† *Antonin.* ubi supra.

should

should the present unhappy Dispute be determined by them in his Favour, *Urban* should meet with the kindest Treatment from him, should be made Cardinal of the First Rank, and enjoy that Dignity to the Hour of his Death. But, on the contrary, should the Controversy be decided in Favour of his Antagonist, he would that Moment resign his Dignity, acknowledge *Urban* for lawful Pope, and deliver himself up into his Hands, to be disposed of by him as he should think fit. But *Urban* declaring he would hearken to no Terms, many, looking upon him as the Author of the Schism, forsook him, and sided with *Clement*, though, perhaps, no more disposed to hearken to any than he ^a.

Year of
Christ 1388.

Urban now led a quiet Life at *Rome*, and attending only to Spiritual Matters, issued Three Constitutions the following Year 1389, all on the same Day, the 8th of *April*. By the First he reduced the Jubile from every Fiftieth to every Thirty-third Year, in Memory of the Thirty-three Years our Saviour lived upon Earth, and ordered that Solemnity to be kept the ensuing Year 1390 ^a. By his Second Constitution he ordered the Festival of the Visitation of the Virgin *Mary*, when she visited *Elizabeth*, the Mother of St. *John Baptist*, to be kept for ever as a Festival on the 2d of *July*: And by the Third he allowed Divine Service to be performed in all Churches with the Doors open on *Corpus Christi* Day, even in Time of a general Interdict; and besides granted an Hundred Days Indulgence to all who should attend the Body of *Christ* when carried to any infirm Person ^b.

The Jubile
reduced by
Urban to the
Thirty-third
Year.
Year of
Christ 1389.

We hear no more of *Urban* till the Time of his Death, which *Urban* died. happened on the 15th of *October* 1389, after a most unhappy Pontificate of Eleven Years Six Months and Six or Seven Days. It was suspected that he died of Poison, says St. *Antonine*, for his Body swelled after his Death ^c. *Onuphrius* writes, that he died without receiving any of the Sacraments of the Church, though his Illness had lasted, according to *de Niem*, Two-and-twenty Days. He was buried in the *Vatican*, where his Tomb with an Epitaph was still to be seen in the Time of *Onuphrius Parvinius* ^d. None were found, says *Tritheimius*, who grieved at his Death, except his Creatures and Relations ^e. Indeed his whole Conduct, from the Time of his Election to the

^a Chron. Germanic. l. 26.

^b Gobelinus Persona, num. 81.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 3. in Chron.

^e Parvin. in notis ad ejus vit. a Platina.

^f Tritheim.

Year of
Christ 1389.

His Character
and Writings.

Hour of his Death, shews him to have been a most ambitious, arrogant, inexorable and bloody-minded Tyrant, an entire Stranger to all Pity and Compassion, one who could neither live himself, nor suffer others to live in Peace, and on that Account justly called by *Otto*, Prince of *Brunswick*, *Turbanus* instead of *Urbanus*. He stuck at nothing, as we have seen, to aggrandize his Family, especially his Nephew *Butillus*, whom all the contemporary Historians represent as an abandoned Profligate, without any Sense of Honour, Honesty, or Religion. On his Account he quarrelled first with his great Benefactress Queen *Joan*, excommunicated and deposed her, and afterward treated *Charles* of *Durazzo*, whom he himself had raised to the Crown, in the same Manner as he had done the Queen. But by a just Judgment his whole Family perished soon after him. For *Butillus*, knowing that he was universally hated by the *Romans*, left *Rome* as soon as the Recovery of his Uncle was despaired of, with a Design to reside in the *March of Ancona*, where *Urban* had granted him some Castles. But being taken Prisoner on his Journey in the Neighbourhood of *Perugia*, we are not told by whom, he was obliged to purchase his Liberty with the Delivery of those Castles, and of all he was worth. Being thus reduced to Poverty, he retired into *Apulia*, and having lived Six Years there with his Friend *Raymundus Baucius*, he embarked for *Venice* with his Mother, his Children, and his whole Family; but a violent Storm arising, the Vessel was cast away, and all on board perished.—*Urban* wrote the Lives of the Bishops of *Bari* to his Time, some Forms of Prayers, some Ecclesiastical Constitutions or Bulls, to be met with in the *Great Bullarium*.

MAN. PALMOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

BONIFACE IX. WENCESLAUS,
RUPERT of Bavaria,
Emperors of the West.

The Two-Hundredth BISHOP of Rome.

Boniface
elected.

THE News of *Urban's* Death was received with great Joy by all well-meaning Persons, flattering themselves that it would put an End to the Schism, or at least pave the Way to a Reconciliation between the Two Parties. But the Cardinals of *Urban's* Party all aspiring at

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

69

Year of
Christ 1389.

at the Papacy, and besides apprehending that, should *Clement* be universally acknowledged, the See would be again settled at *Avignon*, resolved to proceed without Delay to the Election of a new Pope in the Room of the Deceased. Of the many Cardinals *Urban* had created, only Fourteen were present at *Rome* when he died; and these, entering into the Conclave as soon as they had performed his Funeral Obsequies, after some Disagreement among themselves, unanimously elected *Peter*, or *Perinus Tbomacelli*, Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Anastasia*, who was enthroned the same Day, the 2d of *November*, under the Name of *Boniface IX.* and on the Ninth, or the Eleventh, as others will have it, of the same Month, consecrated and crowned with the usual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter* f.

Boniface was a Native of *Naples*, descended from a noble, but a very poor Family in that City, and is only commended by the contemporary Historians for his Skill in Singing and Writing, and his Knowledge of the Grammar; but as for the more sublime Sciences he is said to have been very little acquainted with them, but to have supplied that Want with his Prudence and Address. He was at the Time of his Promotion Forty-five Years of Age according to *de Niem*; but only about Thirty according to *Platina*, *Boninsegni*, and *St. Antonine*. His affable, obliging, and courteous Behaviour, quite the reverse of his Predecessor's, engaged the Affections of all who had any Business to transact with him g. He never was taxed, though in the Prime of his Years, with any Levity or Lewdness, inasmuch that he seemed, says *Platina*, to have exchanged Youth for old Age h.

As *Urban*'s Cardinals were reduced to a very small Number, being at this Time in all but Seventeen, for many had died, some he had put to Death, and others, forsaking him, had gone over to *Clement*, *Boniface* on the 18th of *December* created Four new Cardinals, and reinstated Five, whom *Urban* had deposed, in their former Dignity. These were *Adam*, Bishop of *London*, *Bartholomew Mezzavacca*, Bishop of *Rieti*, *Landulph Mattamarus*, Archbishop Elect of *Bari*, and *Pileus de Prata*, who had left *Urban* to join *Clement*, and now left *Clement* to join *Boniface*.

In the mean time *Charles VI.* King of *France*, to shew the World his steady Resolution of adhering to *Clement*, paid him this Year a

f Niem, l. 2. c. 6. Gobelinus ætate 6. c. 81.
Boninsegni, l. 4.

h Platina in ejus vit.

g Niem ibid. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3.

The French
King at
Avignon.

Visit

Year of
Christ 1389.

Visit at *Avignon*, which City he entered on the 25th of *October*, attended by his Brother, his Uncles, and the Flower of the *French* Nobility. *Clement* received him with all the Marks of Distinction that were due to his Dignity, and the Obligations he owed him, had several private Conferences with him concerning the State of the Church, and declared himself ready to agree to what Terms of Accommodation he should think fit to propose. As *Lewis* of *Anjou* was then at *Avignon*, having been invited thither by the Pope, to be crowned by him King of *Naples*, *Charles* would assist at that Ceremony; and it was performed in his Presence with great Solemnity on the 1st of *November* of the present Year. On that Occasion the Pope celebrated High Mass, at which the King is said to have sung the Gospel. Before the King left *Avignon*, the Pope, at his Request, conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *John de Takru*, Archbishop of *Lions*, a Prelate descended from One of the most illustrious Families in *France*, of great Learning, and an exemplary Life. From *Avignon* the King went to *Toulouse*, staid there till the following *January*, and taking *Avignon* in his Way on his Return from thence, paid a Second Visit to the Pope.

The Jubile
celebrated at
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1390.

As *Urban* had ordered the Jubile to be celebrated the following Year 1390, *Rome* was crowded that whole Year with Pilgrims from all the Countries where *Boniface* was acknowledged, viz. from *Hungary*, *Germany*, *England*, *Portugal*, *Norway*, and most States of *Italy*. To the Two Kings of *England* and *Portugal*, and likewise to their Queens, *Boniface* granted the same Indulgences in their own Kingdoms, that they would have gained by coming to *Rome*, upon their representing to him the Inconveniences that would inevitably attend their undertaking that Journey. But for that Dispensation they were to pay what the Journey would have cost them. When the Jubile Year expired, *Boniface* sent his Collectors into all the Countries of his Obedience, with full Power to grant the Indulgences of the Jubile to such as had been prevented by Sickness, or any other lawful Impediment, from going to *Rome*. Thus were immense Sums collected. But the Collectors, abusing the Power vested in them, absolved for ready Money the most hardened Sinners, refused no Dispensations to those who came up to their Price, and setting the most Sacred Things to public

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

71

Sale, left none unabsolved, of what Crimes soever guilty, but such as wanted Money to purchase Absolution ^k. They remitted, says *de Niem*, all Sins to all at a fixed Price without Repentance, Satisfaction, or Restitution, as if Money alone were a sufficient Atonement for the most enormous Crimes. But being convicted upon their Return to Rome of having embezzled great Part of the Treasure thus collected, they were punished by the Pope with the utmost Severity, some of them being imprisoned for Life, and some even put to Death ^l.

Year of
Christ 1390.

Urban had excommunicated and deposed, as has been said above, *Ladislaus Charles of Durazzo*, and excluded his Posterity from the Crown of *Naples*, with an Intention of seizing on that Kingdom for himself. Upon his Death *Margaret*, the Widow of *Charles*, killed in *Hungary*, and his Son *Ladislaus*, applied to *Boniface* as soon as they heard of his Election, begging he would absolve them from those Censures, would take them into his Protection, and restore them to the Throne, from which they had been so unjustly driven by his Predecessor. *Boniface* readily granted their Request, and *Angelus*, Bishop of *Florence*, and Cardinal of *St. Lawrence in Damaso*, was immediately dispatched to crown the young King, and govern the Kingdom jointly with his Mother during his Minority. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 29th of *May*, of the present Year, at *Garta*, the City of *Naples* being then held by the Prince of *Brunswick* and *Sanseverino* for *Lewis of Anjou*, whom *Clement* had crowned the preceding Year King of *Naples*. On this Occasion *Ladislaus* bound himself by a solemn Oath not only to adhere to *Boniface*, but to support him to the utmost of his Power against the Usurper *Clement*, and his false Cardinals ^m.

Year of
Christ 1391.

As the Evils, occasioned by the Schism, became daily more intolerable, both Popes plundering, as it were, in Emulation of one another, the Churches and Nations of their Obedience, to support themselves and reward their Friends, while the Ecclesiastical Discipline was entirely neglected, many Proposals were made by the Princes, the Universities, and even by private Persons, for the re-establishing of the so much wished for Union and Tranquillity. Among the latter was a *Cartusian*, Prior of *Asti* in *Lombardy*, a Man universally esteemed for the Sanctity of his Life and his Learning, who, pitying the deplorable

Attempts towards a Reconciliation between the Two Competitors.

Year of
Christ 1392.

^k Gobelinus Persona, c. 88.

^l De Niem, c. 68.

^m Niem, l. 2. c. 4.

Year of
Christ 1392.

State of the Church, undertook a Journey to *Rome*, in order to try whether he could persuade *Boniface* to hearken to an Accommodation. The Pope received him with all possible Marks of Kindness, hearkened to him with great Attention, and pretending to wish for nothing so much as to see an End put to the present unhappy Division, declared himself ready to give Ear to any Terms of Accommodation that his dearly beloved Son the King of *France*, the chief Support of his Antagonist, should in his great Wisdom think fit to propose. The Monk, encouraged with the Reception he met with from the Pope, and believing him sincere, begged he would allow him to acquaint the *French* King with his peaceable Disposition. *Boniface* not only consented to his Request, but appointed him and another Monk of the same Order his Nuncios to the Court of *France*, charged them with a Letter for the King, earnestly intreating him to exert his utmost Endeavours in re-uniting the divided Members of the Church under One Head, and promising to leave nothing in his Power unattempted, that could be any-ways conducive to the forwarding or completing of so meritorious a Work. With this Letter the Two Monks set out for *Paris*, but taking *Avignon* in their Way, in order to sound the Disposition of *Clement*, they were arrested by his Order, and kept confined in the *Carthusian* Monastery, till the King, at the Desire of the University of *Paris* complaining of *Clement* as guilty of a manifest Violation of the Right of Nations in stopping and detaining them, commanded them to be set at Liberty. From *Avignon* they pursued their Journey to *Paris*, and arriving there about *Christmas*, were well received both by the King and the University. The Letter they brought from *Boniface* was read in a full Council, and it was agreed, contrary to the Opinion of some of *Clement's* more zealous Friends, that an Answer should be returned to it. But they were all greatly at a Loss with Respect to the Direction of the Answer. For to give the Title of Pope to *Boniface* was to acknowledge him, and renounce *Clement*. On the other hand, to address him under any other Title would be treating him as an Usurper, and deciding the Controversy in Favour of his Antagonist. It was therefore resolved that no Answer should be returned in Writing, but Two Monks of the same Order should be sent with the Two come from *Rome*, to assure *Boniface* by Word of Mouth, in the King's Name, that he had nothing so much

at

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

73

at Heart as the Peace and Unity of the Church; and was ready to concur in any Measures calculated to procure them. On the other hand *Clement*, pretending to be no less desirous than his Rival of putting an End to the present Division, and the Evils attending it, caused Prayers to be offered in all the Churches, and public Processions to be made for the Peace and Unity of the Church ⁿ.

Year of
Christ 1392.

In the mean time the Four *Carthusian* Monks arriving at *Perugia*, where *Boniface* then resided, acquainted him with the French King's Answer. But he, instead of proposing any Terms of Accommodation upon which the King could proceed, undertook in another Letter to prove the Validity of *Urban's* Election, and the Nullity of *Clement's*, concluding from thence, that *Urban* and his Successors ought to be acknowledged for lawful Popes. To this Letter no Answer was returned, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, the King's Two Uncles, who then governed the Kingdom (the King himself being seized with a Fit of Madness) thinking it unworthy of their Notice. Thus was the Negotiation with the King and his Ministers entirely broken off. But the University of *Paris*, interposing the following Year with the Consent and Approbation of the King, who had some lucid Intervals, proposed, upon the most mature Deliberation, Three Ways of removing effectually the present Scandal, and restoring the long-wished-for Tranquillity. These were, that the Competitors should both resign, or that the Matter should be left to Arbitration, or be decided by a General Council. These Proposals were communicated by the University both to *Boniface* and to *Clement*, but neither would suffer the Legality of their Election to be disputed, nor resign a Dignity that had been legally conferred on them. We are told that the Cardinals at *Avignon* approved of the Proposals of the University, and even told *Clement* that he must submit to one of them; since by no other Means an End could be put to the Schism, and that he thereupon fell into so violent a Passion, as brought on a Fit of Apoplexy, of which he died in a few Days ^p.

Proposals
made by the
University of
Paris.

Year of
Christ 1393.

Clement died on the 16th of *September* 1394, in the Sixteenth Year of his Pontificate, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *St. Mary de Donis* in *Avignon*: But in 1401 his Remains were translated from

Clement dies.

Year of
Christ 1394.

^a Monachus Dionys. in Hist. Carol. VI. et Johannes Juvenalis Ursinus in vit. Caroli.
^o Ibidem ibid. ^p Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz. Monachus Dionys. ubi supra,
et Spondan. ad ann. 1394.

Year of
Christ 1394.

Benedict
XIII. elected.

Oath taken
by the Car-
dinals in the
Conclave.

thence to the Church of the *Celestines* in the same City, where his Tomb is to be seen to this Day. His Death was no sooner known at *Paris* than the King and the University wrote most pressing Letters to the Cardinals at *Avignon* to delay the Election of his Successor till they had renewed their Endeavours with *Boniface*, and used every other Means of putting an End to the present unhappy Division. The King of *Arragon* wrote to the same Purpose, exhorting the Cardinals, as they tendered the Peace of the Church, not to proceed to the Election of a Successor to *Clement* till they had consulted their Brethren at *Rome* as well as the other Prelates of the Church, and tried jointly with them all possible Means of accommodating their Differences. But the Cardinals then at *Avignon*, in all Twenty-one, shutting themselves up in the Conclave on the 26th of *September*, as soon as they had performed the Funeral Obsequies of *Clement*, elected on the 28th, before they received or at least before they opened the *French* King's Letter or that of the University, *Peter de Luna*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary in Cosmedin*, a Man of an unbounded Ambition, of great Parts and Learning, but of greater Cunning and Address. He was descended from a very ancient and noble Family in *Arragon*, was preferred in 1375, by *Gregory XI.* to the Dignity of Cardinal for his Knowledge in the Canon Law, which he had taught with great Applause in the University of *Montpellier*. Upon the breaking out of the Schism he joined *Clement*, and being sent by him, with the Character of his Legate, into *Spain*, he gained over to his Party the Two Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Castile*. He was employed by *Clement* as his Legate to the Court of *France* at the Time of that Pope's Death: But he no sooner heard of it than he flew to *Avignon* to hasten the Election, being well apprised that the King and the University would interpose, and endeavour to prevent or delay it. He was ordained Priest on the 3d of *October* by *Guido*, Bishop of *Palestrina*; was consecrated on the 11th of the same Month by *John*, Bishop of *Osia*, and crowned the same Day by *Hugh*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary in Porticu*, taking on that Occasion the Name of *Benedict XIII.*

The Cardinals, to avoid the Imputation of abetting and countenancing the Schism, drew up an Act obliging each of them to promise upon Oath, that, should he be elected, he would readily and sincerely embrace all Means of restoring Peace, that of Cession not excepted, should it be judged expedient

expedient by the greater Part of the Sacred College. The Oath was drawn up in the following Terms: " We all and each of us Cardinals ^{Year of Christ 1394.}
 " of the Holy *Roman* Church, assembled for the Election that is to be,
 " being before the Altar upon which Mass is celebrated, and touching
 " the Holy Gospels, promise, for the Service of God, for the Unity
 " of the Holy Church, and the Salvation of Souls, to labour without
 " Fraud or Deceit, and use our utmost Endeavours to restore Peace,
 " and extinguish the present unhappy Schism. We shall neither pub-
 " licly nor privately, directly nor indirectly, counsel or advise him, who
 " shall be Christ's Vicar upon Earth, any-ways to hinder or retard the
 " Union of all the Faithful under One Head. On the contrary, we shall
 " all and each of us readily and sincerely embrace all possible Means
 " of procuring so desirable an End, that of Cession not excluded, if
 " it shall be approved by the Cardinals, or by the greater Part of them,
 " and thought expedient for the Union and Good of the Church."

Three of the Cardinals excused themselves from taking that Oath, *His Diffin-*
 but the other Eighteen readily took it, and Cardinal *Peter de Luna* *lation.*
 amongst the Rest; nay he even confirmed it after his Election. Not
 satisfied with declaring to the Cardinals his sincere Desire of restoring
 Peace; in the Letter he wrote to all the Christian Princes and the Pre-
 lates of the Church, to acquaint them with his Promotion to the Ponti-
 fical Dignity, which, he said, had been forced upon him, he assured
 them, that he was ready to concur with them in all Measures any-ways
 conducive to the End they all aimed at, the Union and Tranquillity of
 the Church; that this his Disposition was well known to all the Car-
 dinals, and that it was chiefly upon that Consideration they had pre-
 ferred him to many much better qualified than he to discharge so great
 a Trust.

Upon the Receipt of these Letters the *French* King and the Univer- *Is acknow-*
 sity of *Paris*, believing him sincere, not only acknowledged him, but *leged in*
 sent Deputies to congratulate him upon his Promotion, and express the *France.*
 Satisfaction it gave them to see One trusted with the Government of
 the Church, who was so ready to resign it, and sacrifice his Dignity to
 the Peace of the Church. The Pope received the Deputies with par-
 ticular Marks of Distinction, and upon their exhorting him, in the
 Name of the King and the University, to convince the World by his

* Apud Raymund. ad huac ann. & Dacheri Spicileg. tom. 6. p. 64.

Year of
Christ 1394.

Actions, as he now had it in his Power, of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he assured them that he was firmly and unalterably resolved to embrace all Means of redeeming the Church from the present unhappy Situation, and would, to obtain that End, as willingly and readily lay down his Dignity as he laid down his Mantle, which he was then putting off to sit down to Dinner. He returned the same Answer to *Peter d'Ailly*, Chancellor of the University and the King's Almoner, upon his representing to him the distracted State of the Church and the many Evils attending it. But many suspected, adds the Author, that this was all mere Fiction; and that it was mere Fiction appeared soon after.

Tumult
against
Boniface
at Rome.

Towards the latter End of the present Year 1394 the *Roman* People, provoked at *Boniface's* claiming and exercising an absolute Power in *Rome*, which they maintained to be lodged in their Magistrates, rose up in Arms, besieged the Pope in his Palace, and would, as was apprehended, have imprisoned or even put him to Death in the Height of their Fury, had not *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, who happened to be then at *Rome*, armed his People, and saved him from falling into the Hands of the enraged Multitude. By his Mediation an Agreement was concluded, upon what Terms we know not, between *Boniface* and the People, and Tranquillity restored to the City.

Charles VI.
of France
arrives to
put an End
to the Schism.

In the mean time *Charles*, King of *France*, wholly intent upon extinguishing the Schism, and, depending upon the repeated Declarations of *Benedict* that he was ready to concur with him in all the Measures, without Exception, that should be thought conducive to that End, assembled in the Beginning of *February* 1395 the chief Prelates and the most learned Men of the Kingdom, to deliberate about the most effectual Means of restoring Peace. The Result of their Deliberations was that both the Competitors should resign; that this was the most effectual as well as the most expeditious Way of putting an End to the Schism, and ought therefore to be alone insisted upon, as it would prove a difficult and endless Task to examine into the Pretensions of both, and decide the Controversy in favour of either. This being agreed to by the whole Council, they deliberated in the next Place about the Method of proceeding in the Affair; and it was determined, that the

The Way of
Cession ap-
proved in a
grand Coun-
cil held at
Paris.

Year of
Christ 1395.

^r Joanens Juvenal. Ursin. in vita Caroli VI. & Surit. in Indic. l. 3.
tit. 22. c. l.

^s Antoninus,

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

77

Year of
Christ 1395.

King and *Benedict* himself should notify to the Princes of his Obedience that he was ready to sacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, provided his Competitor in like Manner agreed to sacrifice his. As for the Princes who acknowledged *Boniface*, the King alone was to acquaint them with the pacific Disposition of *Benedict*, and urge their insisting with *Boniface* upon his embracing the Way of Cession, since his Competitor was ready to embrace it. When both had resigned, the Affair was to be left to a certain Number of Arbitrators chosen by both Parties, or the Cardinals of both Parties were to meet, and, proceeding to a new Election, elect a Third Person, or either of the Two Competitors, as they should think proper. Such was the Determination of that grand Assembly; and the King immediately acquainted *Benedict* with it by the most splendid Embassy that on any Occasion had been ever sent. It consisted of the most eminent Prelates of the Kingdom, of the chief Members of the King's Council and the University, of the Flower of the Nobility, with the King's Two Uncles, *John*, Duke of *Berry*, *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Brother *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, at their Head †.

The Embassadors arrived at *Avignon* on the 22d of *May*, met with a most favourable Reception from *Benedict*; but found him, to their great Surprise, intirely averse, notwithstanding his repeated Declarations and the solemn Oath he had taken, to the Way of Cession or Resignation, which he said had never been approved, but on some Occasions had been disapproved, by the Fathers, as tending to expose the Pontifical Dignity to Contempt. He added, that his resigning would be generally construed into a Consciousness of the Nullity of his Election, which would be arraigning the Judgment of the Prelates, the Princes, and the People who had acknowledged him. He therefore proposed Three other Methods of reconciling the present Differences, all Three, in his Opinion, preferable to that of Cession, as being free from all the Difficulties and Inconveniences attending it. These were, that the Two Competitors and their Cardinals should meet in some safe Place under the Protection of the King of *France*, and there amongst themselves accommodate their Differences; or that Arbitrators should be chosen by both Parties, and the Competitors should bind themselves to acquiesce in their Decision; or, lastly, if neither of these Methods should be ap-

But rejected
by Benedict.

† Monachus Dionys. ubi supra.

proved:

Year of
Christ 1395.

proved of, he would propose, or leave the opposite Party to propose, some other, and readily agree to it, if founded upon Justice and Reason. In answer to these Proposals the Embassadors put *Benedict* in mind of the Oath he had taken in the Conclave before his Election, binding himself to embrace all possible Means of restoring Peace, *that of Cession not excepted*, if approved and thought expedient. *Benedict* answered, that he entertained not, nor could he entertain, the least Doubt of his being true and lawful Pope, and that he could by no Oath be bound to resign that Dignity. The Embassadors, finding *Benedict* unalterably determined against the Way of Cession, appointed the Cardinals to meet them at *Villeneuve*, in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*; and at that Meeting, held on the 1st of *June*, the Way of Cession was approved and recommended by all the Cardinals, except the Cardinal of *Pampelona* alone, a Relation of *Benedict*, who protested with great Warmth against it^u.

Appeal of the
University
of Paris.

The University of *Paris*, hearing from their Deputies, upon their Return, of the ill Success of their Negotiations at *Avignon*, wrote a long Letter, addressed to *Benedict* and all the Faithful, to confute his Reasons and Arguments against the Way of Cession, and prove that to be of all others the most easy, the most expeditious, the most effectual Means of restoring Peace. As they apprehended that *Benedict*, provoked at the Liberty they took in their Letter, might thunder out the Sentence of Excommunication, or proceed to other Censures against them, they publicly appealed from him to the future only true orthodox and universal Pope, and to his Holy and Apostolic See; and sent One of their Members to notify this their Appeal to *Benedict* himself.

Benedict declares all Appeals from the Roman Pontiff to be null.

Year of
Christ 1396.

In Answer to their Appeal *Benedict* published a Constitution, dated the 30th of *May* 1396, declaring all Appeals from the *Roman* Pontiff to be derogatory to the Plenitude of Power with which he is vested, and consequently null. As for the present Appeal, it deserved, he said, no other Name than that of a bold, presumptuous, and rebellious Attempt upon the Authority of the *Roman* Church, which no Man nor Body of Men had it in their Power to controul; and he therefore advised them to revoke it, lest he should be obliged to proceed against them as Rebels to the Church. The University replied, that they were no Rebels to, but zealous Defenders of, the *Roman* Church; that it was for the Peace,

^u Apud Baluz. vit. Papar. Aven. Spondan. ad ann. 1396.

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

79

the Honour, and the Dignity of the Church that they had interposed in the present Controversy between the Two Competitors, and therefore feared no Censures that either might inflict upon them on that Account, but appealed anew from both.

Year of
Christ 1396.

In the mean time the *French* Embassadors, finding they could by no Means prevail upon *Benedict* to embrace the Way of Cession, but on the contrary that he daily had Recourse to new Subterfuges and Evasions to elude their Endeavours, left *Avignon*, and returning to *Paris* gave a minute Account to the King and the University of what had passed in their several Interviews with *Benedict* and his Cardinals. Upon their Report another grand Council was held, and by all it was agreed, that the Way of Cession should be absolutely insisted on, and the King should write to the other Christian Princes to concur with him in promoting that Measure. Embassadors were accordingly sent at the breaking up of the Council to the Emperor, to all the Electors, to the Kings of *England*, *Aragon*, *Castile*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary*. Their Instructions were to invite those Princes to join their Master in procuring the Peace of the Church, and propose to them the Way of Cession as the most effectual as well as impartial. That Method had been disapproved by the University of *Oxford*, in a Letter dated the 10th of *March* 1395, and addressed to the King, *Richard II.* In that Letter they had answered the Reasons alleged by the University of *Paris* to support the Way of Cession, and proposed the assembling of a General Council, from whose Decision neither of the Competitors would presume to appeal. This Method the King had embraced; but the Point being disputed, in his Presence, by some of the Members of the University and the *French* King's Envoys, *Peter Regis*, Abbot of *Mount St. Michael* in *Normandy*, *Simon Cramaud*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Archbishop of *Vienne*, he changed his Opinion, and even wrote both to *Boniface* and *Benedict*, exhorting them to sacrifice their Dignity to the Peace of the Church. With that Letter he dispatched the Abbot of *Westminster* to *Avignon* and to *Rome*; but as in the Address he gave to *Benedict* no other Title than that of Cardinal, he would neither receive the Letter nor admit the Abbot to his Presence, who thereupon returned to *England*. In *Spain* a Council was held at *Salamanca* in *Castile*, consisting of all the Grandees, Prelates, and learned Men of that and the neighbouring Kingdom of *Aragon*; and by them the Way of Cession, though warmly

The Way of
Cession ap-
proved by
some Princes
and disap-
proved by
others.

Year of
Christ 1396.

warmly urged by the Embassadors of *France* and *England*, was rejected, and the deciding of the Controversy left to the Two Competitors themselves, meeting with their Cardinals in some Place chosen by both. Some of the other Princes approved and some disapproved the Method proposed by the Kings of *England* and *France*.^w

The Way of
Cession ap-
proved in a
Diet at
Francfort.
Year of
Christ 1397.

The following Year 1397 a Diet was held at *Francfort*, at which were present all the Electors, all the Princes of *Germany*, and Embassadors from the Kings of *France*, of *England*, of *Hungary*, and Deputies from the University of *Paris*, and most other Universities, to examine the different Methods that had been hitherto proposed for the restoring of Peace, and cause that which should appear to them the most effectual to be carried into Execution in their respective Dominions and Territories. By that Assembly the Way of Cession was judged of all others the most eligible, and Embassadors were sent, in the Name of the Princes who composed it, to acquaint *Boniface* therewith; and persuade him to embrace it. They met with a favourable Reception from the Pope, who even bestowed, at their Request, several Benefices on their Friends and Relations, but declined with many Shifts and Evasions returning any positive Answer with respect to the Subject of their Embassy.^x

And by the
Emperor.
Year of
Christ 1398.

The Emperor *Wenceslaus* had neglected to assist at the Diet of *Francfort*, notwithstanding the Desire he expressed on all Occasions of seeing an End put to the Schism. But, finding that the Way of Cession had been approved by the Princes of the Empire, he resolved to embrace it, and sent to acquaint the King of *France*, the chief Promoter of that Measure, with this his Resolution. Several Letters passed between him and the King on that Subject; and *Wenceslaus* in the End resolved to confer in Person with the King, and settle the Method of Proceeding with the Two Competitors in the Affair. Pursuant to that Resolution he left *Bobemia*, where he then was, in *March* 1398, and after a short Stay in *Germany* pursued his Journey to *France*; was met at his entering that Kingdom by a great Number of Persons of the first Distinction, sent by the King to receive him and attend him to *Rheims*, where the King waited for him with his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Two Uncles, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. In the seve-

^w Niem de Schism. l. 2. c. 33. Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 3. Spond. ad ann. 1396. Juvenalis Ursin. & Monachus Dionys. in Carolo VI.

^x Niem ibid.

Boniface IX.¹ BISHOPS of Rome.

81

ral Conferences they had the Emperor was gained over to the Opinion of the King and the University of *Paris*, that both should resign, that a Third should be elected by the Cardinals of both Parties; and if either refused, under any Pretence whatsoever, to conform to so salutary a Measure, he should be looked upon as the Author of the Schism, and be no longer obeyed as true and lawful Pope, either by the Emperor or the King. *Peter d'Ailli*, Bishop of *Cambray*, was dispatched to *Rome*, with the Character of Ambassador from both, to acquaint *Boniface* with this their Resolution, and exhort him to conform to it. The Bishop was received with particular Marks of Distinction both by *Boniface* and the Cardinals; but could not persuade him or them, in the frequent Conferences he had with them, to agree to the Way of Cession, nor obtain any other Answer of *Boniface*, than that he had as much at Heart the Peace of the Church as either the Emperor or the King, and would, as soon as they had prevailed upon the Antipope to resign, leave them no Room to complain of him y.

Year of
Christ 1397.

This Answer being no-ways satisfactory, the King appointed another grand Council to meet on the 22d of *May* of the present Year 1398, to deliberate about the Means of obliging both Popes to resign, since it now evidently appeared that, happen to the Church what would, both were obstinately bent against all Resignation. At this Council were present most of the Prelates of *France*, no fewer than Eight Archbishops, besides *Simon Cramaud*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and Thirty-two Bishops, Deputies from all the Universities and Chapters in the Kingdom, a great Number of Abbots, all the Members of the King's Council, Ambassadors from all the Princes who approved of the Resignation of both Competitors, and *Charles*, King of *Navarre*, in Person. The King of *France* could not attend, being seized with a Fit of Illness, but his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Three Uncles, the Dukes of *Berry*, of *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, assisted in his Room. By this grand Assembly the Way of Cession was preferred to all others; and it was resolved, that if *Benedict* did not agree to it, all, who had hitherto acknowledged him, should withdraw from his Obedience. Whether this Resolution should extend only to the Temporalities of the Church, and deprive him of all Power of disposing of them,

Another
grand Council held in
France.
Year of
Christ 1398.

^y Monachus Dionys. l. 18. c. 6. Chron. Froissard. c. 96. Hist. Universitat. Paris, tom. 4. p. 800.

Year of
Christ 1398.

Resolved that
no Obedience
should be
thenceforth
paid to Be-
nediſt.

Benediſt a-
bandoned by
his Cardinals.

or to all other Matters, ſo that he ſhould be no more obeyed than if he were no longer Pope, was the Subject of a long and learned Debate; ſome maintaining, that they could not withdraw from the Obedience of *Benediſt*, nor controul him in the Diſpoſal of the Temporalities of the Church, ſo long as they acknowledged him for lawful Pope, and others aſſerting, that they could, for the Tranquillity and Peace of the Church. This Point was diſputed Nine whole Days by the ableſt Divines and Canonists of the Kingdom of *France*, but carried in the Affirmative, when put to the Vote, by 240 out of 300. This Determination of the Aſſembly being communicated to the King, as ſoon as he returned to himſelf, a Decree was publiſhed by his Order on the 28th of *July*, forbidding his Subjects thenceforth to pay any Obedience whatever to *Benediſt*, ſince the preſent unhappy Diviſion was intirely owing to his Obſtinacy in maintaining the Pontifical Dignity, though he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to reſign it, ſhould it be thought neceſſary or expedient for the Peace of the Church. As for *Benediſt's* Competitor, the King left thoſe who acknowledged him to compel him, by withdrawing from his Obedience, or by what other Means they ſhould think fit, to lay down his uſurped Dignity.²

The Decree publiſhed by the King was by his Order immediately communicated to *Benediſt's* Cardinals and the Citizens of *Avignon*; and by a particular Order the Subjects of *France* were all required to quit forthwith the Service of *Benediſt* and retire from his Court, which was readily complied with by the Clergy as well as the Laity. As for the Cardinals, they aſſembled at *Villeneuve*, beyond the *Rhone*, and ſubject to the King, and there, after many long and warm Debates, Nineteen out of Twenty-four agreed to renounce all Obedience to *Benediſt*, drew up an Act declaring this their Reſolution, and cauſed it to be publiſhed at *Avignon*. Hereupon *Benediſt*, provoked beyond all Meaſure at the Conduct of the rebel Cardinals, as he called them, ordered them to be arreſted as guilty of High Treason in reſuſing to obey him, though by their own Confeſſion their lawful Lord and Maſter. But the Cardinals, leaving *Avignon* before that Order could be put in Execution, retired to *Villeneuve* in the Territory of *France*, and there renewed their former Declaration, appealing at the ſame time from *Benediſt* to the Pope,

² Monachus Dionyf. & Juvenalis Urſin. in vit. Caroli VI. Froiſſard, c. 97. Raymund. ad ann. 1398. num. 3. Hiſt. Univerſitat. tom. 4. p. 829.

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

83

who should be lawfully elected in his Room by the Cardinals of both Parties^a. Year of
Christ 1398.

In the mean time the King of *France*, determined to bring *Benedict* to Terms by Force, since all other Means proved ineffectual, sent Marshal *de Boucicaut*, a renowned Commander, to lay Siege to *Avignon*, and prevent any Provisions from being conveyed into that City, in order to starve him and the Inhabitants, who steadily adhered to him, into a Compliance with his Decree. As all the Avenues to the Place were strictly guarded, and the Marshal threatened to burn their Country-houses and Vineyards if they did not submit, they soon opened their Gates and admitted him into the City, declaring to the Pope, when he exhorted them to hold out, that they could not pretend to withstand alone the whole Power of *France*. Upon the Surrender of the City *Benedict* retired with his Court, and the Cardinals who had not renounced his Obedience, into the Pontifical Palace or Castle, where *Boucicaut* was ordered to keep him closely confined, and suffer nothing to be conveyed into the Palace or out of it till he agreed to gratify the King and resign. Benedict besieged in his
Palace.

While these Things passed at *Avignon*, *Martin*, King of *Arragon*, who had never approved of the Way of Cession, nor could be prevailed upon to withdraw his Obedience to *Benedict*, his Relation and Countryman, hearing that he was besieged in his Palace at *Avignon*, sent a Fleet with Orders to sail up the *Rhone* and attempt his Deliverance. But the Fleet being stranded in the River, the Undertaking miscarried, and the King was obliged to recur to the Way of Negotiation. He sent accordingly by Embassadors to *Avignon*, to treat of an Accommodation between *Benedict* and the Princes who had withdrawn from his Obedience, especially the King of *France*. As the Pope was by this time reduced to the utmost Extremity for Want of Provisions, the Palace being kept closely blocked up by *Boucicaut*, he received the Embassadors with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy; and, pretending to have nothing so much at Heart as to see Peace restored to the Church, declared himself ready to submit to what Terms their Master and the other Princes of his Obedience should think fit to propose, especially his beloved Son *Charles*, King of *France*, who had treated him, and continued to treat him, His Rescue
attempted by
the King of
Arragon.

^a Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1398, num. 7.

Year of
Christ 1398.

The Siege
raised, and
upon what
Terms.

Year of
Christ 1399.

with so much Severity and so undeservedly. From *Avignon* the Embassadors repaired to *Paris*, to acquaint the King with the present Disposition of *Benedict*, and intercede for his Liberty. Upon their Request a Council was held, at which the King assisted in Person; and in that Council it was resolved, that if *Benedict* promised to resign upon the Death or the Resignation of his Competitor, to assist in Person at the Council that should be assembled to put an End to the Schism, and not to stir in the mean time from his Palace, or what other Place the Two Kings, of *France* and *Arragon*, should assign to him, without their Knowledge and Consent, the King would upon these Conditions take him into his Protection, would suffer no Violence to be offered him, but would provide him and an Hundred Persons of his Retinue with all Necessaries, and order the Marshal to withdraw his Troops from before the Pontifical Palace. To these Conditions *Benedict* agreed. But the King, knowing by Experience how little his Word or Promises were to be relied on, ordered Guards to be placed on all the Roads to prevent his Escape, and none to be admitted into the Palace who could not give a satisfactory Account of themselves as well as of the Business upon which they came. Thus was *Benedict* kept confined in his Palace for the Space of near Five Years, from 1398 to 1403, when he made his Escape, as we shall see in the Sequel ^b.

Boniface
makes him-
self absolute
Master of
Rome.

While these Things passed in *France*, *Boniface*, leaving *Rome*, where the Banderefsians, or Heads of the People, had engrossed all Power to themselves, went to reside at *Perugia*, and from thence soon after removed to *Assisi*. He remained there till the present Year 1399, sparing neither Pains nor Money to strengthen his Party in *Germany* and *Italy*, as he was no less averse to the Way of Cession than his Competitor *Benedict*. As the Jubile was to be celebrated at *Rome* the following Year 1400, according to the Institution of *Boniface VIII.* who ordered it to be observed every Hundredth Year, the *Romans*, apprehending that in the Absence of the Pope it would not be celebrated with the usual Solemnity, and consequently that their Gains would be considerably lessened, sent a solemn Embassy to invite his Holiness back to *Rome*. *Boniface* received the Embassadors with all possible Marks of Esteem for the *Roman* People; but, pretending great Reluctance

^b Surita Indic. l. 3. ad ann. 1399. Baluz. vit. Papar. Aven. tom. 2. p. 216. & Spond. ad ann. 1398 & 1399.

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

85

Year of
Christ 1399.

to return to their City, he told them that he could not comply with their Request, nor was it consistent with his Dignity that he should, as they had lodged all the Power in the Hands of their own Magistrates and the Bandereſians, and left none to him. With this Answer the Embaſſadors returned to *Rome*; and the *Romans*, to ſatisfy the Pope and entice him back to their City, not only ſuppreſſed the Bandereſians, but transferred all their Power upon him, beſtowed, at his Recommendation, the Dignity of Senator upon *Malateſta* of *Peſaro*, a Man of great Probity, in whom he could confide, and ſent a conſiderable Sum of Money to defray the Expences of the Pope's Journey from *Aſſiſi* to *Rome*. *Boniface*, availing himſelf of the preſent Temper of the *Romans*, ſet out as ſoon as he was acquainted with it for *Rome*, and being received with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy by all Ranks of People, he cauſed the Walls of the City, the Towers, the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and the Capitol, to be repaired and ſtrongly fortified, placed Garrifons in them, and thus by Degrees made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the City, which many of his Predeceſſors had attempted, but none had ever been able to accompliſh. Thus did the *Romans* ſacrifice their Liberty to their Intereſt, and *Boniface* thenceforth governed the City with an abſolute Sway c.

The Jubile was by the Appointment of *Boniface* VIII. to be celebrated every Hundredth Year, but was reduced by *Clement* VI. to every Fiftieth, and by *Urban* VI. to every Thirty-third, and had accordingly been ſolemnized in 1390 by the preſent Pope the Succeſſor of *Urban*. However in 1400 Pilgrims flocked from all Parts to *Rome* for the Indulgences, which they ſuppoſed were to be gained every Hundredth Year; and *Boniface* to gratify their Devotion granted them the ſame Indulgences that were to be obtained in the Jubile Year; which drew ſuch Multitudes of People from all Countries, even from *France*, that the King, to prevent his Kingdom from being unpeopled, and the whole Wealth of the Nation from being conveyed to *Rome*, was obliged to forbid by a public Ediſt any of his Subjects to go to *Rome* during that Year, and order thoſe who had undertaken that Journey to return. The Reaſons alleged by the King for iſſuing this Ediſt were, I. Be-
cauſe his Enemies, ſhould they at this Juncture invade his Kingdom, would find it unprovided with Men as well as Money. II. Be-
cauſe moſt of

Jubile ſo-
lemnized at
Rome.
Year of
Chriſt 1400.

Year of
Christ 1400.

The Subjects
of France
forbidden to
go to Rome.

the Countries between *France* and *Rome* acknowledged the pretended Pope, who would enrich himself with the Money of his Subjects spent on the Road as well as at *Rome*, and become by that Means more intractable. III. Because the undertaking of so long and so expensive Journey to gain Indulgences granted by him, was tacitly acknowledging him for lawful Pope. The Clergy, who transgressed this Order, were to forfeit their Temporalities, and the Laity to be fined and imprisoned at the Pleasure of the King. But notwithstanding this Prohibition, *Rome*, says *de Niem* then upon the Spot, was crowded during the whole Year with Pilgrims from *France* of both Sexes and all Ranks, with some even of the highest. The Concourse of People was no less numerous from all other Nations. But most of them died of the Plague that broke out with great Violence at *Rome*, and carried off, says *Boninsegni*, who lived at this Time, Seven or Eight hundred Persons a Day d.

The Emperor
Wenceslaus
deposed.

As the Emperor *Wenceslaus* led a most debauched Life, and entirely neglected the Affairs of the Empire, Four of the Electors, namely, the Three Archbishops of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Treves*, and *Rupert* or *Robert*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, assembling with several other Princes of the Empire at *Lonstein* in the Diocese of *Treves*, declared him unworthy of the Imperial Dignity, and by a formal Sentence deposed him on the 20th of *August* of the present Year. In his Room they chose *Frideric*, Duke of *Brunswick*, for King of the *Romans*, a Prince of a fair Character and great Experience in War. But he being assassinated on his Return from the Diet, the above-mentioned Electors met again in the same Place, confirmed the Sentence against *Wenceslaus*, and conferred unanimously the Dignity of King of the *Romans* upon *Rupert*, Count Palatine. As *Boniface* consented to the Deposition of *Wenceslaus*, and was even suspected of having promoted it, being highly offended at his late Connection with the *French* King, the Two Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bobemia* withdrew from his Obedience, the latter being subject to *Wenceslaus*, and the former to his Brother *Sigismund*. But the new Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, maintained with great Zeal the Cause of *Boniface*, gained over to his Party most of the Princes of the Empire,

^d Niem, c. 28. Boninsegni. l. 4. c. 7.

and would consent to no Measures but what were recommended to him by *Boniface* himself *.

Year of
Christ 1400.

The Two following Years, 1401, 1402, warm Debates arose in *France* about the withdrawing of all Obedience to *Benedict*, and his Imprisonment or Detention, some approving of both these Measures as absolutely necessary to bring the Pope to Terms, and others condemning them as quite unprecedented, and highly injurious to the Pontifical Dignity. Among the former were the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, the University of *Paris*, and the far greater Part of the Clergy; and among the latter the Duke of *Orleans*, the Embassadors of the King of *Arragon*, and the University of *Toulouse*. The Duke of *Orleans*, whom *Benedict* had gained, we know not by what Means, frequently declared against his Two Uncles, that though a Schism was a great Evil, yet to have no Pope was still a greater, and that to him it seemed altogether inconsistent with Reason to acknowledge *Benedict* for lawful Pontiff, or Christ's Vicar upon Earth, and yet refuse to obey him. *Peter Ruban*, Bishop of *St. Pons*, a Prelate of great Eloquence and Address, seconding the Duke of *Orleans*, took the Liberty to complain to the King himself of the Imprisonment of *Benedict*, and their forbidding any Obedience to be paid to him, as derogatory, in the highest Degree, to the Authority of the Apostolic See, which his Ancestors had ever made it their Business to reverence and maintain. But the King was inflexible, alleging that *Benedict* had bound himself by a solemn Oath to embrace all Means of restoring Peace to the Church, even by the Way of Cession, if judged necessary or expedient, and that by the Breach of so solemn an Oath he had forfeited the Obedience that was due to him as Pope.

The French
divided
among them-
selves with
Respect to the
Confinement
of *Benedict*.

Benedict had promised, as has been related above, not to depart from his Palace in *Avignon* without the Knowledge and Consent of the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*. But being weary of his Confinement, and as regardless of his Promise as he was of his Oath, he resolved to make his Escape, and began to contrive with some of his most intimate Friends the Means of effecting it. As One of these, *Robert de Braquemond*, a Native of *Normandy*, was frequently admitted to the Pope as a Person no-ways suspected, it was agreed between them that *Braquemond* should One Day, the 12th of *March*, not depart from the Palace till late in

Benedict
makes his
Escape.
Year of
Christ 1403.

* De Niem, ubi supra.

Year of
Christ 1403.

the Evening, and that the Pope should attend him at his Departure in the Disguise of One of his Domestics. That Disguise *Benedict* assumed, and passing through the Guards quite unobserved, arrived that Night at Castle *Raynard*, Four Miles distant from *Avignon*, and early next Morning at *Marfeilles*, subject to *Lewis*, King of *Naples*, and Count of *Provence*, who went immediately to wait upon him, and lend him all the Assistance in his Power. Authors observe, that *Benedict* was attended in his Escape by Three Domestics only; that he took nothing with him but the Body of our Lord in a Box, and a Letter from the *French* King; that he had let his Beard grow during the Five Years of his Confinement, but caused it to be shaved on his Arrival at *Marfeilles*. From Castle *Raynard* he wrote to the King to acquaint him with his Escape, and assure him that, though at Liberty, he was determined faithfully to perform what he had promised, and concur in all the Measures that his dearly beloved Son should, upon mature Deliberation, suggest or approve. This Letter is dated at Castle *Raynard* the 12th of *March*, the Day on which he made his Escape ^f.

Obedience re-
stored to him;

Some few Days after *Benedict* sent Cardinal *Maleficco*, Bishop of *Palestrina*, and Cardinal *Amadeus* of *Saluzzo*, with the Character of his Legates to the King to divert him from pursuing the Way of Cession, and persuade him to revoke the Decree, forbidding his Subjects to pay him any Obedience as Pope till he had agreed to resign. The Legates were powerfully seconded by the Duke of *Orleans*, and in a Council held on the 28th of *May*, it was resolved that the Decree should be revoked, and *Benedict* be obeyed as before, but upon the following Conditions: I. That he promised, in Writing, to resign, in case his Competitor resigned, died, or was expelled. II. That all Offences hitherto given or received should by both Parties be buried in Oblivion. III. That *Benedict* should confirm all Promotions to Ecclesiastical Dignities, and Collations to Benefices, that had been made while he was not allowed to dispose of them. IV. That in the Term of One Year he should assemble a General Council of his Obedience to deliberate about the Means of restoring Peace, and moderating the many heavy Burthens laid by the Popes on the *Gallican* Church. These Terms were no-ways pleasing to *Benedict*. But the Duke of *Orleans* having with great Difficulty prevailed upon him to agree to them, the Decree,

and upon
what Terms.

^f Monachus Dionys. l. 18. p. 461.

forbidding

Boniface IX. BISHOPS of Rome.

89

forbidding any Obedience to be paid to him, was repealed, and the Subjects of *France* were, by a new Decree, enjoined thenceforth to obey *Benedict XIII.* as lawful Pope. The Decree was issued in the King's Name, and the following Words: " It was resolved near Five " Years ago in an Assembly of the Clergy of our Kingdom, that no " Obedience should be thenceforth paid to Pope *Benedict XIII.* because " he would not consent to the Way of Cession, which appeared to " us the most expeditious Method of putting an End to the Schism. " But as our withdrawing from his Obedience has not had the wished " for Effect, and he has agreed to the Terms that we have lately " proposed, and think better calculated to restore Tranquillity, we " revoke our former Edict, and by the Advice of our Uncles, of our " Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, of the Universities of *Toulouse*, of " *Angiers*, of *Orleans*, of *Montpellier*, and of most of the Prelates and " Lords of our Kingdom, we order *Benedict XIII.* to be thenceforth " obeyed by all our Subjects as lawful Pope, and this our Ordinance " to be published and immediately complied with throughout our " Kingdom &c."

Year of
Christ 1403.

The following Year 1404 *Benedict*, to persuade the World of the Sincerity of his Intentions, published a Bull, declaring that he was ready to resign, provided his Competitor in like Manner agreed to resign. Not satisfied with this Declaration, he sent *Peter Raban*, Bishop of *Pons*, and some other Bishops to *Rome*, to treat with *Boniface* of an Accommodation. They were ordered to propose a Meeting of the Two Popes and their Cardinals in some Place of Safety approved of by both, in order to deliberate jointly about the Means of putting an End to the present Division. The Embassadors met with a favourable Reception from the Cardinals. But *Boniface* received them with great Haughtiness, and upon their modestly exhorting him to concur with their Master in restoring Peace to the Church, he told them with no small Emotion, that *Peter de Luna* was an Intruder and Antipope, and himself alone true Pope. The Bishop of *Pons*, piqued at this Answer, replied that their Master was no Simoniac, thus tacitly reproaching *Boniface* as guilty of that Crime, which so provoked him, that he ordered the Embassadors to depart the City that Moment. They answered, that they had a safe Conduct both from him and the

He sends an
Embassy to
Boniface.
Year of
Christ 1404.

* Monachus Dionys. in Carolq VI.

Year of
Christ 1404.

Death of Bo-
niface.

Roman People, and therefore would not depart till the Time they were thereby allowed to remain in *Rome* was expired. *Boniface* made no Reply, but fell into a violent Passion that brought on a Fit of the Stone, to which he was subject, and he died the Third Day, the 1st of *October* ^b. He is charged by *de Niem* with the most flagrant Simony, with bestowing all Church Preferments upon the best Bidder, without any Regard to Merit or Learning, and making it his Study to enrich his Family and Relations. One of his Brothers he made Marquis of the *March*, now *la Marca*, and another Duke of *Spoleti*. But both were reduced to great Poverty before their Death ^c. *Niem* supposes the Annates to be the Invention of *Boniface*; but others will have them to have been introduced long before his Time, either by *Clement V.* or *John XXII.* of whom the former was raised to the See in 1305, and the latter in 1316. The Author of the Chronicle of *Bourdeaux*, at this Time in *Rome*, tells us, that a Person worthy of Credit, who was present at *Boniface's* Death, assured him, that scarce the Value of One Florin of Gold was found in his Coffers. This Testimony is alleged by *Papebroch* and *Pagi*, to shew that *Boniface* was not so intent upon heaping up Wealth as is generally supposed. But as he made it his Study, according to all other contemporary Writers, to accumulate, and consequently must have accumulated immense Riches, I shall leave *Papebroch* and *Pagi* to enquire how he disposed of them, if it be true that he died so poor. *St. Antonine* writes, that it was reported that *Boniface* being advised by his Physicians to redeem himself from his Complaint, that of the Stone, at the Expence of his Chastity, he rejected that Advice with great Indignation, saying, he had rather die chaste than live unchaste ^k. His Love of Chastity, adds Father *Pagi*, intituled him (notwithstanding his Ambition, his Avarice, his unsincere Dealings, his Simony, &c.) to a Place amongst the good Popes ^l. No Writings of *Boniface* have reached our Times, besides some Letters and Ordinances.

Upon the Death of *Boniface*, *Benedict's* Legates in *Rome* were imprisoned, notwithstanding their safe Conduct, in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, by the Governor of that Castle, a Kinsman of the deceased Pope, and obliged to purchase their Liberty with the Sum of Five thousand

^a De Niem, l. 2: c. 23, 24.
^c 3. ^b Pagi, tom. 4. p. 324.

^d Apud Pagi, tom. 4. p. 329.

^e Antonin. tit. 22.

Innocent VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

91

Florins of Gold. Thus *de Niem* and *Surita*^m. But the Affair is differently related by Pope *Innocent VII.* the immediate Successor of *Boniface*, in a Letter to the University of *Paris*. For in that Letter he tells them, that the Nuncios were advised by the *Romans* to remain in *Rome*, and assured of Protection; but chusing to depart, they fell into the Hands of One, out of whose Power neither the *Roman* People, nor the Cardinals, nor he himself could deliver them.

Year of
Christ 1404.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

INNOCENT VII.

RUPERT OF ROBERT
of Bavaria,
Emperor of the West.

The Two hundred and First BISHOP of Rome.

BONIFACE dying, as has been said, on the 1st of *October* 1404, *Innocent VII.* his Cardinals immediately applied to *Benedict's* Nuncios, to know ^{eleſted.}

whether they had been enjoined by their Master to propose a Resignation in his Name, provided the deceased Pope agreed to resign, being, they said, in that Case determined not to proceed to a new Election, till they had tried all Means in their Power of putting an End to the Schism. The Nuncios answered, that they were only impowered to propose an Interview between their Master and his Competitor. The Cardinals, having received this Answer, resolved to provide the Church with a new Pastor as soon as they had performed the Obsequies of the Deceased. They entered accordingly into the Conclave on the 12th of *October*, and having all and each of them bound themselves by a solemn Oath, in the Presence of several public Notaries and Witnesses, to use all Means in their Power of restoring the Peace and Unity of the Church, and even to resign the Papal Dignity, how canonically soever elected to it, should that be judged necessary to procure so desirable an End, they unanimously elected, on the 17th of the same Month, *Cosmato Megliorati*, Cardinal Presbyter of the *Holy Cross in Jerusalem*ⁿ. The new Pope took the Name of *Innocent VII.* and was crowned, according to some, on the 2d, and according to others, on the 11th of *November*.

^m Niem, c. 24. *Surita* Indic. l. 3.
Parif. apud Spondan. ad ann. 1404.

ⁿ *Innocent VII. in Epist. ad Universitatem*

Year of
Christ 1404.

His Birth,
Education,
Employ-
ments, &c.

Innocent was a Native of *Sulmona*, in the *Hither Abruzzo*, descended from a Family of a middling Condition in that City, but had distinguished himself by his Learning, especially by his Knowledge of the Civil and Canon Law, and much more by his Virtue and Probity. For he was, according to *de Niem*, who speaks well of very few Popes, a Man of a most generous, mild, and beneficent Temper, an Enemy to all Pomp and Shew, free from all Pride and Ambition, an avowed Enemy to Simony, and of great Address and Experience in Negotiations and all State Affairs °. He was made Clerk of the Apostolic Chamber by *Urban VI.* was afterwards employed by the same Pope to collect the Revenues of the Apostolic See in *England*, and on his Return from thence preferred first to the Archbishopric of *Ravenna*, and soon after to the Bishopric of *Bologna*. *Boniface IX.* raised him to the Dignity of Cardinal in the First Year of his Pontificate, or in 1389, appointed him Chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church, and sent him with the Character of his Legate to compose the Differences of the *Italian* Princes at War with one another. He was Sixty-five Years of Age at the Time of his Election, and was elected without Opposition by the Nine Cardinals who were then present at *Rome*. For of all the Cardinals created by *Boniface*, Twelve only were then living, and of these Three were absent. The King of *France*, *Charles VI.* who distinguished himself above all other Princes by his Zeal for the Unity of the Church, no sooner heard of *Boniface's* Death than he dispatched a Messenger to *Rome* with Letters to the Cardinals, exhorting and earnestly intreating them to suspend the Election of a new Pope till the Arrival of a solemn Embassy, which he intended to send to them. But the Election was over before the Messenger reached *Rome*.

Upon the First Notice of *Boniface's* Death *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, entering unexpectedly the Territories of the Church, advanced to *Rome* at the Head of a numerous and well-appointed Army, with a Design, says *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, to make himself Master of that City during the Vacancy of the See. But finding at his Arrival that *Innocent* was already elected, he pretended to have had nothing in his View, but to maintain the Liberty of the Conclave, and support the new Pope against all his Enemies °. A most dreadful Tumult broke out in *Rome* during the King's Stay in that City, stirred up, as was supposed, underhand by him. The *Romans*, to entice *Boniface* back

° Niem, c. 34, 36.

° Leonard. Arctin. Hist. sui temporis.

to Rome, had suppressed the *Handeressians*, as we have seen, and lodged all the Power in him. But the *Gibellines*, headed by *John* and *Nicholas Colonna*, were for having that Power restored to the People, while the *Guelphs*, supported by the *Ursini*, strove to maintain it in the Pope and the Church. Thus was a Civil War kindled in Rome, and in the daily Skirmishes great Numbers were killed on both Sides. *Innocent*, not thinking himself safe in Rome, left the *Lateran* Palace, and privately retired to the *Trastiberine* or *Leonine* City. But *Ladislaus* interposing, a Peace was concluded between the Two Parties, and it was agreed that the Civil Government of the City should belong to the People, that is, to Ten Men chosen by them; that the *Leonine* City, with the Castle of *St. Angelo*, should be left to the Pope, and the Senator be appointed by him, but not without the Approbation and Consent of the People⁹. Thus did the Roman People, in great Measure, recover the Power which they had given up under *Boniface*.

Year of
Christ 1404.
Disturbances
in Rome.

The Roman
People recover
their Liberty.

Matters being thus adjusted for the present, *Innocent* wrote to all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Dignitaries of the Church to acquaint them with his Promotion, and at the same time to give them Notice that he intended to assemble a General Council in Rome before *All Saints* Day of the following Year 1405. He exhorted them to meet in the mean time in their respective Provinces, and deliberate among themselves about the Means of healing the present Division of the Church, assuring them that he was ready to concur in all the Measures that should by them be judged the best calculated for procuring the so long wished-for Tranquillity. This Letter is dated the 27th of *December* 1404, and was addressed to all the Archbishops and their Suffragans¹. The Meeting of this Council was frequently put off, and all Thoughts of it were at last laid aside on Account of the Disturbances that broke out anew in Rome.

Innocent
proposes to
assemble a
General
Council.

For the new Governors of the City, not satisfied with the Power granted them by the late Treaty, encroached daily upon that which by the same Treaty had been allowed to the Pope. *Innocent*, to gain them, and prevent any new Commotions, created Eleven Cardinals, of whom Five were Natives of Rome, which quieted them for a while. But being stirred up by *Ladislaus*, who wanted to improve the Discontent of the People to his own Advantage, and make himself Master of Rome,

New Disturbances in
Rome.

⁹ Apud Raynald, ad ann. 1404. num. 16.
num. 12.

¹ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1404.

they

Year of
Christ 1404.

The Govern-
ors massa-
cred by the
Pope's Ne-
phew.

Year of
Christ 1405.

they soon began to insult the Officers of the Pope, and exercise the Authority that they themselves had vested in them; which so provoked *Innocent's* Nephew, *Lewis Megliorati*, a bold and enterprizing Youth, that falling upon the Governors as they returned, attended by some Citizens of Distinction, from a Conference with the Pope, he arrested them all, carried them Prisoners to his House, and there put Eleven of them to Death, and caused their dead Bodies to be thrown out of the Window, saying, *Thus popular Seditions are to be appeased*. *Platina*, who wrote in this Century, in 1474, tells us, that the *Romans* were sent by the Pope to his Nephew as to an Executioner, insinuating thereby that it was by his Order his Nephew put them to Death ^s. But *de Niem*, who was at this very Time upon the Spot, clears *Innocent* from being any-ways privy to that barbarous Execution ^t; and so does *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, saying, the Pontiff was overwhelmed with Grief when he heard of the cruel Slaughter; for the whole Affair had been transacted altogether unknown to him: He was a Man of a mild and pacific Disposition, and abhorred above all Things the Effusion of human Blood; he often bemoaned himself, bewailed his hard Lot, and lifting his Eyes up to Heaven, called upon God to witness his Innocence ^u. Had he delivered up his Nephew to the *Romans*, as he ought in Justice to have done, he would have cleared himself effectually from all Suspicion of being concerned in that Massacre; and his not having done so, but, on the contrary, his taking his Nephew with him in his Flight, and thus screening him from the deserved Punishment, would incline one to believe what *Platina* says to be true.

Innocent flies
to Viterbo.

Innocent, hearing of the cruel Massacre, left *Rome* that Moment, and in the utmost Consternation fled with his Nephew and all the Cardinals to *Viterbo*. As their Flight happened in the Height of the Summer, on the 5th of *August*, when the Heats in *Italy* are quite insufferable, and they stopped no-where, apprehending that the *Romans*, breathing Revenge, pursued them close at their Heels: *De Niem* tells us that about Thirty of the Pope's Retinue died of Thirst on the Road ^w. *Innocent* was scarce gone when the Alarm-Bell was rung, and the *Romans* flying to Arms flocked from all Parts to the Pontifical Palace, destroyed or carried off all the Furniture, put every Man to the Sword that belonged to the Pope, and would not have spared his

^s *Platina* in *Innocent VII.*
Ital. p. 254.

^t *De Niem*, c. 16. 37.

^u *Leonard. Aretin. de rebus*

^w *Niem*, c. 36.

Holiness himself had he not saved himself by a timely and precipitate Flight *. In the mean time *John Colonna*, availing himself of these Disturbances, entered *Rome* with a Body of Troops, and possessing himself of the Pontifical Palace, he governed the City from thence with all the Authority of a Pope; whence he was ironically stiled *John XXIII.* as there had been Twenty-two Popes of that Name. But the *Romans* being, in the Term of Twenty Days, tired of his Government, and revolting against him, he invited King *Ladislaus* to his Assistance, promising to resign to him the Sovereignty of the City. The King, who had long aspired at the Dominion of *Rome*, sent without Delay an Army under the Command of the Count of *Troia*, with Orders to maintain *Colonna* in Possession of *Rome*. *Colonna* admitted the *Neapolitan* Army into the City. But the *Romans*, determined rather to die than to submit to *Ladislaus*, exerted themselves with so much Vigour, Resolution, and Union, as obliged *Colonna* and his Allies to abandon the Undertaking, and retire out of the City. The *Romans*, being now left to themselves, committed the Government of the City to Three Persons only, whom they called *The Good Men*; and these, finding, says *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, upon the strictest Enquiry, that the Pope was no-ways accessary nor privy to the Massacre of their Fellow-Citizens, persuaded the People, tired with intestine Diffensions, and convinced of his Innocence, to recall him. *Embassadors* were accordingly sent in the Beginning of the present Year 1406 to invite his Holiness back to his See, to beg Pardon for their past Conduct, and offer him the Keys and the Sovereignty of the City. With that unexpected Invitation *Innocent* readily complied, forgave the *Romans* all past Injuries, and leaving *Viterbo* in the Month of *March*, entered *Rome* in a Kind of Triumph, being attended by vast Crowds of People of all Ranks, and amongst the Rest by the *Three Good Men*; who, at his entering the Gate, resigned all their Power into his Hands †.

In the mean time *Benedict*, to impose upon the World, and persuade them that the Continuance of the Schism was not to be imputed to him, undertook this Year a Journey to *Genoa*, in order to confer, as he gave out, with his Competitor, and settle by mutual Consent the Means of restoring Peace and Tranquillity, the Object of every good Man's Wishes, and of none more than of his. The City of

Year of
Christ 1405.
John Colonna makes himself Master of Rome.

But is driven out by the Romans, and Innocent is recalled.
Year of
Christ 1406.

Benedict repairs to *Genoa*.

* Idem ibid. † Aretin. Hist. sui temporis, et Antonin. parte. 3. tit. 22. c. 41

Year of
Christ 1406.

*Demands a
safe Conduct
of Innocent,
which is de-
nied.*

Genoa had hitherto adhered to the Popes of *Rome*, but being lately gained over to the Popes of *Avignon* by their Archbishop *Pileus Marinus*, a Prelate held in great Esteem for his Sanctity, *Benedict* met there with a most honourable Reception from Persons of all Ranks and Conditions. He had not been long in that City, when he caused Application to be made in his Name to *Innocent* for a safe Conduct, intending, as he pretended, to send Nuncios, as soon as it could be procured, to treat of an Accommodation. *Innocent* very unadvisedly refused the safe Conduct, telling those who applied for it, that he questioned whether a true and lawful Pope could with a safe Conscience enter into any Treaty with an Antipope and an Intruder. He added, however, that he was willing to hearken to any Terms that Persons, upon whose Sincerity he could depend, should think fit to propose. From his Refusal of a safe Conduct, *Benedict* took Occasion to represent him, in the Letters he wrote to all the Christian Princes, as averse to an Accommodation, as guilty of a Breach of the solemn Oath he had taken at his Election, and to charge the Schism wholly upon him. In Answer to these Letters *Innocent* wrote others, accusing *Benedict* of Insincerity, and false Dealing, as having nothing in his View in setting a Negotiation on Foot, but to amuse the World, and gain Time. Thus both made it their Study, says *de Niem*, to keep, with new Subterfuges and Evasions, those at a Bay, who sincerely wished to see Peace restored to the Church. *Benedict*, after a short Stay in *Genoa*, was obliged, by the Plague that broke out there, to quit that City and return to *Provence*,

*Ladislaus
excommuni-
cated by In-
nocent.*

At *Rome* the Troops of King *Ladislaus*, which *Colonna* had admitted into the City, and the Castle of *St. Angelo*, still held that Fortress, and often sallying from thence committed great Disorders in *Rome* and the neighbouring Country. *Innocent* therefore, after repeated Admonitions, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against him, the same Sentence that his Predecessor *Urban VI.* had issued against his Father *Charles* of *Durazzo*, declaring him an Enemy to the Church, and depriving him as such of his Kingdom, a Fief of the Apostolic See. The King, apprehending that the Friends of his Rival *Lewis* of *Anjou* would take Occasion from thence to rise up in Arms against him, chose rather to satisfy the Pope, than to have his Kingdom in-

*The King
submits, and
is absolved.*

volved in a Civil War, and all the Calamities attending it. He sent accordingly Embassadors to *Rome* as soon as he heard of the Sentence, with Orders to conclude a Peace with *Innocent* upon his own Terms. A Peace was accordingly concluded upon the following Conditions, that *Ladislaus* should promise steadily to adhere to *Innocent* as lawful Pontiff, and assist him to the utmost of his Power when required; that the Castle of *St. Angelo* should be immediately evacuated and delivered up to the Pope; that the King should publicly own himself a Vassal of the Church, and as such take an Oath of Allegiance to *Innocent*, and his Successors lawfully elected; that he should promise never to make War upon the Vassals or Friends of the Church, should forgive and receive into Favour such of his Subjects as had borne Arms against him, and repair all Damages done by him or his Men to the Churches and other holy Places. On the other hand, *Innocent* was to recall and receive into Favour such of the *Roman* Nobility as had joined the King in his Attempt upon *Rome*, and on that Account had been driven out of the City, to absolve him from the Excommunication which he had incurred, to revoke the Sentence issued by *Urban VI.* against his Father *Charles of Durazzo*, and to reinstate him (*Ladislaus*) in the Government of *Campania*, which he had granted him in the First Year of his Pontificate for the Term of Three Years. These Articles being agreed to, *Innocent* not only repealed the Excommunication against the King, but appointed him Defender and Standard-Bearer of the Church^a.

In the mean time *Benedict*, finding, on his Return to *France*, the King as eagerly bent as ever upon the Way of Cession, sent Cardinal *de Chabant*, a Man of great Eloquence and Address, to assure him that he was ready to resign, provided the Princes under the Obedience of his Competitor prevailed upon him in like Manner to resign, or promised to withdraw from his Obedience if he did not. The Cardinal enlarged upon the sincere Desire his Master had of seeing Peace and Unity restored to the Church, alleging as an Instance of it his late Journey to *Italy*; inveighed with great Bitterness against *Innocent* for refusing a safe Conduct to the Nuncios of *Benedict*, and left the King and his Council to judge upon which of the Two the Continuance of the Schism was to be charged, upon his Master, who undertook a

^a Aretin. et de Niem, ubi supra, et apud Raynald. ad ann. 1406. num. 7.

Year of
Christ 1406.

Journey to *Italy* with no other View but to treat of an Accommodation with his Adversary, or upon his Adversary, who would hearken to no Treaty? The Affair was referred by the King to the Prelates of the Kingdom, and by them it was determined, that as *Benedict* had promised to resign when they returned under his Obedience, if that should be thought necessary or expedient, they ought to withdraw anew from his Obedience if he did not perform, without any Shifts or Subterfuges, what he had promised. As for the Intruder, meaning *Innocent*, they left those to deal with him who acknowledged him for lawful Pope, not doubting but if *Benedict* resigned, they would oblige their Pope, for the Sake of Peace, to follow his Example. The University of *Toulouse* had published a Writing against the Way of Cession, which was read in the present Assembly, and being referred by the King to the Parliament of *Paris*, it was by their Order publicly torn in Pieces. The Way of Cession being both by the Parliament and the Members of the Assembly thus declared the most effectual and expeditious Method of restoring Peace, the King by an Edict, dated the 18th of *February* 1407, ordered his Subjects to withdraw anew from the Obedience of *Benedict*, and at the same time forbade them to receive any Benefices at his Hands, or to pay any Thing into the Apostolic Chamber, flattering himself that his Necessities would in the End oblige him to submit, and resign a Dignity which he could not support. On the 11th of *November* of the same Year the *French* Bishops met again, and it was resolved that the King should be applied to, and desired, in the Name of the whole Body of the Clergy, to procure the Assembling of a General Council for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members ^b.

Innocent
dies.

In the mean time *Innocent* died at *Rome* in the Sixty-seventh or Sixty-eighth Year of his Age, having held the See from the 17th of *October* 1404, the Day of his Election, to the 6th of *November* 1406, the Day of his Death. As he died suddenly of an Apoplexy, it was reported, and believed by many, that Poison had been administered to him by some of his own Court. That Report *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* confutes in a Letter to *Francis*, Lord of *Cortona*, as entirely groundless: "I am not at all surprized," says *Leonardo* in his Letter, "that

^b Bochel. l. 4. tit. 21. c. 3. Juvenalis Ursin. in Carol. VI. p. 222. Niem, l. 2. c. 39. Vide Spondan. ad ann. 1406.

Innocent VII./ BISHOPS of Rome.

99

Year of
Christ 1496.

“ the Report concerning the Death of *Innocent* should have reached
 “ you, since various Conjectures and Suspicions have been whispered
 “ about even here in the very House where he died. As this Court
 “ is full of ill-designing People, they are but too apt to suspect Crimes
 “ in others, which they themselves would not scruple to commit;
 “ and some there are who, out of Love for Calumny, take Delight
 “ in spreading Reports, which they themselves do not credit. As for
 “ myself, so far as I can judge as an Eye-Witness, I can by no Means
 “ doubt of his dying a natural Death. Who can think otherwise of
 “ a Man of Seventy Years of Age, and a broken Constitution? He
 “ was subject to the Gout, had been long liable to violent Pains in
 “ his Side. He had had, to my Knowledge, Two Fits of Apoplexy,
 “ a slight one at *Viterbo*, and another at *Rome* so violent while he
 “ was giving public Audience, that had we not hastened to his As-
 “ sistance, and supported him, he would have fallen from his Chair
 “ with his Head foremost. We carried him half dead to his Bed;
 “ and his Tongue was so embarrassed, that he could not articulate a
 “ single Word, &c. Four Days before his Death I introduced to
 “ him the *Florentine* Embassadors sent to acquaint him with the Re-
 “ duction of *Pisa*. At their Coming into his Bed-Chamber he put
 “ out his Foot from under the Coverings of the Bed, and offered it
 “ to them to kiss, received them with so much good Humour, and
 “ heard them with so much Patience, that one would have thought
 “ he laboured under no Complaint. He died in the *Vatican* Palace,
 “ and was buried in *St. Peter's* c.” *Innocent* is blamed even by those,
 who commend him the most, on Account of his Nepotism, or the
 immoderate Affection he bore to his Nephews and Relations, heaping
 immense Wealth upon them, and preferring them, though not so deserv-
 ing as many others, to the highest Posts both in State and Church. He is
 said indeed to have reprimanded his Nephew *Lewis Megliorati* for the
 Massacre spoken of above; but it does not appear that he ever inflicted
 any Punishment upon him for so enormous a Crime, though it de-
 served the severest. To conclude, *Innocent* for all his good Qualities
 shewed himself as little inclined to the Way of Cession as his Com-
 petitor, though he had bound himself by a solemn Oath to embrace
 it, should it be judged necessary or expedient.

ε Aretin. in Hist. sui temporis.

Year of
Christ 1406.

No Writings of *Innocent* have reached our Times, besides a Discourse upon *Church Union*, and some Letters.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

GREGORY XII.

RUPERT of Bavaria,
Emperor of the West.

The Two-Hundredth and Second BISHOP of Rome.

Election of
Gregory XII.

UPON the sudden Death of *Innocent*, his Cardinals, then present at *Rome*, and in all Fourteen, were greatly at a Loss whether they should immediately proceed to a new Election, or suspend it for some Time, seeing the Antipope had promised to resign upon the Death of *Innocent*, provided his Cardinals elected no other in his Room. But the Cardinals knowing that Promise to have been extorted from him by the *French King* much against his Will, and consequently not to be relied on, and at the same time apprehending that, if the Election were delayed, great Commotions would thereupon ensue in the City, it was by them unanimously resolved that the See should be filled as soon as possible, but that the Person elected should bind himself in the most solemn Manner to quit his new Dignity, if the Antipope quitted his. Pursuant to this Resolution the Fourteen Cardinals entered into the Conclave on the 18th of *November*, and on the 23d of the same Month each of them promised, swore, and vowed, and gave it in Writing, that should he be elected he would lay down the Dignity, if his Competitor did so too; that he would acquaint him by Letters with the Promise he had made, and exhort him to follow his Example; that he would procure Unity by all Means without Fraud or Deceit, and would notify this his Promise, Oath, and Vow to all the Christian Kings and Princes, as soon as he conveniently could, that they might be Witnesses of the Obligation, which he had voluntarily laid upon himself. Thus *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* and *de Niem*, who were both at this Time in *Rome* d. The Cardinals, having all taken this Oath upon the Holy Gospels without any Limitation or Restriction whatever, proceeded immediately to the Election, and on the 2d of *December* chose with one Consent *Angelus Corarius*, Cardinal

d Aretin. in Hist. sui temp. et Epist. l. 2. Epist. 3. de Niem. de Schif. l. 3. c. 1.

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

101

Prefbyter of *St. Mark*, who was crowned on the 19th of the same Month, and on that Occasion took the Name of *Gregory XII.*

Year of
Christ 1406.

Gregory was a Native of *Venice*, descended from a noble and ancient Family of that City. *Urban VI.* preferred him to that Bishopric, *Boniface IX.* made him titular Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and his immediate Predecessor *Innocent VII.* raised him to the Dignity of Cardinal.

His Birth,
Education,
Employ-
ments, &c.

He was not a Man of very shining Parts, but of the strictest Probity; and being greatly advanced in Years, the Cardinals thought that he would rather chuse to resign his Dignity, than to hold it, during the short Remainder of his Life, by a Breach of his Oath.

He, at first, fully answered the public Expectation. For he not only renewed and confirmed after his Election the Oath he had taken in the Conclave, but declared over and over again that he was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union; that what Place soever should be appointed for that Purpose, he would immediately repair to it, how distant soever it might be from *Rome*; that were he to go to it by Sea, and could neither be supplied with Gallies nor other Vessels; he would be conveyed to it in a Boat, and were he to go by Land; and wanted Horses, he would travel to it on Foot, supported only by his Staff.

Desirous of
putting an
End to the
Schism.

At the same time he wrote to his Rival *Benedict*, to acquaint him with his Promotion as well as with the Oath he had taken, and let him know that he was ready to lay down his Dignity the Moment he agreed to lay down his, that the See being thus become vacant, the Cardinals of both Parties might meet and chuse a Third Person, whose Election would admit of no Dispute. *Gregory* wrote Letters to the same Purpose to all Kings, Princes, Republics and Universities, expressing in them a sincere Desire of restoring Peace and Unity even at the Expence of his Dignity. Thus *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, who was *Gregory's* Secretary, and penned, as he informs us, those very Letters.

Writes to his
Competitor.

Benedict received at *Marseilles* the Letter directed to him, and immediately answered it, congratulating his Competitor upon his good Intentions towards an Union, and assuring him that he was ready to concur in all Measures to procure it, and to meet him for that Purpose at what Time and what Place both Parties should judge the most proper. The Direction of *Gregory's* Letter was, *Gregory, Servant of the Servants of God, to Peter de Luna, whom some Nations*

who answers
his Letter.

Year of
Christ 1407.

* Aretin. et Niem, ubi supra.

† Aretin. ubi supra, et apud Raynald. num. 14.

Year of
Christ 1407.

call in this deplorable Schism Benedict XIII. wishing him the Love of Peace and Unity; and the Direction of Benedict's, Benedict Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to Angelus called Corarius, whom some, adhering to him in this pernicious Schism, stile Gregory, wishing him the Love and Effects of true Peace and Unity &c.

The Two
Popes agree
to meet at
Savona.

Gregory, upon the Receipt of Benedict's Letter, sent his Nephew Antony de Mota, Bishop of Bologna, Guillinus, Bishop of Todi, his Treasurer, and Antony de Brutio, Doctor of Civil and Canon Law in Bologna, with the Character of his Legates to settle the Place and Time of the Congress, which they had both agreed to. The Legates met with a very favourable Reception from Benedict, and all Difficulties being removed, it was agreed that the Two Competitors and their Cardinals should meet at Savona, a small Town on the Coast of Genoa, at next Michaelmas, the 29th of September, or at Martlemas, the 11th of November, in case Gregory could not be supplied with Gallies to convey him thither before that Time; if he had not even then got together the necessary Shipping, the Congress was to be put off till All Saints Day, the 1st of November ^h.

Benedict
declines con-
senting to the
Way of Ces-
sion.

As Gregory had declared in all his Letters that he was ready to resign, provided his Competitor did so too; the French King, to obtain the like Declaration from Benedict, sent a solemn Embassy to him, consisting of Two Archbishops, Five Bishops, Five Abbots, Two Secular Lords, and Twenty Doctors, with Simon de Gramaud, Patriarch of Constantinople, at their Head. These were enjoined to insist upon Benedict's declaring, in plain Terms, and without any Ambiguity, that he agreed to the Way of Cession, and would resign at the same time that his Competitor resigned. If they could not extort from him such a Declaration, they were ordered to let him know, that the King would look upon him as the Author of the Schism, and withdraw with his whole Kingdom from his Obedience. The Embassadors met with a very favourable Reception from Benedict, but could obtain no positive and direct Answer with Respect to his Resignation. His only Reply was, that he had the Unity of the Church as much at Heart as their Master, and that if a Peace was not concluded they should have no Reason to complain of him, or to charge the Continuance of the Schism to his Account.

⁸ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1407. num. 1 et 2.
apud Raynald. num. 4.

^h De Niem in Nemore, c. 10. ~~or~~

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

103

With this Answer some of the Embassadors returned to the King, while the Rest with the Patriarch of *Constantinople* repaired, pursuant to their Instructions, to *Rome* to attend *Gregory* to the Place of the Conference. They arrived at *Rome* in the Beginning of *July*, and being admitted, as soon as they arrived, to the Pope, they found him, to their great Surprize, entirely averse to the intended Interview, though every Thing relating to it had been settled not long before by his Legates with his Approbation and Consent. As the whole State of *Genoa* was then under the Dominion of *France*, where *Benedict* was acknowledged, he excepted on that Account against *Savona*, and when the Embassadors to remove that Exception offered him a safe Conduct both from the King and the *Gallican* Church, he had Recourse to the Plea of Poverty, pretending not to have wherewithal to defray the Expences of the Journey. But the Embassadors, to leave him no Colour or Pretence for declining the Interview, took upon them to promise in their Master's Name, that out of his great Zeal for the Unity of the Church he would bear all the Charges of his Journey from *Rome* to *Savona*, and from *Savona* back to *Rome*. *Gregory* was some Time at a Loss how to elude that Offer, but at last to gain Time he told them, that it was not fit he should enter into any Engagement whatever, or think of resigning without first acquainting therewith the Princes of his Obedience, and obtaining their Consent. Thus *Gregory*, who was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union in any Place whatever, how distant soever from *Rome*, and to repair to it by Land on Foot if Horses were wanting, or by Sea in a Boat if he could not be supplied with Gallies. It grieved all, who knew *Gregory*, says here *de Niem*, to see a Man, who had lived to the Age of Fourscore with an untainted Character, thus sacrificing his Reputation as well as his Conscience to an unseasonable Ambition, and recurring, without Shame or Remorse, to the most pitiful Shifts and Subterfuges to hold a Dignity, which he had bound himself by the most solemn Oaths to resign. This Conduct, so contrary to all his Declarations, was entirely owing, if his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* may be credited, to his Nephew and Relations, who had a great Influence over him, and left nothing unattempted to divert him from parting with the Power of aggrandizing and enriching them ^k.

ⁱ De Niem, ubi supra, et Aretin. l. 2. Epist. 7.

^k Aretin, l. 2. Epist. 7.

Year of
Christ 1407.

Various
Shifts used by
Gregory to
avoid it.

Benedict was no less averse to the proposed Interview than *Gregory*, and no less determined to retain at all Events his Dignity. However, he was no sooner informed that his Competitor had changed his Mind, and declined meeting him, than he flew to *Savona*, the Place where they had agreed to meet, and wrote from thence to all the Princes of his Obedience to let them know that he was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union, and was come with that View to the Place, which his Competitor himself had chosen for that Purpose. But *Gregory*, though most earnestly intreated by all his Cardinals to repair to the same Place, could not be prevailed upon to stir from *Rome* till the Commotions raised there by the Friends of King *Ladislaus* obliged him to quit that City; and he then retired first to *Viterbo*, and soon after to *Siena*. As he seemed to have laid aside all Thoughts of meeting his Adversary, his Cardinals began, during his Stay in the last-mentioned City, to importune him anew to repair, without further Delay, to the Place of the Congress, urging that, if he declined it, the World would charge, and not without Reason, the Continuance of the Schism upon him. *Gregory*, finding himself thus pressed not only by the Cardinals, but by most of the Cities of *Italy*, to fulfil his Engagements, in order to redeem himself from their Importunities, offered, in a Consistory called for that Purpose, to resign his Dignity upon certain Conditions without going to *Savona*, where, he said, he could not avoid, without a Miracle, the Snares, which he had certain Intelligence his Enemies had laid for him. The Conditions he required were, that he should be restored to the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, which he had given up upon his Promotion, and should be allowed to hold some Benefices which he was possessed of in the State of *Venice*; that to them should be added the Archbishopric of *York*, or the Bishopric of *Oxford*, which were both said to be vacant, and that some Territories or Lordships, belonging to the *Roman* Church, which he specified, should be granted to his Three Nephews *Mark*, *Francis*, and *Paul*, to be held by them and their Heirs for ever. These were pretty extraordinary Demands, and yet when the Cardinals had agreed to them contrary to his Expectation, *Gregory* still put off his Resignation till a Promise in Writing was obtained from his Competitor of resigning at the Time he should resign, since

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

105

since Peace, he said, could only be restored by the Abdication or Cession of both ¹.

Year of
Christ 1407.

In the mean time *Benedict*, having waited at *Savona* for the Arrival of *Gregory* till *All Saints Day*, the last Term fixed for their Meeting, went from thence in the Beginning of *January* 1408 on board the Gallies of *Genoa* to *Porto Venere*, in order to be nearer at hand, as he gave out, to treat with *Gregory*. On the other hand *Gregory*, hearing of his Arrival at that Place, left *Siena* in the latter End of *January*, and removed to *Lucca*, less distant from *Porto Venere*. During their Stay in those Two Places many Letters and Embassies passed between them, and Nuncios were daily sent from the one to the other, both pretending great Zeal for the Unity of the Church, while both were equally averse to the Means of procuring it. The anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, who was at this Time with *Gregory*, tells us, that *Benedict* having sent the Two Archbishops of *Rouen* and *Taracon* to propose a Congress between the contending Parties, and settle the Place of their Meeting, some in the Retinue of the latter privately dissuaded *Gregory* from hearkening to any Proposals of that Nature, telling him, that he had better share the Popedom with another than be no Pope^m. Indeed that both thought so and meant no more than to impose upon the World is but too plain from their whole Conduct. *Benedict* had been always looked upon as a cunning, artful, and deceitful Man, whereas *Gregory* had been universally held in the greatest Esteem, not only for his exemplary Piety, but for the strictest Honour and Honesty, having never been known, says his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, to have failed of his Word till he was Pope, but with his Condition he seemed to have changed his Nature, recurring to the most pitiful Shifts to elude the most solemn Engagements, and sticking at nothing to hold a Dignity which he had bound himself by the most awful Oaths to resignⁿ.

One of the Oaths, taken by all the Cardinals and by each of them in particular at his entering into the Conclave, was, that should he be elected he would create no new Cardinals till an Union was concluded, or nothing had been left unattempted on his Side to conclude it. This Oath *Gregory* took before he was elected, and confirmed it in the first

Gregory
creates Four
new Cardi-
nals.

Year of
Christ 1408.

¹ De Niem in Nemore Unionis, tract. 6. c. 31. & de Schism. c. 20.
Spond. ad ann. 1408. num. 5.

ⁿ Aretin. l. 2. epist. 7.

^m Apud

Year of
Christ 1408.

Consistory he held after his Election. However on the 9th of *May* of the present Year 1408, when he had not yet taken a single Step towards an Union, but on the contrary excepted against every Measure tending to promote it, he made a Promotion of Four Cardinals. These were *James* of *Udine*, *John Dominici*, a preaching Friar, Archbishop of *Ragusa*, *Anthony Corarius*, Bishop of *Bologna*, his Brother's Son, and *Gabriel Condulmerius*, his Sister's Son, who was afterwards raised to the Pontificate under the Name of *Eugene IV.* None of the old Cardinals would assist, though invited by *Gregory*, at their Promotion, lest they should seem to countenance so notorious a Breach of his Oath. But *Gregory*, as regardless of their Remonstrances as of his own Oath, promoted them nevertheless in a Consistory only composed of the Auditors of the Rota and a few Bishops.

Is forsaken
by his Cardi-
nals.

The Cardinals, provoked beyond Measure at the Conduct of *Gregory*, after various Consultations among themselves resolved in the End to abandon him, and, leaving him at *Lucca* with his new Cardinals, to retire to some other Place. Of this their Design *Gregory* was privately informed, and to prevent their carrying it into Execution he forbade them on Pain of forfeiting their Dignity, of Degradation, and other Penalties, to depart without his Leave from *Lucca*, to hold any Consultations among themselves, with those of the opposite Party, or with the Embassadors of the King of *France*, and the University of *Paris*. But notwithstanding this Prohibition Cardinal *John Ægidius*, a Man of a most unspotted Character, finding *Gregory* obstinately bent against a Resignation, and hearkening to none but his Relations, secretly withdrew in the Night from *Lucca* to *Pisa*, and was followed the very next Day by most of the other Cardinals. Of the whole Conduct of *Gregory* from the Time he left *Rome* to the Flight of the Cardinals we have a very particular and curious Account in the following Letter from *Leonardo* of *Arezzio*, who was upon the Spot, to a Friend of his, named *Petrillus*, who had quitted the Court and retired to *Naples*. "We have both long foreseen," says that Writer in his Letter, "that the Clouds, which were daily gathering, would produce in the End a terrible Storm; and what we have foreseen has happened at last. The Cardinals, highly dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Pope, have lost all Patience and forsaken him. I commend your Prudence in not waiting till the Storm overtook you, but retiring to *Naples* to avoid

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

107

Year of
Christ 1408

“ avoid it. I wish I had done so too. But I must inform you of what
 “ has happened since your Departure. The Pope leaving *Rome* retired
 “ to *Siena*, and though the Time approached when he was by Agree-
 “ ment to meet his Competitor at *Savona*, he seemed, to the great Scandal
 “ of all good Men, to think of nothing less than to make good his
 “ Engagements. His Competitor repaired to the appointed Place in
 “ due Time, and from thence insulted and reproached him in the
 “ most bitter Terms with his Backwardness. O Shame! O Grief!
 “ We have voluntarily, and upon the most mature Deliberation, fixed
 “ the Time and the Place to treat of an Union, and yet we decline it!
 “ At such a Conduct I am doubly grieved, as a Christian and as an
 “ *Italian*. It grieves me as a Christian to see the Hopes of a speedy
 “ Union amongst all Christians thus suddenly vanish. I am concerned
 “ as an *Italian* to find, that my Countrymen are, for the Conduct of
 “ One, generally looked upon as Men destitute of all Honour and
 “ Honesty. In speaking thus you will own, that I shew myself more
 “ jealous of the Honour of the Pope than they, who by Flattery divert
 “ him from a Design that would acquire him immortal Glory. But to
 “ return to my Subject, *Gregory* being now universally looked upon as
 “ the Author of the Schism on Account of his declining to meet his
 “ Competitor, and treat in Person with him about the Means of re-
 “ storing Tranquillity, he made a new Proposal, which was, that he
 “ should repair to *Lucca* and his Competitor to *Porto Venere*, in order
 “ to be nearer at hand to confer with one another. *Gregory* therefore
 “ leaving *Siena* hastened to *Lucca*, and *Benedict* to *Porto Venere*; and
 “ being now at no great Distance, Letters and Embassies passed daily
 “ between them. Both pretended to have nothing so much at heart
 “ as the Unity of the Church, but both were equally averse to the
 “ Means of procuring it. They pretended to be desirous of conferring
 “ in Person, but no Place could be found that the one or the other did
 “ not object to. *Gregory* excepted against all maritime Places, and
 “ *Benedict* against all at a Distance from the Sea. You would have
 “ thought the one a terrestrial Animal that hated the Water, and the
 “ other an Aquatic that dreaded the dry Land. This Conduct gave great
 “ Offence to all sensible and well-meaning Men, who could not but see
 “ that their Fears were affected; and Dangers were pretended where
 “ there was nothing to fear. All loudly complained of so palpable

Q 2

“ and

Year of
Christ 1408.

“ and criminal a Collusion : And how shocking was it to see Two
 “ Men, both at the Age of Seventy and upwards, sacrificing their Re-
 “ putation, their Conscience, and the Peace of the Church to their
 “ Ambition, to the Desire of reigning but a few Days. As for myself,
 “ I verily believe, that *Gregory* meant well, but was ill advised. But,
 “ behold ! a new Storm unexpectedly arises. *Gregory* resolves to
 “ create new Cardinals, able to support him against the old ones, and
 “ calls with that View a Consistory, commanding all the Cardinals to
 “ attend. Such a Command alarmed the whole College, some su-
 “ specting one Thing and others another. When they were all met
 “ the Pope comes out of his Chamber, places himself in his Throne,
 “ and after a short Silence addresses them thus : *As there is no depend-*
 “ *ing upon you, I have resolved to provide the Church with new Cardinals.*
 “ So manifest a Breach of the most solemn Oath alarmed all the old
 “ Cardinals, and they left nothing unattempted to divert him from it.
 “ I myself saw Cardinal *Colonna* intreating him on his Knees with
 “ Tears in his Eyes to forbear, or, at least, to suspend for a while the
 “ Execution of a Design so prejudicial to his Reputation and Credit.
 “ But his Obstinacy was Proof against all Remonstrances. At the
 “ breaking up of the Consistory the Pope forbade the Cardinals to hold
 “ any Assemblies among themselves, or to depart from *Lucca* without
 “ his Leave. But, notwithstanding this Prohibition, Cardinal *Ægidius*
 “ privately withdrew from *Lucca* ; which the Pope was no sooner in-
 “ formed of than he dispatched some of his Men on Horse-back after
 “ him, with Orders to bring him back by Force. They overtook him
 “ at a little Town under the Dominion of the *Florentines* ; but in at-
 “ tempting to seize him they were opposed by the Garrison of the Place,
 “ not without some Bloodshed on both Sides. Upon their Return to
 “ *Lucca* the Governor ordered them to be all put under an Arrest for
 “ committing Hostilities in the Territories of *Florence*. The Pope,
 “ unwilling to disoblige the *Florentines*, appointed *Marcellus Strozzi*
 “ and me to excuse to the Republic, in his Name, the Violence com-
 “ mitted by his Men in their Territories. But while we were receiving
 “ our Instructions News was brought, that the rest of the Cardinals,
 “ not thinking themselves safe at *Lucca*, had fled from thence to *Pisa*.
 “ Upon that unexpected Intelligence the Pope dismissed us, in order to
 “ deliberate about other Measures. As the Pope’s Men had been all
 “ arrested,

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

109

“ arrested, the Cardinals laid hold of that Opportunity to make their
 “ Escape, and they all got safe to *Pisa*. Upon their Flight the Pope
 “ created Four new Ones o”. Year of
Christ 1408.

The Cardinals, in all Seven, the very next Day after their Arrival at *Pisa*, the 13th of *May*, published a Manifesto in Justification of their Conduct, and at the same time an Appeal from *Gregory* misinformed and acting contrary to Reason, to *Gregory* better informed and acting agreeably to Reason, from *Gregory* as the Vicar of Christ, to Christ himself, who is to judge the Quick and the Dead and the World by Fire, to a General Council, in which and by which the Actions of the High Pontiffs themselves are judged, and approved or condemned, and to the future Pope, it being the Duty of every new Pope to correct what has been done by his Predecessor amiss. In their Manifesto they shewed the Unreasonableness of the Three Commands he had laid upon them not to depart from *Lucca* without his Permission, not to hold any Assemblies among themselves, nor treat with the Embassadors of his Competitor, or with those of *France*. Against the First they urged the Danger, to which they would have exposed themselves by remaining at *Lucca*, having been informed by Persons worthy of Credit that his Holiness designed to confine them, nay and that some of them were to be put to Death by his Order, had they remained but One Day longer at *Lucca*, which, they said, they had Reason to believe, it being well known that they who were sent after Cardinal *Ægidius* had private Orders to kill him, if he refused to return, or they were by any unforeseen Obstacle prevented from bringing him back. The Second Prohibition, not to meet and consult among themselves about the proper Means of restoring Tranquillity, they shewed to be inconsistent with their Duty as Cardinals of the Holy *Roman* Church, it being incumbent upon them, as such, to meet and deliberate about all Matters relating to the Faith, especially to the Schisms and Heresies that might spring up in the Church. The Third Prohibition, not to treat with the Nuncios of his Competitor or with the Embassadors of *France*, was, they said, evidently repugnant to the Oath which they had all taken, to omit nothing in their Power that was any-ways conducive to the Unity and Peace of the Church, which it was impossible to procure without treating and conferring with the adverse Party. Upon the whole, they concluded those Prohibitions to be no-ways binding, but in themselves null, and

Year of
Christ 1408.

closed their Appeal with intreating his Holiness, as he tendered the Good of the Church and his own Reputation, to revoke them. This Appeal the Cardinals published in *Pisa*; and it was presented to the Pope, we are not told by whom, in a full Consistory, while he was delivering to the new Cardinals their Rings and the other Badges of their Dignity. *Gregory* in perusing it said no more than that it was not worthy of his Notice. But the next Day his Nephew, Cardinal *Antony Corarius*, Chamberlain and Judge in Ordinary of the Apostolic See, declared the Cardinals, and those who had fled with them, deprived of all their Benefices, and of all Places of Honour or Profit p.

And send Co-
pies of their
Appeal to all
the Princes.

The Cardinals sent Copies of their Appeal to all the Christian Princes, and caused them to be dispersed all over *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, the *Em-
pire*, and *England*, representing, in the Letters they wrote on that Oc-
casion, both Popes as equally averse to an Union, as daily inventing
new Pretences to impose upon the World, and starting new Difficul-
ties against the only Means of redeeming the Church from its present
unhappy Situation. They therefore exhort the Princes as well as the
Prelates of the Church to withdraw from the Obedience of both, to
appeal to a General Council or to the future Pope, and in the mean
time to protest against the Bulls, Monitories, and Ordinances, that ei-
ther might issue^q.

*Benedict ex-
communi-
cates all who
withdraw
from his
Obedience.*

In *France* the King had already determined, with the Advice of his
Council, of the Bishops, and the University of *Paris*, to renounce, with
his whole Kingdom, all Obedience to *Benedict*, and embrace a Neu-
trality, that is, to pay no Obedience to the one or the other, if by the
Feast of the *Ascension*, which in 1408 fell on the 14th of *May*, an End
was not put to the Schism, and Tranquillity restored to the Church.
This Determination the King caused to be immediately notified in due
Form to *Benedict*, by *John de Chateaumourant* and *John de Toursey*,
whom he sent for that Purpose with the Character of his Embassadors
to *Porto Venere*. *Benedict* returned no other Answer to the Embassa-
dors, than that he would write to the King and send his Letters by his
own Messengers. He accordingly dispatched a few Days after Two
Messengers with a Bull, dated the 19th of *May* of the preceding Year,
by which all who should withdraw from the Obedience of the *Roman*

^p Niem de Nemore Unionis, tract. 6. c. 10. & de Schif. 1. 3. c. 32.
ibid.

^q Idem

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

III

Pontiff, by what Dignity soever distinguished, were declared excommunicated if they did not return in the Term of Twenty Days under his Obedience. To that Bull *Benedict* added a Brief, forbidding, on Pain of Excommunication, any who had ever acknowledged him to withdraw their Obedience from him, and anathematizing all who should countenance, or promote, or approve a Neutrality. He was well apprized that the Bull as well as the Brief would highly provoke both the King and his Council, and therefore ordered his Messengers to withdraw as soon as they had delivered them, and make the best of their Way out of the Kingdom. The King caused both Pieces to be read in a full Council, at which were present all the Princes of the Blood, most of the Bishops, and several Members of the University, and it was by all agreed, that the Bull and the Brief should be publicly torn, as highly derogatory to the Royal Prerogative, as tending to estrange the Minds of the Subjects from their lawful Sovereign, and to raise Disturbances in the Kingdom. They were accordingly torn in Pieces the next Day in the Council; and Messengers being dispatched after those who had brought them, they were both apprehended and conducted under a strong Guard to *Paris*. Being there convicted of bringing seditious Papers into the Kingdom, they were cooveyed in a Dung-cart from the Prison to the Square before the Royal Palace in Black Tunics, with Paper Mitres on their Heads. Upon their Tunics were painted the Arms of *Benedict* reversed, with a Placard affixed to them, importing, that they were Impostors and Traitors, sent into the Kingdom by a Traitor. When they had been thus twice exposed to the Insults and Fury of the Populace, the one was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, and the other for Three Years only, it appearing that the one knew what was contained in the Dispatches they had brought, and that the other, a common Courier, was quite ignorant of the Contents^r. On that Occasion a Monk of the Order of the *Trinity* pronounced a Speech fraught with most furious Invectives against *Benedict*, charging him not only with the Continuance of the Schism but with Heresy and Treason.

Year of
Christ 1408.

His Bull
torn in Pieces
in France.

What Punishment
inflicted
on the
Messengers
who brought
it.

In the mean time the King, paying no Regard to the Menaces of *Benedict*, caused the Decree of Neutrality to be published throughout the Kingdom at the appointed Time, the Day after the Festival of

Decree of
Neutrality
published in
France.

Year of
Christ 1408.

*The King
writes to the
Cardinals of
both Parties.*

the *Ascension*, that is, on the 25th of *May*. By that Edict all were forbidden, on Pain of incurring the King's high Displeasure, to obey thenceforth either of the Pretenders to the Papal Chair till an End was put, by some Means or other, to the present Schism. This Decree the King caused to be communicated by his Embassadors to all the Christian Princes; and it was readily received, published, and ordered to be observed by the Kings of *Hungary*, of *Bohemia*, and by most of the *German* Princes. At the same time the King wrote to the Cardinals of both Parties, exhorting and entreating them, as they tendered the Welfare of the Church and their own Reputation, to join and concur jointly with him in restoring the so long wished-for Unity without any Regard to the pretended Right of either of the Competitors. In his Letter he charges both Popes with a Breach of the most solemn Oaths, with privately acting in concert, and imposing, by a tacit Agreement, upon the Rest of the World. He tells the Cardinals, that he has left nothing in his Power unattempted to bring the Two Pretenders together, but that they have baffled, by a criminal Collusion, all his Endeavours, the one objecting to all maritime and the other to all inland Places, as if no Place could be found upon Earth for them to meet in, and consider of the distracted State of the Church. He closes his Letter with declaring both Popes unworthy of that Title, and assuring the Cardinals of his Protection, and all the Assistance he has it in his Power to afford them in carrying into Execution the salutary Measures that they shall agree to.

*Benedict re-
tires to
Spain.*

Benedict was still at *Porto Venere*, carrying on a mock Treaty of Union with *Gregory*; but being privately informed, that the King had ordered Marshal *Boucicaut*, Governor of *Genoa*, to arrest him, if he could by any Means get him into his Power, he embarked in great Haste on board the Gallies of *Genoa* that attended him, and steering for *Spain*, where he thought himself safe, landed in *Catalonia*, and went to reside at *Perpignan*, on the Borders of *Narbonne Gaul*. At his Departure from *Porto Venere* he wrote to *Gregory*, who was still at *Lucca*, to let him know, that, being no longer safe in the Place where he then was, he was upon the Point of removing from thence to another; but that no Distance, however great, should prevent him from completing the Work they had begun, that of restoring Peace to the Church. *Benedict's* Cardinals, who had retired for the Sake of the Air into the Coun-
try,

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

113

try, and had been long dissatisfied with his Conduct, finding themselves abandoned by their Pope, resolved to abandon him in their Turn. Having accordingly agreed among themselves to renounce all Obedience to *Benedict*, they resolved in the next Place to repair to *Leghorn*, whither the Cardinals of *Gregory* had retired, and there to deliberate jointly with them about the most effectual Means of obliging both Popes to resign, as there was no Hopes of their doing it voluntarily, and an End could no otherwise be put to the present Divisions. The Cardinals of *Benedict* were received by those of *Gregory* with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy; and after some Conferences it was agreed by the Cardinals of both Parties, that a General Council should be assembled at *Pisa* on the Day of the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, that is, on the 25th of *March*, of the following Year 1409; that the Cardinals of *Gregory*'s Obedience should summon to it all who acknowledged *Gregory*, and those of *Benedict*'s Obedience all who had acknowledged *Benedict*; and that the Cardinals of both Parties should make it known to the World, that a perfect Harmony reigned between them, and exhort those, to whom they wrote, to withdraw from the Obedience of both, as the only Means of establishing a lasting Peace in the Church ^s.

Year of
Christ 1408.

*Is abandoned
by his Car-
dinals;*

*who join those
of Gregory,
and appoint
a Council to
meet at Pisa.*

This Resolution was immediately communicated to all the Bishops and Princes of the one and the other Obedience, and by most of them highly applauded, especially by the Kings of *France* and *England*, the Cardinals having sent One of their own Body to acquaint them with their Design of assembling a General Council, and to beg they would oblige the Bishops of their respective Kingdoms to assist at it in Person if they conveniently could. Both Princes expressed great Satisfaction at the Coalition of the Two Colleges of Cardinals, and assured the Legate, that they should cause the Decrees issued by them or by the General Council, which they intended to assemble, to be complied with throughout their Dominions. The Cardinals took Care to invite both Popes to the Council, and to let them know, that if they did not assist at it, nor send proper Persons to represent them, they would proceed against them according to the Canons ^t.

*The Meeting
of the Council
is approved
by the Kings
of France and
England.*

^s Niem in Nemore, c. 13.

^t Concil, tom. 11. p. 2146.

Year of
Christ 1408.

Benedict
creates new
Cardinals;

and assembles
a Council at
Perpignan.

What passed
in that Coun-
cil.

Benedict, instead of answering the Summons of the Cardinals, appointed a Council to meet at *Perpignan* on the 1st of *November* of the present Year; and in the mean time, to supply the Room of the old Cardinals who had left him, he made a Promotion of new Ones; of Five, according to some, of Twelve or Sixteen, according to others, who are all named by *de Niem*, *Ciaconius*, and *Onuphrius*; but most of them are generally supposed to have been created afterwards and at different Times. *Benedict*, attended by his new Cardinals, opened on the 1st of *November*, the appointed Time, his Council at *Perpignan*, consisting of about 120 Bishops, from the Kingdoms of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Navarre*, and some even from *France*, though the King had forbidden any of his Subjects to assist at it, and even placed Guards upon all the public Roads, with Orders to stop all Bishops and other Ecclesiastics travelling into *Spain* while the Council was sitting. As the Assembly was intirely composed of the Bishops of *Benedict's* Obedience, his Conduct, as represented by him, was universally approved, and the Continuance of the Schism charged upon *Gregory*. Thus far they were all of one Mind. But in the Sixth Session, held on the 5th of *December*, being desired by *Benedict* to suggest what further Measures they thought it expedient or necessary for him to pursue, in order to put an effectual Stop to the Evils, attending the present Division, and re-establish Peace and Unity in the Church, great Disputes arose among them. Some were for his resigning immediately, and sending Legates to make a Resignation in due Form in the Presence of both the Colleges of Cardinals at *Pisa*. Others declared against an immediate Resignation, and, though they approved of that Measure, they were nevertheless for its being put off till the Antipope, as they stiled *Gregory*, had agreed to resign at the same Time. Many other Expedients were proposed, all as warmly opposed by the one Party as supported by the other. During these Disputes the Bishops, finding that nothing was likely to be determined, began daily to retire from the Council and return to their Sees, insomuch that they were at last reduced to Eighteen. These in the Session that was held on the 1st of *February* 1409 returned at last the following Answer to the Question *Benedict* had proposed in the Sixth Session, That they acknowledged him for lawful Pope, and the only true Vicar of *Christ* upon Earth; that they believed him to be no Heretic nor Schismatic, nor Favourer of Heretics or Schismatics; that

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome,

115

that they returned him their most sincere Thanks for the Steps he had already taken towards an Union, but at the same time most earnestly entreated his Holiness to pursue, in Spite of all Opposition, the Work he had begun, to prefer the Way of Cession to all others, to extend the Promise he had made to resign (provided his Competitor resigned) to the Case of his Competitor's being deposed by those of his own Obedience; to take such Measures as should effectually prevent the Continuance of the Schism, in case he died before the Union was concluded; and, lastly, to send Nuncios to the Cardinals assembled at *Pisa*, to let them know, that he agreed to these Articles, and was ready to fulfil them. Such was the Answer the few Bishops still remaining at *Perpignan* returned to *Benedict*, desirous to know what further Measures he should pursue to put an End to the Schism. He thanked the Bishops for the Zeal they had shewn in his Cause, the Cause of the Church; and, not satisfied with promising to comply in every Particular with the Advice they had given him, he caused a public Instrument to be drawn up, containing that Promise, which he signed, and caused all the Bishops who were present to sign after him^a. But it soon appeared, that he never intended to observe this Promise. no more than the Oath he had taken at his Election, which gave great Offence to those Bishops, and estranged the Minds of most of them from him.

On the other Hand, *Gregory*, being still at *Lucca*, appointed a Council to meet about the Festival of *Whitsunday*, at some Place to be afterwards named, in the Province of *Aquileia* or the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and by circular Letters, dated the 2d of *July*, invited to it all the Bishops of his Obedience, in order to deliberate with them about the Means of healing the present Divisions. He removed soon after from *Lucca* to *Siena*, and there on the 19th of *September* created Nine new Cardinals, of different Nations, to assist and support him against those lately promoted by his Competitor. From *Siena* he went to *Rimini*, being invited thither by *Charles Malatesta*, Lord of that City, and One of his most zealous Friends. During his Stay there he chose the City of *Udine*, in the Territories of *Venice* and the Diocese of *Aquileia*, for the Meeting of his Council; and acquainted therewith the Bishops of his Obedience by Letters bearing Date the 19th of *December* in the Third

Year of
Christ 1409.

Gregory appoints a Council to meet at Udine.

^a Niem de Schif. l. 3. c. 67. Surita Indic. Arragon. l. 3. ad ann. 1408.

Year of his Pontificate ; for he had been crowned on that very Day
 Christ 1409. Two Years before w.

Council at
 Pisa.

In the mean time the Cardinals of the one and the other Obedience repairing to *Pisa*, the Council, which they had appointed to meet there, was opened in the Cathedral Church of that City on the 25th of *March* 1409. It was not very numerous at first, but the Number of the Fathers increasing daily, there were found to be present after the First Sessions 22 Cardinals, 180 Archbishops and Bishops, 300 Abbots, 282 Doctors in Divinity, the 3 *Latin* Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and the Embassadors of the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Sicily*, and most other Princes. In the First Session, held on the 25th of *March*, the Mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated with great Solemnity by One of the Cardinals, a Doctor of Divinity laid before them, in a learned Speech, the distracted State of the Church, pointed out the Means of removing the Evils arising from thence, and exhorted the Fathers unanimously to concur in employing them.

Second,
 Third, and
 Fourth Ses-
 sions.

The next Day, the 26th of *March*, Two Cardinals, One Archbishop, and One Bishop, attended by the Advocate for the Council and some Notaries, proceeded by Order of the Council to the Church-gate, and there summoned aloud *Peter de Luna* and *Angelus Corarius* to appear. At the same time were summoned the Cardinals *de Flisco*, *de Chabant*, and of *Osimo*, who still remained with *Benedict*, and the Cardinal of *Todi*, who had not yet left *Gregory*. As no-body appeared to answer the Summons, the Deputies of the Council, returning to their Seats, made their Report, and it was thereupon resolved, that the Council should proceed against the Two Pretenders to the Pontificate as well as the Cardinals who still adhered to them, as obstinately refusing to appear when lawfully summoned. However all further Proceedings against them were put off till the next Session, to that which was to be held on the 30th of *March*. In the mean time arrived the Cardinals of *Milan* and *Bar*, who had been sent into *Germany* to invite the Emperor and the *German* Princes to the Council, and brought with them 90 Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Doctors, who had not been

Sentence pro-
 nounced
 against the
 Two Competi-
 tors.

present at the preceding Sessions. As in the Fourth Session, on the 30th of *March*, neither of the Competitors had yet appeared, nor any body to represent them, they were declared guilty of disobeying a just

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

117

and lawful Summons; and the Sentence was read aloud and set up at the Church Door by the Cardinal of *Poitiers* Bishop of *Palestrina*.

Year of
Christ 1409.

The Fifth Session was put off till *Monday* after the Octave of *Easter*, that is, till the 15th of *April*, and in the mean time arrived at *Pisa* Embassadors from the Emperor *Rupert*, whom they stiled King of the *Romans*, as he had not yet been crowned at *Rome*. He still adhered to *Gregory*, had refused to renounce his Obedience on account of his having approved of his Election to the Empire and the Deposition of the Emperor *Winceslaus*, and had therefore sent Embassadors, viz. One Archbishop, Two Bishops, and a Canon of *Spire*, not to assist, in his Name, at the Council, but to start Difficulties against it. Being accordingly introduced to the Council at the Fifth Session, on the 15th of *April*, they desired to know by whose Authority the Council was assembled, whether the Cardinals could withdraw from the Obedience of the Pope, could convene a General Council, or summon the Pope to it? They assured the Fathers, that *Gregory* was ready to assist at the Council, and make good all his Engagements, provided his Competitor promised to do so too, and the Council were transferred to some other Place. The Fathers desired the Embassadors to produce their Credentials, and deliver in Writing what they had proposed by Word of Mouth. They complied, not without great Reluctance; but instead of waiting for an Answer to their Questions, which the Council had promised to return at the next Session, they left *Pisa*, without taking Leave, and returned to *Germany*, having first appealed from that Assembly in their Master's Name, and declared, that it belonged to him to convene a General Council, and that no General Council could be lawfully assembled but by his Authority. The Embassadors withdrew from *Pisa* on the 20th of *April*, and the Council meeting on the 24th, it was by the whole Assembly unanimously declared, that the College of Cardinals had a Power in the present critical Juncture to convene a General Council; that a General Council was the Church Universal, and could proceed to a definitive Sentence; that the Number of Prelates then present was sufficient to form a General Council; that the City of *Pisa* was as proper a Place as any for them to meet at; and that the Two Pretenders to the Pontificate had been sufficiently summoned to it. The Day after the Departure of the Embassadors *Charles Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*, where
Gregory

The Fifth
and Sixth
Sessions.

Embassadors
from the Em-
peror to the
Council.

Year of
Christ 1409.

Gregory still was, came to *Pisa*, to beg the Cardinals would transfer the Council to some other Place. But the Four Cardinals, Two of *Benedict's* Obedience, and Two of *Gregory's*, appointed by the Council to receive and to hear him, told him, that notwithstanding the great Regard they had for him, they could not grant to him what, for weighty Reasons, they had refused to the King of the *Romans*.

Seventh Session.

The Seventh Session was held on the 24th of *April*, when the Advocate for the Council read aloud from the Pulpit an Account of the Schism from its first Rise up to that Time, of the Measures that had been pursued to remove it, and of the Obstacles they had met with from both Pretenders, chusing rather to leave the Church involved in the utmost Confusion, than to part with their Dignity. When he had done reading, he addressed himself to the Fathers of the Council, begging they would cause the Facts, which he had alleged, to be inquired into, and, if found to be true, to depose both Pretenders as alike guilty, to deprive those, who still adhered to either, of their Offices, Benefices, and Dignities, and absolve all from their Obedience. In the mean time arrived at *Pisa* *Simon de Cremaut*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the Embassadors of the Dukes of *Brabant*, of *Holland*, of the City and Church of *Liege*, the Deputies of the University of *Paris*, and soon after them the Embassadors of the King of *England*, and those of the Archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*.

Eighth Session.

In the Eighth Session, held on the last of *April*, the Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Robert Alan*, One of the Embassadors from the King of *England*, *Henry IV.* preached before the Council, taking for his Text the Words of the Eighty-ninth Psalm, *Righteousness and Mercy are the Habitation of thy Seat*. He exhorted the Fathers to complete the great and necessary Work which they had begun, which his Master, he said, had above all Things at Heart, and had therefore sent him and his Colleagues with full Powers to condemn or approve in his Name, and in that of the Clergy of his Kingdom, what should be condemned or approved by so venerable an Assembly. *Walsingham* adds, in the Life of *Henry IV.* that Embassadors were sent by that Prince to persuade *Gregory*, if by any Means they could, to sacrifice his Dignity to the Welfare of the Church, after the Example of the true Mother, who chose rather to yield her Child to the pretended Mother, than suffer it to be divided between them.

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

119

The Council met again on the 4th of *May*, when *Peter de Ancharano*, One of the most learned Doctors of *Bologna*, rising up, answered the Questions that had been proposed to the Council by the Embassadors of *Rupert*, stiling him only Duke of *Bavaria*, shewed that the Two Pretenders had been sufficiently summoned, and that as neither of them had appeared in Compliance with their repeated Summons, the Council might now proceed against them, though absent. Commissioners were accordingly named to hear and examine the Depositions of the Witnesses that were ready to appear, and attest the Facts that the Advocate for the Council had alleged against both the Competitors. The Commissioners were Two Cardinals for the Two Colleges of Cardinals, the Bishop of *Lisieux*, and Three Doctors for the Kingdom of *France*, for *England* One Doctor, One for *Provence*, and Two for *Germany*. In this Session it was ordained that Deputies should be sent to appease *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*; but we are not told what had provoked him. He was at this Time most zealously attached to *Gregory*, and, perhaps, offended at the Proceedings of the Council against him. The Tenth Session, on the 8th of *May*, was not held in the Cathedral, but in the Church of *St. Michael*, the Festival of his Apparition on Mount *Gargano* being solemnized on that Day. In this Session the Patriarch of *Alexandria* undertook to prove, in Answer to the Questions of the Emperor's Embassadors, that, in the present distracted State of the Church, the Cardinals not only had a Power to assemble a General Council, but were bound by their Office to convene one. In a Congregation that was held after the Session, *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Albano*, told the Fathers that Nuncios from *Peter de Luna* were on the Road, and would, as he was informed, arrive in a short Time at *Pisa*, and he therefore desired that it might be previously settled how they should be received, and what Regard should be had to them, or whether any. The Affair was left that Day undetermined, but on the next, the 9th of *May*, the Day of the Eleventh Session, it was determined that the Nuncios should be received without any the least Mark of Distinction, but should be civilly treated and heard in full Council.

In the Eleventh Session the Bishop of *Salisbury* observed that some of *Benedict's* Cardinals there present had not yet renounced his Obedience, whereas all of the opposite Party had withdrawn from the Obedience

Year of
Christ 1409.
The Ninth
and Tenth
Sessions.

The Eleventh
and Twelfth
Sessions.

Year of
Christ 1409.

Obedience of *Gregory*; and he was therefore of Opinion that they should all join and jointly renounce, by a solemn Act, all Obedience to both. He was therein seconded by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, by the Bishop of *Cracow*, Nuncio from the King of *Poland*, and by the Nuncios of *Cologne* and *Mentz*. But the Cardinals, who had not yet withdrawn from the Obedience of *Benedict*, desired Time to deliberate, which was granted them only till the next Day; when the whole Council, Two Bishops only excepted, the one an *Englismen*, the other a *German*, agreed to the Motion of the Bishop of *Salisbury*. A Decree was therefore drawn up and read aloud by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, importing that the Cardinals, and with them the other Members of the present General Council, renounced all Obedience to both the Pretenders to the Pontifical Dignity, as the Authors of the Continuance of the Schism, and the inexpressible Evils attending it, which they had it in their Power, and were bound by the most solemn Oaths, to remove.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions.

In the mean time the Witnesses against both being examined by the Commissioners, and their Depositions laid before the Council, in the following Sessions, by the Archbishop of *Pisa*, with the Name and Character of each Witness. As the Facts were all notorious, and, besides, attested by Persons of unexceptionable Characters, the Advocate for the Council desired the Fathers would declare them fully proved, and proceed, without further Delay, to the definitive Sentence. The Fathers, however, caused the Two Pretenders to be summoned anew at the Church-Door, and on the 28th of *May* put off the pronouncing of the definitive Sentence till the 5th of *June*. The next Day *Peter Plaon*, Doctor in Divinity, reputed one of the most learned Men in the University of *Paris*, preaching before the Council, alleged a great many Reasons to prove the Superiority of the Church, or a General Council, to the Pope, shewed the Conduct of *Peter de Luna* to be not only that of an obstinate Schismatic, but an incorrigible Heretic, altogether unworthy of holding any Dignity in the Church, much more the highest, and closed his Speech with assuring the Fathers, that such was the Opinion not only of the University of *Paris*, but of *Angers*, of *Orleans*, of *Toulouse*. When he had done, the Bishop of *Novara* read from the Pulpit the Opinions of One hundred and
Three

Gregory XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

121

Three Professors of Divinity in the University of *Bologna*, all entirely agreeing with those of the *French Universities*. Year of Christ 1409,

As every Article of the Charge, brought against both Competitors, was now fully proved; and neither appeared, though so often summoned, nor any body for them, the Council proceeded at last, in the Fifteenth Session, held on the 5th of *June*, to the definitive Sentence. At that Session were present One hundred and Seventy Archbishops, Bishops, and mitred Abbots, One hundred and Twenty Doctors in Divinity, Three hundred Doctors in Civil and Canon Law, and the Embassadors of almost all the Christian Princes. When they had all taken their Places, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, attended by the Two Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, read aloud from the Pulpit the definitive Sentence in the Hearing of an immense Multitude, the Church-Doors being all opened on that Occasion. The Sentence was as follows: "The holy General Council, representing the Church Both Popes deposed.
" universal, and therefore vested with the necessary Power finally to
" determine the present Cause, having examined all that has been
" produced relative to the Union of the Church, and the Schism between *Peter de Luna*, heretofore called *Benedict XIII.* and *Angelus Corarius*, styled *Gregory XII.* pronounce, declare, and define, upon
" the most mature Deliberation, all the Facts alleged against both
" Pretenders to the Papal Dignity to be true, and both to have forfeited, as Schismatics and Heretics, as guilty of Perjury and a Breach
" of the most solemn Vow, all Right and Title to that Dignity. But
" though they have, by their Obstinacy in fomenting so long a Schism,
" forfeited the Pontifical and every other Dignity, and *ipso facto* incurred the Sentence of Excommunication and the other Censures
" of the Church, the Council nevertheless excommunicates, rejects,
" and deposes them, and pronounces them excommunicated, rejected,
" and deposed by the present definitive Sentence; forbids them henceforth to assume the Name of High Pontiffs, and all Christians, on
" Pain of Excommunication, to obey them, or lend them any Assistance whatever; annuls all the Judgments they have hitherto
" given, or may henceforth give, as well as the Promotion of Cardinals made lately by either, by *Angelus Corarius* since the 3d of
" *May* of the preceding Year, and by *Peter de Luna* since the 15th
" of *June* of the same Year; and lastly declares upon the Whole the
Vo L. VII. S " Apostolic

Year of " Apostolic See to be at present vacant, and the Cardinals at Liberty
Christ 1409. " to proceed to a new Election."

*Promise made
by the Car-
dinals.*

*The Nuncios
of Benedict
how received.*

In the following Session, held on the 10th of *June*, a Paper was read from the Pulpit by the Archbishop of *Pisa*, containing a Promise made and signed by all the Cardinals who were present, that if any of them should be elected to fill the vacant See, he would not dismiss the Council, nor suffer the Fathers to separate till a Reformation was made of the Church universal in its Head as well as its Members, and that if any then absent, or not of their College, should be elected, the Election should not be published till he had made the same Promise. In the Seventeenth Session, held on the 13th of *June*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, attended by the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, read a Paper from the Pulpit, empowering the Cardinals to proceed to the Election of One lawful and undoubted Pope. The Fathers met again the next Day, when Embassadors appeared before them from the King of *Arragon*, desiring to be informed of what had passed in the Council. They were received with all the Respect due to their Character, and told, that in Compliance with their Demand proper Persons should be appointed to give them the necessary Information. But when they acquainted the Council with the Arrival of the Nuncios of Pope *Benedict XIII.* and desired they might be heard, they were hissed by the whole Assembly for styling him Pope, but at the same time told, that out of the Regard they had for their Master, the Messengers of *Peter de Luna* should be heard out of the Council, though by the Canons nothing ought to be heard in Favour of a condemned Heretic. Some Cardinals being therefore appointed to hear them in the Church of *St. Martin*, they desired, in the First Place, to know whether they might speak freely, having a great deal to object to some of the Determinations of the Council. The Cardinals returned Answer, that they might speak as freely as they pleased, provided they said nothing that was injurious to, or reflected on the Council; but the Fathers would suffer no Reflections upon so august an Assembly to pass with Impunity. Being intimidated with this Answer, they demanded Time to deliberate, which was granted them; but the very next Day, the 15th of *June*, they privately withdrew from *Pisa*, and appeared no more. And now the Cardinals who were present, in all Twenty-four, being empowered by the Council to elect
One

Alexander V. BISHOPS of Rome.

One true and lawful Pope in the Room of the Two whom they had deposed, resolved to proceed without Delay to the Election.

123
Year of
Christ 1409.

MA. PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

ALEXANDER V.

RUPERT of Bavaria,
Emperor of the West.

The Two-Hundred and Third BISHOP of Rome.

THE Nuncios of *Peter de Luna* having left *Pisa* early in the Morning of the 15th of *June*, the Nineteenth Session, as it is called in the Acts of the Council, was held on the same Day. In that Session the Mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated by the Archbishop of *Lions*, and a Sermon preached by the Bishop of *Novara*, who took for his Text the Words of the Second Book of *Kings*, Chap. x. Ver. 3. *Look even out the best, and set him on the Throne*, the Council was adjourned, and the Cardinals, entering in the Evening into the Conclave in the Palace of the Archbishop of *Pisa*, remained there till the 26th of *June*, when they unanimously elected *Peter* of *Candia*, Cardinal-Presbyter of the Twelve Apostles, a Friar *Minorite*, at the Time of his Election about Seventy Years of Age. He took the Name of *Alexander V.* and immediately after his Election appointed the Council to meet on the 1st of the following *July*.

Alexander was come of an obscure Family in the Isle of *Candia*, so obscure that he never knew, as he himself owned, Father, Mother, Brothers, Sisters, or any of his Kindred, but being by no body owned begged his Bread in the Streets of *Candia*, the Metropolis of the Island, which from thence took its Name. In that Condition he was met by a Friar *Minorite*, who, judging from his Countenance of the good Disposition of his Mind, took him with him to his Convent, and taught him the Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue. As he shewed a great Inclination to learn, and a very uncommon Capacity, he was, after the usual Trials, admitted into the Order. In the mean time the Friar, returning to *Italy* (for he was a Native of that Country) carried his Pupil with him, and representing him to the Superiors of the Order as a very promising Youth, prevailed upon them to send him to the University of *Oxford*, at this Time One of the chief Seats, if not the First, of Learning. Having ended his Studies there with the Repu-

His Birth,
Education,
Preferments,
&c.

Year of
Christ 1409.

tation of a very extraordinary Genius, he went to *Paris*, and distinguishing himself in that University no less than he had done at *Oxford*, he was honoured there with the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. He then returned to *Italy*, where *John Galeazzi Visconti*, Lord of *Milan*, hearing of his Adventures, and being thereupon desirous to know him, was so pleased with his Conversation, that he took him into his Protection, and by his Interest got him preferred, first to the Bishopric of *Vicenza*, afterwards to that of *Novara*, and lastly to the Archbishopric of *Milan*, from which he was raised by *Innocent VII.* to the Dignity of Cardinal, and was therefore commonly called the Cardinal of *Milan*. Such is the Account *Theodoric de Niem* has given us of the Rise of *Alexander V.*; and his Account, as he not only lived at this Time, but belonged to *Alexander's* Court, I have preferred to those of others who wrote after him, and differ from him. The Greek Name of *Philargus* or *Philaretus*, given to this Pope by some Historians, he must have assumed, as he knew nothing of his Family or Relations.

Confirms all
the Acts of
the Council.

Alexander immediately after his Election had, as has been said, appointed the Council to meet on *Monday* the 1st of *July*, and they met accordingly on that Day, when Cardinal *de Challant* read a Paper signed by all the Cardinals, declaring that they had elected the Cardinal of *Milan* to fill the vacant See, and recommending him and the Church to the Prayers of the Council. The Pope then preached a Sermon, taking for his Text the Words of the Gospel, *There shall be One Fold, and One Pastor*. When he had done, the Cardinal of *St. Eustachius*, *Beltasar Cossa*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Bologna*, from his having been Archdeacon of that Church, read a Decree of the new Pope, confirming all that had been done by the Council, or by the Cardinals from the 3d of *May* 1408 to the present Time. In this Session, the Twentieth according to the Acts, the Pope gave Notice to the Cardinals and the Council, that he intended to be crowned on the following *Sunday* the 7th of *July*, and appointed them to meet again on the ensuing *Wednesday*, the 10th of the same Month. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed in the Cathedral of *Pisa* with the usual Solemnity, and the Pope rode, according to Custom, through the City in his Pontificals, attended not only by the Cardinals, but by all the Bishops of the Council on Horseback, clad in White, with their Caparisons of the same Colour ^b.

^a De Niem, de Schif. c. 5.

^b Idem ibid.

In the Twenty-first Session, held at the appointed Time, the 10th of July, the Pope declared null and revoked all Sentences pronounced by either of the Competitors against those who were not of their Obedience, or had embraced the Neutrality. Nothing else was done in this Session, but the Fathers were required to assemble again the following Wednesday the 17th of July. But that Session was afterwards put off to the 27th of the same Month on account of the Arrival of Lewis of Anjou, who was acknowledged King of Naples by Alexander and all the Cardinals, but had been driven out by his Competitor Ladislaus. He was received by the Cardinals with extraordinary Marks of Honour, was declared by the Pope the only lawful King of Sicily, that is, of Naples, and made the Standard-Bearer of the Church.

Year of Christ 1409.
Revokes all Sentences pronounced by either of the Competitors.

In the Twenty-second Session, held on the 27th of July, the Pope confirmed all Collations of Benefices, Ordinations, Consecrations, Translations, &c. made by either of the Competitors, provided they were, in other Respects, canonical. In this Session it was ordained, that in the Term of Three Years another General Council should be convened, that is, in April 1412, at some Place to be named One Year before that Time. At the same time the Pope generously remitted all that was due from the Churches to the Apostolic Chamber till the Time of his Election, and exhorted the Cardinals to follow therein his Example, which they all very readily did, except the Cardinal of Albano. He likewise declared, that he did not intend to reserve to himself the Spoils of deceased Bishops, nor the Revenues of vacant Benefices.

Confirms all Collations of Benefices, &c. made by either.

The Twenty-third and Last Session was held on the 7th of August, when it was decreed, that no Goods, Lands, or Estates, belonging to the Roman or to any other Church, should be sold or mortgaged before the Meeting of the next General Council; that in the mean time the Archbishops and Bishops should convene Provincial Synods, the Monks and regular Canons should hold General and Provincial Chapters, in order to inform themselves of the prevailing Abuses, and lay them before the future General Council; that Embassadors should be immediately dispatched to all the Christian Princes to acquaint them with the Determinations of the Council, and exhort them to see what they had determined carried into Execution; and lastly, that the Council, which was to meet in the Term of Three Years, should be reputed a Continuation of the present, and should pursue the Work happily begun.

Last Session of the Council of Pisa.

Year of
Christ 1409. begun, the Reformation of the Church in its Head as well as its Members. After these Regulations Leave was granted to the Bishops to return to their Sees; but they were at the same time required readily to obey the Summons that should be sent them, after a Three Years Recess, to meet again and resume the Work of the so much wanted Reformation. And now the Church had in Effect Three Heads. For Gregory was still acknowledged by King *Ladislaus*, by some Cities of *Italy*, and by *Rupert*, King of the *Romans*, provoked at *Alexander's* giving that Title to *Wincefflaus*, King of *Bobemia*. *Benedict* was still obeyed as lawful Pope by the Kings of *Arragon*, of *Castile*, of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, and *Alexander* by all the other Christian Princes.

Council held
by Gregory
at Udine.

In the mean time Gregory, on *Corpus Christi* Day, the 6th of June, opened the Council which he had appointed to meet at *Udine*. But in the First Session nothing was transacted on account of the very small Number of Bishops present at it. The Second Session was put off for a considerable Time, and in the mean while the Bishops of *Malta* and *Ferentino* were sent by Gregory to order, on Pain of Excommunication, all the Bishops in the Territories of *Venice* to repair, without Delay, to *Udine* and attend the Council: But the Two Nuncios were every where received with the utmost Contempt, the *Venetians* having already declared, though Gregory was a Native of *Venice*, for the Council of *Pisa* and *Alexander*. However in the Second Session held, on what Day we know not, nor in what Month, the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out by Gregory against *Peter de Luna* and *Peter de Candia*, the Election of the one and the other was declared uncanonical and sacrilegious, both were pronounced Schismatics and Heretics, their Acts were all annulled, and all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to obey the one or the other. In the Third Session, held on the 5th of September, Gregory, pretending to have of all Things at Heart, the Tranquillity and Peace of the Church, caused a Paper to be read by one of the very few Bishops who were present, wherein he declared, calling God to witness the Sincerity of his Intentions, that he was ready to resign, provided *Peter de Luna* and *Peter de Candia* would do so too personally, at the same Time, and in the same Place; that he left the settling of the Time and the Place to *Rupert*, King of the *Romans*, to *Ladislaus*, King of *Sicily*, and to *Sigismund*, King of *Hungary*.

Alexander V. BISHOPS of Rome.

127

Hungary. He added, that if the Two Intruders did not agree to these Terms, he granted them Leave to assemble a General Council of the Three Obediences, at which, he said, he was ready to assist in Person, and to acquiesce in their Decrees, provided his Two Competitors engaged to assist at it in Person as well as he, and to stand to the Determination of that Assembly. But he had given too many glaring Instances of his Insincerity to be thought now sincere; and all he said, promised, or vowed, was looked upon as only calculated to gain Time.

Year of
Christ 1409.

As the *Venetians* had received the Council of *Pisa*, and all secular *His Flight* Princes were required by that Council to afford no Retreat in their Do-*from Udine.* minions to either of the Pretenders to the Apostolic See, but on the contrary, to treat them as Schismatics, as Heretics, as Rebels to the Church, *Gregory* thinking himself no longer safe at *Udine*, subject to the *Venetians*, resolved to leave that Place and return to his Friend *Charles Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*. But *Anthony*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, whom he had deposed the Year before, and very unjustly, had placed Guards on all the Roads, with Orders to arrest him and keep him strictly guarded till further Orders. Upon this Intelligence *Gregory*, laying aside all Thoughts of returning to *Rimini*, wrote to King *Ladislaus* to acquaint him with his unhappy Situation, and beg he would send him Two Gallies to convey him out of the *Venetian* Territories. The Gallies were immediately sent, and with them Fifty Men to protect him against any sudden Attack in his Way from *Udine* to the Sea Side. But *Gregory*, not thinking Fifty Men a sufficient Guard, resolved to make Use of them only to deceive those who lay in wait for him; he set out accordingly from *Udine* on Horse-back in the Disguise of a Merchant, with only Two Men on Foot, having first ordered his Confessor to follow him at some Distance in the pontifical Habit with the Guards, and the Rest of his Court. They who guarded the Road, being told that the Pope was coming, put themselves in a Posture to receive him and his Guards, and in that Hurry let the pretended Merchant pass unmolested. But the poor Confessor paid dear for personating the Pope; for the Guards, falling out of their Ambuscade, as he approached, seized him, stripped him of his pontifical Habit, plundered his Baggage, &c. But while they were thus employed, *Gregory*, making the best of his Way to the Sea Side, got safe on board his Gallies. When the Guards found

Year of
Christ 1409.

but their Mistake they fell upon the Confessor, beat him most unmercifully, and having discovered in beating him, that he had Money concealed in his pontifical Habit, they stript him naked, and found 500 Florins of Gold sewed up in his Robes, which they divided among themselves. The next Day one of the Guards attiring himself with all the pontifical Ornaments taken from the Confessor, rid up and down the Streets of *Udine*, affecting all the Gravity of the High Pontiff, and giving his Benediction to immense Crowds of People, presenting themselves, by way of Diversion, or Derision, on their Knees before him. Thus ended *Gregory's* Council. As for himself, he arrived safe on board the Gallies at *Gaeta*, and was there entertained as lawful Pope by King *Ladislaus*.

Alexander's
Bull in Fa-
vour of the
Mendicants.

To return to *Alexander*; while he was still at *Pisa* he issued a Bull in Favour of the Mendicant Orders, especially the *Minorites*, confirming all the Privileges that his Predecessors, namely, *Boniface VIII.* and *John XXII.* had granted them, and condemning some Propositions calculated to deprive them of those Privileges. The Propositions were: I. That the Validity of Confessions made to the Mendicants is, at least, doubtful, and consequently that all ought to confess to their Parish-Priests, as the Validity of such Confessions has never been questioned. II. That should it even be allowed that the Mendicants really have the Power of hearing Confessions and absolving, yet they are guilty of a deadly Sin who apply to them without previously obtaining Leave of their Parish-Priest. III. That the Mendicants are equally guilty in hearing the Confessions of those who apply to them without the Knowledge and Consent of their Parish-Priests. These Propositions, and some others of the same Tendency, *Alexander* condemned as erroneous, and repugnant to the Canons, ordered those who should thenceforth presume to assert, teach, or maintain them, to be reputed and proceeded against as Heretics, declared them excommunicated *ipso facto*, and reserved to himself and his Successors the Power of absolving them, except at the Point of Death. The Bull is dated at *Pisa*, the 12th of *October* 1409. But the University of *Paris* protested against it as surreptitious, and derogatory to the undoubted Rights of the Bishops as well as the Parish-Priests; and it was not received there till long after *Alexander's* Time.

⁴ Niem, l. 9. c. 45.

⁵ Monachus Dionys. l. 29. c. 10.

As the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* began at this Time to take deep Root in the Kingdom of *Bobemia*, and *John Hufs* was, among the rest, accused to the Pope of holding and propagating that Doctrine, *Alexander* wrote to the Archbishop of *Prague*, *Alexander Stinko*, strictly enjoining him to proceed against all, who should presume to defend those impious Tenets, as Heretics, and at the same time summoned *John Hufs* to *Rome*, to answer at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See the Charge brought against him. The Archbishop, in Compliance with the Pope's Order, forbade the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* to be taught by any under his Jurisdiction on Pain of incurring the Censures of the Church, and other Punishments inflicted by the Canons upon Heretics; ordered all, who had any of that Arch-Heretic's Books in their Possession, to deliver them up to him, and having thus got Two hundred Copies of them, he caused them to be publicly burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman. *John Hufs* received the Summons, but instead of obeying it, and appearing personally at the Pope's Tribunal, he sent Two of his Friends to plead his Cause for him, and in the mean time appealed from *Alexander* ill-informed to *Alexander* well-informed ^f. As I shall have frequent Occasion to speak of *John Hufs* in the Sequel, it will not, I hope, be thought foreign to my Subject to give here some Account of a Man, who, in the Times which I am now writing of, became so famous in the History of the Church.

John Hufs then was a Native of the Kingdom of *Bobemia*, being born in a small Town of that Kingdom named *Hussinetz*; and from thence he was called *John of Hussinetz*, or *John Hufs*. He studied at the University of *Prague*, and soon distinguished himself above all his Fellow-Students by the wonderful Progress he made in every Branch of Literature. Having ended his Studies, he was appointed Preacher at the famous Chapel of *Bethlehem* in *Prague*, and he there preached with such Zeal against the reigning Vices of the Age, that *Sophia* of *Bavaria*, Second Wife of *Wenceslaus*, King of *Bobemia*, chose him for her Confessor. He was in Process of Time elected Rector of the University; and that Office he discharged to the entire Satisfaction of most of the Members of that learned Body. *Trithemius* speaks of him as a Man of very great Note for his Judgment, Subtlety, Eloquence, and Knowledge of the Scriptures ^g; and the Jesuit *Balbinus*, who cer-

^f Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1409. num. 89.

^g Trithem. in Chron. Hirsaug. tom. 2.

Year of
Christ 1409.

The Doctrine
of Wickliffe
propagated
in Bohemia.

Year of
Christ 1409.

tainly was not prejudiced in his Favour, gives him the following Character in his Epitome of the History of *Bobemia*: *John Hufs*, says that *Jesuit*, was more subtle than eloquent; but the Modesty and Severity of his Manners, his unpolished, austere, and entirely blameless Life, his pale thin Visage, his Good-nature, and his Affability to all, even to the meanest Persons, were more persuasive than the greatest Eloquence ^h. But his blameless Life could afford him no Protection against the Malice and Malevolence of the Clergy. For as he inveighed in all his Sermons, perhaps, with too much Acrimony against their Irregularities, they took Occasion, from some Expressions he let drop, favourable to *Wickliffe*, to accuse him to the Pope of holding and propagating the same Doctrines that *Wickliffe* had held, and the Church had condemned. But that he was no Heretic, that he taught no Doctrines but what could bear a favourable Construction, even according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, shall be shewn in the Sequel.

The Pope
obliged by the
Plague to
leave Pisa.

In the latter End of the present Year 1409 the Pope was obliged, by the Plague that broke out at *Pisa*, to quit that City, and retire first to *Prato*, and from thence to *Pistoia*, Two Cities in the Territories of *Florence*, at a small Distance from each other. *Alexander* intended to have gone from *Pistoia* to *Rome*, King *Ladislaus*, who had made himself Master of that City, having been lately driven out of it by *Paul Urfini*, assisted by the *Florentines*, the *Senese*, the *Bolognese*, and other States of *Italy*, jealous of the Power of that warlike Prince. But *Baltasar Cossa*, Cardinal Legate of *Bologna*, persuaded him, contrary to the Opinion of all the other Cardinals, to go first to that City; and that with a Design, as some Writers suppose, of getting the Cardinals into his Power, and obliging them, should the Pope, who was grown very infirm, die there, to elect him in his Room. He had been but a very short Time at *Bologna*, when the *Romans* invited him, by a very solemn Embassy, to come and reside at *Rome*; and delivered to him the Keys of the City as well as of the Castle *St. Angelo*. The Pope seemed inclined to gratify the *Romans*, but Cardinal *Cossa*, who governed him as he pleased, diverted him from it, and kept him under various Pretences at *Bologna*, till he was no longer able to undertake the Journey to *Rome*. His Complaints increased daily, and at last put an End to his Life in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *May* 1410, in

Goes to Bo-
logna.

Dies there.
Year of
Christ 1410.

^h Balbin. l. 4. p. 431.

Alexander V. BISHOPS of Rome.

131

the Seventy-first Year of his Age, when he had governed the Church Ten Months and Eight Days. St. *Antonine* writes, that it was said he had been poisoned *clystere venenato* ^g; and with him *Monstreletus* agrees as to the Report of Poison having been administered to him. Neither indeed tell us by whom; but One of the Articles of the complicated Charge brought in the Council of *Constance* against *John XXIII.* the Name Cardinal *Cossa* assumed when raised to the Pontificate, was, that aspiring at the Pontificate he had conspired against Pope *Alexander* of holy Memory, and caused him to be poisoned by *Daniel* of *St. Sophia* his Physician.

Year of
Christ 1410.

Alexander is represented by most Authors, who speak of him, as a Man of a remarkably mild Disposition, as one who made it his Business to oblige all, and never was known to have refused any Favour, which he had it in his Power and thought it lawful to grant. His Generosity bounded upon Prodigality; for being unwilling to dismiss any dissatisfied who applied to him, he gave to all so liberally, that he left nothing for himself, and used therefore to say, that he was rich when a Bishop, was poor when a Cardinal, and a Beggar when Pope. He was a Man strictly religious, says the anonymous Monk of *St. Denys*, a contemporary Writer, and led a most holy Life without affecting any extraordinary Sanctity ^h. As to his Learning, he is called by *Platina* a great Orator, and by Cardinal *Ægidius* of *Viterbo* One of the best Philosophers and ablest Divines of his Time ⁱ. He wrote Commentaries upon the Four Books of Sentences, several Philosophical Pieces, Sermons, Letters, and a Treatise on the Immaculate Conception of the *Virgin Mary*, not defining it, but only shewing that it is not repugnant to the Faith ^k.

His Character
and
Writings.

^g Antonin. tit. 22. c. 5.
Ægidius in secul. 20.

^h Monach. Dionys. l. 29. c. 3.
^k Ludvic. Jacob. in Bibliothec. Pontific.

ⁱ *Platina* in vit.

MA. PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

JOHN XXIII.

SIGISMUND of Luxemburg,
Emperor of the West.

The Two-Hundred and Fourth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 1410.
John XXIII.
elected.

ALEXANDER dying, as has been said, in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *May*, his Exequies were performed in the Church of the *Minorites*, where he had chosen to be buried, on the 5th of the same Month, and Nine Days after the Cardinals, who were present, in all Seventeen, entering, according to Custom, into the Conclave, elected on the 17th Cardinal *Balthasar Cossa*, or *Coxa*, then Legate of *Bologna*, who took the Name of *John XXIII*. His Election was at first opposed by the Three *Roman* Cardinals, and by Cardinal *Francis*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Bourdeaux*. The *Roman* Cardinals were prevailed upon to concur with the Rest. But the Cardinal of *Bourdeaux* protested to the last against the Election, saying, that if Cardinal *Cossa* were to be elected King or Emperor, he might depend upon his Vote and Interest, but that he never would consent to his being elected Pope ^k. *Philip of Bergamo* tells us, that as the Cardinals could not agree, they applied to Cardinal *Cossa*, desiring him to name the Person who should be Pope; that he, after some affected Reluctance, desired them to deliver up to him the Mantle of *St. Peter*, promising to give it to the Person who should be Pope; and that upon the Cardinals complying with his Request, he threw the Mantle round his Shoulders, saying, *I am Pope* ^l. The Historian adds, that *Cossa* having, as Legate, many armed Men under his Command, the Cardinals thought it adviseable to dissemble. *Platina* writes, that *Cossa* was said to have kept a great Number of Troops in *Bologna*, and the neighbouring Country, to oblige the Cardinals to elect him, if they did not do it of their own Accord ^m. *De Niem* reproaches him with bribing the poor Cardinals, those especially of *Gregory*, and purchasing their Suffrages with large Sums of Money ⁿ. With him most other Authors agree, so that according to them the Election of *John XXIII*. if he did not elect himself, was owing either to Fear or

^k Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 6.
ejus vita.

^l Philip. de Bergamo, l. 14.

ⁿ Niem, de Schif. l. 3. c. 53.

^m Platina, in

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

133

to Bribery; and he had no better Right to that Dignity than either of the other Two Competitors.

John was a Native of *Naples*, come of a noble and wealthy Family of that City. He studied the Civil and Canon Law at *Bologna*, and having obtained there the Degree of Doctor, he went from thence to *Rome*, aspiring even then at the Pontificate. For *Platina* tells us, that being asked by his Friends whither he was going, he answered, *To the Popedom*. *Boniface IX.* then Pope, his Countryman, and well acquainted with his Family, admitted him soon after his Arrival among his *Cubicularii*, or Waiters at his Chamber-Door, and in Process of Time made him Apostolic Protonotary, Archdeacon of *Bologna*, and Cardinal of *St. Eutachius*. He was promoted to the Dignity of Cardinal in 1402, and, being soon after his Promotion appointed Legate of the Province of *Flaminia*, he recovered the City of *Bologna* from *John Galeazzo*, Lord of *Milan*, and, residing there, continued to govern and plunder that Province to the Time of his Election. He quarrelled with Pope *Gregory* about the Revenues of that Bishopric; of which he kept the greater Part for himself; and being ordered by that Pope to refund, he became one of his most inveterate Enemies; and it was chiefly at his Instigation that the other Cardinals forsook him. He was one of the chief Promoters of the Council of *Pisa*, and obtained Leave of the *Florentines* for the Council to meet in that City then subject to them. In the Conclave, that was held upon the Deposition of the Two Competitors, he exerted all his Interest in Favour of *Alexander*, as a Man of great Learning, of an exemplary Life, and one who had no Relations to enrich at the Expence of the Church. As *Alexander*, while Cardinal, placed an entire Confidence in him, was himself but very little acquainted with temporal Affairs, and far advanced in Years, *Cossa* knew that the Government, with respect to Temporals, would be left wholly to him, and did not at all doubt but he should be able to dispose Matters so as to be elected upon his Death, which might be daily expected, in his Room. He therefore spared no Pains, nor Money, if some of the contemporary Writers are to be credited, to secure the Election of *Alexander*, worthy, says *Gobelinus*, in every Respect of the Pontifical Dignity, except the Confidence he blindly reposed in Cardinal *Cossa*.

* Niem vit. Joan. XXIII. in Gobelin. Persona ætate 6. c. 90. Leonardus Aretin. p. 257.

John,

Year of
Christ 1410. *John*, thus elected, was introned on the Day of his Election, *Saturday* the 17th of *May*; assisted on *Sunday* the 18th in his Pontificals at High Mass in the Chapel of the Apostolic Palace in *Bologna*; *Is introned, ordained, crowned, &c.* was ordained Priest, being only Cardinal Deacon, on the following *Saturday* the 24th, and on *Sunday* the 25th consecrated in the Church of *St. Petronius*, the tutelary Saint of *Bologna*, and then crowned with the usual Solemnity. *Gobelinus Persona* writes, that many were scandalized, seeing him ride, according to Custom after his Coronation, in the Attire of High Pontiff through the City, which he had governed as a complete Tyrant, and where he was known to have led a worldly Life °.

Writes to all the Bishops. The new Pope the Day after his Coronation wrote to all the Bishops and Christian Princes to acquaint them with his Promotion, and exhort them to support him against the Two Pretenders to the Pontifical Dignity condemned and deposed by the Church universal; at the same Time he revoked all the Censures, pronounced by either, annulled all their Decrees, and confirmed those of *Alexander* and the Council of *Pisa* ^P.

Death of the Emperor Rupert. The Emperor *Rupert* still adhered to *Gregory*, and had gained over some of the *German* Princes to his Party, but fortunately for the new Pope he died at *Oppenheim* soon after his Election. The News of his Death was received with great Joy by the Pope; and he immediately dispatched Nuncios with most pressing Letters to all the Electors in Favour of *Sigismund* of *Luxembourg*, the Son of the Emperor *Charles IV.* Margrave of *Brandenbourg*, and King of *Hungary*. However, the Electors were divided between *Sigismund* and his Cousin *Jodocus*, Marquis of *Moravia*; and some Writers tell us, that the latter was actually elected, but as he died before he was crowned, even with the Silver Crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he has not been reckoned amongst the Emperors or Kings of the *Romans*. Upon his Death the Electors met again, and unanimously elected *Sigismund*. In the History of *Bobemia*, by *Dubravius*, we are told that *Sigismund*, who was one of the Electors as Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, being asked the first whom he elected? answered, *Myself, for I know myself to be equal to the Empire of the World, which is more than I know or can say of any body else.* The Historian adds, that the Electors, taken with his Frankness, all unanimously

° *Gobelinus, ubi supra.* ^P *Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1410.*

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

135

concurrent in his Election 9. Thus *Dubravius*, Bishop of *Olmütz*. But *Eberhard Windec*, who was Counsellor to *Sigismund*, and present at his Election, tells us, that upon the Death of *Jodocus* he was, *though absent*, unanimously elected King of the *Romans*. The Bishop therefore must have been misled by false Memoirs, when he wrote that *Sigismund* nominated himself. However that be, the Part the Pope acted on this Occasion gained him the Protection and Good-will of the new Emperor, and they reciprocally engaged to support, protect, and defend one another against all their Enemies.

Year of
Christ 1410.

As the late Pope had, by an unbounded, and, as some thought, an ill-understood Generosity, left nothing for himself or his Successor, and *John* stood in great Want of Money to support his Friend *Lewis* of *Anjou* against *Ladislaus* his most inveterate Enemy, he sent the Archbishop of *Pisa* into *France*, to collect the Tenth of all Ecclesiastical Benefices, the Revenues of the vacant Churches, and the Spoils of the deceased Clergy. The Archbishop would, probably, have met with no Opposition in the Execution of his Commission, had he not very unadvisedly pretended all those Branches of the Papal Revenue to be due to the Apostolic Chamber by Civil, Canonical, Natural, and Divine Right. That Claim or Pretension was strongly opposed by the University as well as the Parliament of *Paris*, and by them a Royal Mandate was obtained, forbidding all Ecclesiastics to pay the demanded Subsidies on Pain of forfeiting their Benefices, of Imprisonment, and other Penalties. It was further resolved, in a numerous Assembly of the Clergy, that if the Legate should employ the Censures of the Church against any who refused to comply with his Demands, an Appeal should be made in the Name of the whole *Gallican* Church to the future Council 1. However, upon the Pope's representing in a Letter to the Legate, that King *Ladislaus* was making great military Preparations with a Design of reducing the City of *Rome*, and placing *Gregory* anew in the Pontifical Chair, and that without an immediate Supply of Money he could not pretend to oppose him, it was agreed, in an Assembly of the Clergy, that to defeat the wicked Designs of *Ladislaus*, and prevent the reviving of the Schism, a charitable Supply (*Charitativum Subsidium*) should be granted to his Holiness; that is, a Supply by way of Charity, and not out of any Obligation: And

The Claims of
the Pope op-
posed in
France.

9 *Dubravius Hist. Bohemiz*, l. 23.

1. *Monstrelet*. l. 1. c. 67.

thus

Year of
Christ 1410.

Pope John
returns to
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1411.

And gains,
a compleat
Victory over
Ladislaus.

thus One Half of the Tenths of Benefices was allowed him, but his Collectors were not suffered to meddle either with the Revenues of vacant Churches or the Spoils of the deceased Clergy.

Pope *John*, having now remained near a whole Year at *Bologna*, resolved to leave that City, and, in Compliance with the pressing Instances of the *Romans*, go to *Rome*, the Partizans of King *Ladislaus* and Pope *Gregory* being all driven from thence by *Paul Urfini*, and *Malatesta*, who commanded the Troops of the Republic of *Florence*, sent to the Assistance of the Pope. He set out accordingly for *Rome* in *April* 1411, and on the 11th of that Month, *Holy Saturday*, he made his public Entry into that City, being attended by *Lewis* of *Anjou* King of *Naples*, by the College of Cardinals, by a great Number of Prelates, and the Flower of the *Italian* Nobility. He was received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, and the next Day, the Festival of *Easter*, he celebrated Mass with great Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*. Being determined to drive *Ladislaus* from the Throne, and place *Lewis* of *Anjou* on it in his Room, on the 23d of *April*, *St. George's Day*, after solemn Mass said by himself, he blessed with the usual Ceremonies the great Standard of the Church, and the military Standards of the Senate and People of *Rome*. On the 28th of the same Month he delivered the Standard of the Church to *Lewis* of *Anjou*, appointing him Commander in Chief against *Ladislaus*, a declared Enemy of the Church, and *Angelus Curarius*, called heretofore *Gregory XII*. Under him commanded *Paul Urfini*, and *James Sforza*, who had served several Princes with great Reputation, and was reputed One of the best Commanders of his Time. The Pope, who had more of the military Man than the Ecclesiastic, was for commanding the Army in Person, but being diverted from it by the Cardinals he contented himself with reviewing them, and giving them his Blessing at their Departure from *Rome*. Upon their entering *Campania* they found *Ladislaus* ready to receive them, and an Engagement thereupon ensuing, on the 19th of *May*, that lasted, with great Slaughter on both Sides, from Noon till Night, *Ladislaus* was in the End put to Flight, and obliged to take Shelter in the strong Hold of *Rocca Secca*, and from thence to retire with the few Troops, that had the good Luck to escape, to *St. Germano*. In this Battle fell the Flower of the Nobility of *Naples*,

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

137

and Ten Counts with many other Lords of Distinction were taken Prisoners.

Year of
Christ 1411.

This Victory would have proved decisive had the Conquerors pursued it. But *Paul Urfini*, sensible that his Pay and the many Advantages, accruing to him from the War, would end with it, declined, under various Pretences, penetrating farther into the Kingdom while the Passes were all open, and gave *Ladislaus* Time to recover from the Consternation he was in, and to recruit his Army quite undisturbed. *Lewis*, finding that the Officers, who commanded under him, had combined to cross all his Designs in order to prolong the War, and therefore despairing of being able to pursue it with Success, resigned the Command, and returned to his own Dominions in *France*, declaring to the Pope, whom he acquainted with the Whole, that he would never more concern himself with the Affairs of *Italy*. King *Lewis* brought with him to *Rome* the Military Ensigns taken from the Enemy in the Battle, which the Pope caused to be displayed on the Top of the Tower of *St. Peter's Church*, and afterwards to be dragged along the Streets in the Dirt, on Occasion of a public Procession he made by way of Thanksgiving for so signal, and so useless a Victory. *Peter de Umile*, who was present at this Battle, writes, that King *Ladislaus* used often to say, that he was on the First Day in imminent Danger of losing both his Life and his Kingdom, on the Second in Danger of only losing his Kingdom, and on the Third in no Danger of losing the one or the other.

The Pope betrayed by his Generals.

The Pope, satisfied that his Commanders were not to be relied on, that being Soldiers of Fortune they made it their Study, for the Sake of Pay, to husband the War, dismissed them all, disbanded his Army, and, recurring to his Spiritual Weapons, he first excommunicated *Ladislaus*, and then ordered a Crusade to be preached against him all over *Christendom*. The Bull, issued by the Pope on this Occasion, was One of the most dreadful and furious recorded in History. For all Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops were thereby required, on Pain of Excommunication, on all *Sundays* and Festivals to excommunicate and anathematize *Ladislaus*, with the ringing of Bells and burning of Torches, as guilty of Perjury and Blasphemy, as a relapsed Heretic, as an Abettor of the Schism, as guilty of High Treason against the Church and *Christ's* Vicar upon Earth. All who adhered to him, who any

Excommunicates *Ladislaus*.
Year of
Christ 1412.

Year of
Christ 1412.

ways assisted or favoured him, were declared to incur, *ipso facto*, the Sentence of Excommunication, from which they could only be absolved at the Point of Death, and though then absolved were to be deprived of a Christian Burial. Of this no Instance has hitherto occurred. Besides, all were excommunicated, who should presume to bury the Body of *Ladislaus*, or of any of his Partizans, and could only be absolved from that Excommunication by digging up those Bodies, and removing them out of consecrated Ground. All were exhorted to take the Cross and engage in this Holy War, and to all, who served in it, the same Indulgences were granted as to those who went to the Conquest of the Holy Land; and besides, Heaven was promised as a certain Reward to such as should die in fighting for *Christ* and his Church, as if the Cause of the Pope, striving to pull down One King and set up another, as it best suited his Temporal Interest, were the Cause of *Christ* and his Church.

John Hufs
excommunicated.

When this Bull was published in *Prague*, *John Hufs*, who was then in that City, could not forbear preaching publicly against it, as repugnant to the Spirit of the *Christian* Religion, in promising the Remission of Sins and the Kingdom of Heaven as a Reward for the shedding of *Christian* Blood. The Pope therefore summoned him to *Rome*, and, upon his refusing to comply with the Summons, he not only excommunicated him, but forbade Divine Service to be performed in any of the Churches of *Prague*, except One, so long as *John Hufs*, an excommunicated and condemned Heretic, remained there. *Hufs* wanted not Friends to support him; but, to prevent all Disturbances, he chose to withdraw from *Prague* to *Hussinetz*, the Place of his Nativity, and there he appealed from the Pope to *Jesus Christ*.

Peace concluded between the Pope and Ladislaus, and upon what Terms.

In the mean time *Ladislaus*, not a little alarmed at the Pope's Bull, arming all *Christendom* against him, thought it adviseable to conclude, for the present, a Peace with him upon the best Terms he could obtain, and indeed upon any, as he intended to keep them no longer than he could break them with Safety. As the King had already raised a new and numerous Army, and was upon the Point of invading the Territories of the Church, the Pope, upon the first Notice of his pretended pacific Disposition, dispatched *Nicholas Brancacius*, Cardinal Bishop of *Albano*, to treat with him. As both were alike desirous of

† Poggius, l. 4. Monachus Dionys. ann. 1412.

* Cochleus Hist. Huffit.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

139

Year of
Christ 1412.

Peace, a Treaty was soon concluded upon Terms equally dishonourable to both. For the Pope, on his Side, agreed not only to absolve the King from the Excommunication issued out against him a few Months before, and to revoke the Bull for the Crusade, but to acknowledge him for lawful King of *Naples*, though he had hitherto maintained *Lewis* of *Anjou* to have an undoubted Right to that Crown. On the other Hand *Ladislaus* engaged to abandon *Gregory*, whom he had hitherto acknowledged for lawful Pope; and he ordered him accordingly to quit his Dominions, allowing him but a few Days to make the necessary Preparations for his Journey. *Gregory*, thus forsaken by so powerful a Protector, left *Gaeta*, where he had resided ever since his Flight from *Udine*, and embarking with his small Retinue on board Two trading Vessels, arrived safe at *Rimini*, and met there with a most friendly and honourable Reception from *Charles Malatesta*, who alone adhered to him, as lawful Pope; to the last.

As many of the Cardinals created by *Gregory* and *Benedict* were dead, and none had been created by *Alexander*, *John*, on the 6th of *June*, promoted Fourteen, all said to have been Men of great Merit, to that Dignity. Amongst these are reckoned by *Panvinus*, and after him by *Ciaconius*, *Thomas Langley*, Bishop of *Durham*, and *Robert Alun*, Bishop of *Salisbury*. But in the Acts of the Council of *Constance*, at which the Bishop of *Salisbury* was present, he is constantly stiled Bishop and never Cardinal. Besides, *Walsingham*, who lived at this Time, takes no Notice of the Promotion of either of these Bishops; and he scarce ever passes any Thing over in Silence, that redounds to the Honour of his Countrymen. The anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, a contemporary Historian, says, that both those Prelates were nominated to the Dignity of Cardinal, but that neither would accept of it. What induced them to decline a Dignity, by all others so ambitiously sought for, he has not informed us. Be that as it may, *Godwin*, in his Account of the *English* Prelates, has made them both Cardinals.

As the late Pope and the Council of *Pisa* had ordered a General Council to be assembled, in the Term of Three Years, as a Continuation of that of *Pisa*, *John*, being under no Apprehension of any Disturbance from King *Ladislaus* after the late Peace, summoned, by his circulatory Letters, all the Prelates of the Church to attend the General

Council of
Rome.

Raynald. ad ann. 1412.

U 2

Council,

Year of
Christ 1412.

Wickliffe's
Doctrine
condemned.

Year of
Christ 1413.

Council, that he had appointed to meet at *Rome*, in Compliance with the Order of his Predecessor and the General Council of *Pisa*. At this Council few Bishops were present; and all we know of it is, that it met on the 1st of *April* 1412, that it was still sitting in the Beginning of *February* 1413, that it condemned to the Flames the *Dialogue Tri-
logue*, and all the other Works of *John Wickliffe*, as containing many Errors and Heresies, and summoned those, who had any Thing to offer in Defence of his Memory, to appear in the Term of Nine Months, at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See and offer it freely, lest he should be condemned as a Heretic, even after his Death. In the mean time all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to read, explain, or keep by them any Book or Books bearing the Name of *John Wickliffe*, or to quote any Thing out of them in public or private, but in order to expose and confute the Errors and Heresies, with which they were fraught^u. This Decree is dated at *Rome* the 6th of *January* 1413, and is said to have been issued by the *General Council* assembled in that City, though the Number of Bishops there present scarce intitled it to the Name of a Council.

Rome taken
and ransack-
ed by King
Ladislaus.

Ladislaus had concluded a Peace with the Pope, as has been said; but it was only with a Design to renew the War when he was no longer on his Guard, nor in a Condition to oppose him. Finding therefore that he had dismissed his Generals, had disbanded his Army, and depending upon the late Treaty, thought he had no Enemy to contend with, he drew his Army together in great Haste on the Borders of the Ecclesiastical Territories, and reaching *Rome* by a forced March in the Night between the 7th and 8th of *June* broke down the Wall at an uninhabited Part of the City, and entered with his whole Army before the Citizens knew of his Approach. The Pope however and the Cardinals had the good Luck to make their Escape, first to *Sutri*, from thence to *Viterbo*, and lastly to *Florence*, though closely pursued by the Army, with Orders to bring them back and deliver them up to the King. The Cruelties practised upon such as were known to adhere to the Pope, would exceed all Belief, were they not attested by the contemporary Writers, some of them Eye-witnesses of what they relate. Several Prelates were by the King's Order inhumanly massacred in their Houses; some of the prime Nobility were

^u Cochleus Hist. Hussit. l. 1. Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. col. 2322.

either

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome:

141

either publicly executed or condemned to the Gallies; the Churches, even the *Lateran* and *Vatican*, were stripped of all their rich Ornaments, and turned into Stables. The Castle of *St. Angelo* held out some Days, but being vigorously attacked by the King in Person and obliged to submit, the Garrison was put to the Sword, and all who had served in the late War against the King, and fell into his Hands, underwent the same Fate. *Ladislaus* had nothing less in his View than to make himself Master of all *Italy*, and it was, as we are told, to strike Terror into the other Cities and States, that he treated the *Romans* with so much Severity *. The Pope never halted till he reached *Viterbo*, The Pope flies to Florence, Twenty-five Miles distant from *Rome*; and *De Niem*, who fled with him, writes, that several of his Retinue, overcome with the Heat of the Season and the Fatigue of so precipitate a Flight, died on the Road, while others were overtaken by the Enemy and most barbarously used. The Pope, having rested a few Days at *Viterbo*, continued his Flight through the Territories of *Siena* to *Florence*, and there remained under the Protection of that Republic till the latter End of the Year. In the mean time *Ladislaus*, having made himself Master of most of the Cities belonging to the Church, encamped with his whole Army at *Perugia*, threatening to invade from thence the neighbouring Territories of the Republic of *Florence*, if they did not oblige the Pope to quit their Dominions. The *Florentines* were, not a little, at a Loss what Part to act on so critical an Occasion, or what Answer to return to the King. But and from thence retires to Bologna. the Pope, unwilling to draw his Friends into a War with so powerful and victorious an Enemy, left their City of his own Accord, and went to reside at *Bologna*. From thence he wrote to all the *Christian* Princes, to acquaint them with the cruel and unjust Persecution he suffered from King *Ladislaus*, and implore their Protection against an Enemy, whom no Favour could soften or gain, no Treaties could bind, no Religion could awe †.

To *Sigismund* (whom I shall call Emperor, though he received not the Imperial Crown at *Rome* till the Year 1433) were sent the Two Cardinals *Antony de Cbalant*, a Native of *Saxony* and Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Cecilia*, and *Francis Zabarella* of *Padua*, Cardinal Deacon of the *Saints Cosmus and Damianus*. To the Two Cardinals was added *Ema-* The Pope treats with the Emperor about assembling a General Council.

* Niem in vita Joan. XXIII. & apud Bzovium ad ann. 1413.
Hist. Flor. i. 18. Poggius Hist. Flor. i. 4. & apud Bzovium ubi supra.

† Scipio Amirat.

Year of
Christ 1413.

nuel Chrysolora, a Nobleman of the First Rank in *Constantinople*, and One of the First Revivers of Learning in the West. They were ordered to represent to the Emperor the deplorable State of *Italy*, especially of the Dominions of the Church, most miserably oppressed by *Ladislaus*, to engage his Protection against that lawless Tyrant, aiming at nothing less than the Empire of all *Italy*, and to settle the Time and Place for assembling of a General Council, which alone could put a Stop to the reigning Evils, and unite the whole Church under One Head. The Pope had resolved at first to leave the naming of the Place to the Emperor, in the public Instructions he was to give to his Legates, but at the same time to order them privately to agree to no Place, where the Emperor had more Power or a greater Influence than himself: *Ubi Imperator plus possit*. He had even marked in a Paper, to be delivered to them, the Names of the Places, which alone he allowed them to agree to, thinking that the Success of the Council in his Favour or against him wholly depended upon the Place, where it should meet, *in loco Concilii totum est*. This his Design he communicated to none but his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* till the Day, when the Legates came to receive their last Instructions at their Departure. The Pope admitted them holding the above-mentioned Paper in his Hand, in order to deliver it to them, and confine them to the Places named therein. But changing, all on a sudden, his Mind, he acquainted them first with the Design he had formed, and then tearing the Paper in their Presence, told them, that as to the Place and every Thing else, he intirely relied on their Discretion and Prudence. Thus does Divine Providence, concludes the Historian, often defeat the best laid Designs of Human Prudence to secure the Success of its own ^x.

The City of
Constance
chosen for the
Place of the
Council.

The Legates met with a most favourable Reception from the Emperor, who was then in *Lombardy*, and in the several Conferences they had with him, the Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council were settled. As they were, pursuant to their Instructions, to leave the Place to the Choice of the Emperor, he named the City of *Constance*, of the Province of *Mentz*, as the most convenient, being, in a Manner, situated in the Midst of the Nations that were to assist at the Council, and spacious enough to receive and to lodge great Numbers of People. The Time was likewise fixed, *All Saints Day*, or the 1st

^x Leonard. Aretin. de Rebus Ital. p. 288.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

143

of *November* of the following Year 1414. The Choice of the Place, when communicated to the Pope, threw him into a Kind of Despair. He knew that at *Constance* he should be intirely in the Power of the Emperor, who would oblige him to acquiesce in the Decrees issued by the Council, however inconsistent with his Dignity or Interest; and therefore approving anew his former Resolution of confining his Legates to certain Places, he loudly condemned his own Imprudence and Want of Foresight in departing so inconsiderately from it. However, as he stood at this Time in great Need of the Emperor's Protection and Favour, he thought it adviseable to acquiesce ^{Year of Christ 1413.} *y.*

The Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council being thus fixed, the Emperor by an Edict, dated the 30th of *October*, at a Place in the Diocese of *Como* which he calls *Viglud*, acquainted all Christians therewith, promising to all, without Exception, who should repair to it, a safe Conduct in coming to it, during their Stay at it, and in their Return from it. He wrote soon after from *Lodi* to Pope *Gregory*, who was still at *Rimini* under the Protection of *Charles Malatesta*, exhorting him to concur with the other Prelates of the Church in removing the Divisions, that, to the Disgrace of the Christian Name, had so long reigned amongst Christians, and engaging his royal Word that he should come, remain, and return, when he pleased, with all Safety ^{All invited by the Emperor to the Council.} *z.* It does not appear that he wrote to *Benedict*, who was still acknowledged in most of the Kingdoms of *Spain*.

In the mean time the Emperor advanced to *Placentia*, and the Pope, being desirous of conferring with him in Person, left *Bologna*, where he had remained since the Beginning of *November*, and repaired with his whole Court to *Placentia*. He was there received by *Sigismund* with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem; but, after a very short Stay in that City, they both removed to *Lodi*, and there continued conferring frequently together for almost the Space of a Month ^{Conferences between the Pope and the Emperor.} *a.* What was the Subject of their Conferences History has not informed us. But we may well suppose that they chiefly related to the future Council, to the Matters that were to be transacted in it, and the Ravages committed in the Dominions of the Church by King *Ladislaus*.

^y Leonard, Aretin. de Rebus Ital. p. 288. ann. 22.

^z Apud Raynald, ad ann. 1413.

^a Anton. l. 22. c. 6.

The

Year of
Christ 1413.

The Pope confirms the
Choice of the
Emperor
with respect
to the Place
and Time of
the Council.

The Pope, during his Stay at *Lodi*, confirmed the Choice of the Emperor with respect to the Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council, and issued accordingly, on the 9th of *December*, a Bull appointing a General Council to meet in the City of *Constance* by the 1st of *November*, and requiring all Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. to assist at it in Person or by Deputies, Men of Learning and Probity. The Substance of the Bull was, that the Affair of the intended Reformation not being completed by the Council of *Pisa*, as it was not thought expedient to keep the Bishops any longer from their Sees, his Predecessor, *Alexander V.* had referred it to a Council to be assembled in the Term of Three Years; that *Alexander* dying in the mean time, he, his Successor, had convened a Council at *Rome* within the limited Time, but the Number of Bishops that attended it being too small to undertake so great and so important a Work, he had resolved, with the Advice of the Cardinals, to assemble another; that this Resolution being approved by his beloved Son *Sigismund*, King of the *Romans*, they had chosen the City of *Constance* for the Place, and the First of *November* of the following Year for the Time of their Meeting; he concluded with confirming that Choice, and promising to leave nothing in his Power unattempted to banish all Divisions from the Church, and restore the so long wished for Peace and Tranquillity ^b.

The Pope
passes the
Winter at
Mantua.

From *Lodi* the Pope and the Emperor removed to *Cremona*, and there every thing relating to the Council being now settled, they took Leave of each other till their meeting again at *Constance*. The Pope went to *Mantua* to visit his Friend and Protector *John Gonzaga* Lord of that City, and passed with him the whole Winter. Early in the Spring he returned to *Bologna*, and on the First of *April* 1414 dispatched from thence *Bartolomew*, Bishop of *Pesaro*, into *England*, to procure a Subsidy for the Defence of the Church against *Ladislaus*, who having reduced all *St. Peter's* Patrimony, all *Umbria*, and great Part of *Flaminia*, was preparing, as the Pope was informed, to lay Siege to *Bologna*. What Success attended the Legate in *England* we know not. But before his Return the Pope was delivered from his Fears by the unexpected Death of King *Ladislaus*. That Prince was taken dangerously ill at *Perugia* when upon the Point of setting out at the Head of his victorious Army for *Bologna*, and being conveyed, as his Ma-

Death of
King La-
dislaus.

Year of
Christ 1414.

^b Concil. Labbei. tom. 12. col. 232.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

145

lady daily increased from *Perugia* to *Ostia*, and from thence by Sea to *Naples*, he died there on the 6th of *August* of the present Year 1414. ^{Year of Christ 1414.} As he died under the Sentence of Excommunication, his Sister *Joan II.* who succeeded him, ordered him to be privately buried in the Church of *St. John*, but a few Years after she caused a stately Tomb to be erected in the Place where his Remains lay interred, which is to be seen to this Day ^c. *Monstrelet* and after him *Mezeray* tell us that the *Florentines*, apprehending that *Ladislaus* intended to fall upon them, bribed a Physician of *Perugia* to dispatch him with Poison, and that the Physician, with whose Daughter the King had a criminal Conversation, first poisoned her, and by her Means conveyed the Poison to him ^d. But *Poggius*, *Leonard* of *Arezzo*, and *Antonine*, all Three contemporary Authors, take no Notice of Poison being administered to him, and *Collenius* in his History of *Naples* speaks of it doubtfully ^e.

The Pope being now delivered from so implacable and powerful an Enemy, and standing no longer in Need of the Emperor's Protection, ^{The Pope repents his having consented to the assembling of a Council;} as the Cities, most grievously oppressed by the Conquerors, were all ready to return under his Obedience, he heartily repented his having consented to the assembling of a Council, especially at a Place, where he should be entirely in the Power of the Emperor, whom he begun to distrust, and indeed not without Reason. For *Sigismund* had declared in some of his Letters to the other Princes, particularly in his Letter to *Charles* of *France*, that his Intention in assembling a General Council was to have it determined by the Church, which of the Three, styling themselves Popes, or whether any of them, had a just Title and Right to that Dignity. *John* was therefore strongly inclined to return to *Rome*, not doubting but the *Romans* would receive him with open Arms, and to send a Legate to assist at the Council in his Room. To this he was advised by many of his Friends, says *St. Antonine*, *cum temporaliter diligentes*, who preferred their own Interest to the Reputation of the Pope and the good of the Church. But the Cardinals representing to him that his Honour was at Stake, that he was under an Engagement with the Emperor to meet him at *Constance*; that by so manifest a Breach of his Word he would incur his high Displeasure,

^c Leonard. Aretin. Poggius, Antoninus. 328.

^e Hist. Neapol. l. 4. p. 387.

^d Mezeray Abregé, chron. tom. 3. p.

Year of
Christ 1454.

but is per-
suaded by the
Cardinals to
stand to his
former Reso-
lution.

Oath taken
by the Magi-
strates of
Constance.

and of a Friend make him his sworn Enemy ; that he had nothing to fear, being lawful Succesor to *Alexander V.* whom the Council of *Pisa* had acknowledged for lawful Pope ; that his failing of his Word on so important an Occasion would estrange from him the Minds of all the Christian Princes, and by them all he would be looked upon as one, more concerned for his own private Interest than for the public Welfare of the Church, &c. Upon those Representations he resolved, at all Adventures, to assist at the Council in Person. However before his Departure from *Bologna* he insisted upon the Magistrates of *Constance* taking the following Oath, that he should be acknowledged by them for the only true and lawful Pope, and received with all the Honours due to that Dignity ; that he should be under no Kind of Restraint, but be allowed full Liberty to stay and depart at his Pleasure ; that during his Stay he should be on all Occasions treated as true Pope ; that his Jurisdiction should be freely exercised by him and his Officers, both in Spirituals and Temporals ; that if any Attempt should be made upon his Courtiers by any Person, belonging to the City of *Constance*, or upon any come to assist at the Council, the Magistrates should do immediate Justice upon him, as he should do upon his Officers, if they should attempt any Thing upon any of the Citizens ; that an inviolable Regard should be paid to every Safe Conduct granted by him or his Chamberlain to any Person whatever, provided he be not a rebellious Subject, or an Enemy of the City ; that the Magistrates should take care that all the Places of their Territory be free and open, so that all Persons may pass and repass unmolested. These Articles being, by the Emperor's Order, all sworn to by the Magistrates of *Constance*, and a Copy of them, signed by them all, sent to the Pope, he set out as soon as he received them for *Constance*, attended by most of the Cardinals, and a great Number of Prelates and other Persons of Distinction. He left *Bologna* on the First of *October*, but as he travelled very slow, and in great State, he did not reach *Constance* till the 29th of that Month. On that Day he made his public Entry in the Attire of High Pontiff, was received at the Gate, and attended by the Magistrates and the Clergy in a Body to the Palace prepared for his Reception^f. It is remarkable that on this Occasion

^f Bzovius ad ann. 1714. Nauclerus Generatione 28.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

147

the Host was carried before the Pope upon a white Pad, with a little Bell at its Neck. Year of
Christ 1414.

The Council was appointed by the Pope and the Emperor to meet on the First of *November* of the present Year 1414. The Pope therefore, having celebrated Mass with great Solemnity on that Day, ordered the First Session to be held on *Saturday* the Third of that Month. On that Day it was held accordingly, but the Number of Prelates being yet very small, and the Emperor not yet arrived, nothing of Moment was transacted; and the Second Session was put off, first to the 27th of *December*, and afterwards to the Month of *March* of the following Year 1415. In the mean time arrived *John Dominic*, Cardinal of *Ragusa*, with the Character of Legate from Pope *Gregory XII.* who, being lodged by the Magistrates in the Convent of the *Augustinians*, caused the Arms of *Gregory* to be set up there. But *John* ordered them to be pulled down the following Night; which being looked upon by the Legate and the Partizans of *Gregory* as a Breach of the Peace, a Quarrel would have ensued between them and the Partizans of Pope *John*, had not the Fathers of the Council interposed; and by them it was determined, after many long and warm Debates, that the Arms of *Gregory* ought not to be set up where *John* was acknowledged. The Council
meets.
First Session.

John Hufs, of whom I have spoken above, having obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperor, commanding all his loving Subjects to let him pass, stop, stay, and return freely without any Hindrance whatever; resolved to attend the Council, which he thought he might do with all Safety, and give them an Account of his real Doctrine, seeing many Tenets were ascribed to him by his Enemies, which he had never held, but abhorred and detested as much as they. Of this his Resolution he gave publick Notice at *Prague* before he left that City, causing Papers to be put up at the Doors of all the Churches to invite those, who charged him with Heresy, to *Constance*, to be there Witnesses of his Innocence or his Conviction: The like Papers he caused to be fixed up in all the Places on the Road, through which he passed, that they, who suspected him of Heresy, might repair to *Constance*, and there make it appear before the Pope and the Council that he had taught any thing repugnant to the Catholic Faith. The Safe John Hufs
arrives at
Constance.

* Cerretanus apud Bzovium, ad ann. 1414.

Year of
Christ 1414.

Conduct granted to him by the Emperor was dated the 18th of *October*, and he arrived at *Constance* on the 3d of *November* b.

But as he continued even at *Constance* not only to say Mass daily, though he had been excommunicated by the Pope, but to maintain his Doctrine in private Conversation, and exclaim, perhaps with too much Acrimony, against the Irregularities of the Clergy, his Two sworn Enemies, *Stephen Paletz*, Professor of Divinity in *Prague*, and *Michael de Causis*, Parish-Priest in that City, took Occasion from thence to insinuate to the Cardinals, that they would do well to confine him, and prevent him by that Means from propagating his impious Doctrine. A Summons was therefore sent to him, at their Instigation, to appear forthwith before the Pope and the Cardinals, in order to give an Account of his Faith. When he received the Summons, he told those, who brought it, with great Composure, that he was come to *Constance* to give an Account of his Faith in full Council, and not barely in a private Congregation of the Pope and the Cardinals, but would nevertheless comply with the Summons, and retract, if convicted of any the least Error. The Pope and the Cardinals, after a short Examination, dismissed him, entirely satisfied, so far as appeared, with his

*Is imprisoned
in Defiance of
his Safe Con-
duct.*

Answers. However, in a Congregation held the same Day in the Afternoon, it was resolved that he should be committed to Prison, and he was, pursuant to that Resolution, carried the same Evening, the 28th of *November*, or, as others will have it, the 3d of *December*, to the House of the Chaunter of *Constance*, and there confined under a strong Guard. *John de Chlum*, a *Bobemian* Lord, who had accompanied *John Hufs*, being one of his most zealous Friends, from *Bobemia* to *Constance*, complained, in the strongest Terms, to the Pope and the Cardinals of his Imprisonment as an open Violation of the public Faith, and the Emperor's Safe Conduct. As they gave no Ear to his Complaints, only alleging that *Hufs* had no Safe Conduct from the Council, he wrote the same Day to the Emperor, to acquaint him with what had passed, and beg that, his Authority as well as his Reputation being at Stake, he would order his Safe Conduct to be strictly observed, and the Prisoner released. *Sigismund*, upon the Receipt of that Letter, dispatched immediately an Order to his Embassadors at *Constance* to cause *J. Hufs* to be set at Liberty, and even to

^a Cerretan. apud Bravium ad hunc ann. et Cochleus Hist. Hussit. l. 2. c. 48.

employ Force, and break open the Doors of the Prison, if his Order was not complied with. But the Pope and the Cardinals prevailed upon the Embassadors to suspend the Execution of that Order till the Arrival of the Emperor, and in the mean time *Hufs* was removed from the Chaunter's House to a Prison in the Convent of the Preaching Friars, and Four Cardinals, Six Archbishops, and several Bishops, with the Generals of the Preaching Friars and the *Minorites*, were appointed to examine him concerning his Doctrine¹.

The *Roman Catholic* Writers, to justify the imprisoning of *J. Hufs*, notwithstanding his Safe Conduct, pretend that by maintaining his impious Doctrines, as they call them, even at *Constance*, he rendered himself unworthy of the Protection, to which his Safe Conduct would have otherwise justly intitled him. They add, that he attempted to make his Escape out of *Constance* upon the Arrival of *Paletz* and *de Caufis*, who, he knew, could bear Witness to the many Errors, with which he had infected most of the Members of the University of *Prague*. The Pope and the Cardinals would therefore, say they, have been greatly to blame; had they not confined him for all his Safe Conduct, and thus prevented his Return to *Bobemia*, where he had many powerful Friends, and might, with Impunity, have propagated his Errors under their Protection. Thus *Pagi*, *Maimbourg*, and others. But, I. *Hufs's* Doctrine, whatever it was, had not yet been condemned by the Council, and consequently it could be no Crime in him to maintain it at *Constance*, or any-where else; the rather, as he declared himself ready to retract, if convinced of holding any the least Error. II. As he came to *Constance* to give an Account of his Doctrine to the Council, and the Emperor had granted him a Safe Conduct for that Purpose, the Pope and the Cardinals were evidently guilty of a Breach of the Safe Conduct, as well as of the public Faith, in committing him to Prison before he had an Opportunity of giving an Account of his Doctrine to the Council. III. Had his Opinions been ever so erroneous, he could not yet be reputed a Heretic, nor be imprisoned, or any otherwise treated as such, as he declared himself ready, if convinced of any Error, to abjure it without Hesitation, and it is not an erroneous Opinion, but Obstinacy in maintaining it, that makes a Heretic. We shall see in the Sequel that *Hufs* maintained no Opinions,

¹ Cochläus, ubi supra.

Year of
Christ 1414.

that were either *impious* or *heretical*, even according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, but would have triumphed over all his Enemies, had the Council been disposed to hear him.—As for his attempting to make his Escape out of *Constance*, the Two contemporary Writers, *Riechental*, Canon of *Constance*, and *Dacherius*, Counsellor to the Elector of *Saxony*, both upon the Spot at the Time, relate it as happening after his Imprisonment^k. Indeed, had it happened before, the Pope, we may be sure, would not have failed to allege it; and he could not have alleged a more plausible Reason to justify such a Step. Yet when *John de Chlum*, and other *Bohemian* Lords, urged the Safe Conduct for the Release of the Prisoner, the Pope, taking no Notice of such an Attempt, returned no other Answer, than that the Safe Conduct was not granted by him nor the Council, but only by the Emperor, who could grant no Safe Conduct to the Prejudice of the Faith or the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; that *Huss*, abusing his Safe Conduct, had maintained his impious Doctrines even at *Constance*, and thereby rendered himself unworthy of the Emperor's Protection. Who can suppose, that if *Huss* had attempted his Escape before his Imprisonment, the Pope would not have urged it to justify what he had done, and at the same Time to excuse so bare-faced a Violation of the Emperor's Safe Conduct?—Some have pretended, that the Emperor granted a Safe Conduct to *Huss*, upon Condition he submitted his Doctrine to the Judgment of the Council. But the Words of the Safe Conduct were, *You shall let John Huss pass, stop, stay, and return freely, without any Hindrance whatever*; where no Condition is expressed; and besides, he was arrested and imprisoned before he had an Opportunity of submitting his Doctrine to the Judgment of the Council.

The Emperor
arrives at
Constance.

During these Transactions the Emperor, who had gone to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to be crowned there with the Silver Crown, in order to make a more august Appearance at the Council, arrived on *Christmas-Eve* with the Empress, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Queen of *Bosnia*, at a Place on the Lake of *Constance* called *Überlinga*, and embarking there, landed a little before Midnight at *Constance*. As the Pope was then celebrating his First Mass (for all Priests are allowed to say Three Masses on *Christmas-Eve*) the Emperor hastened from the Shore to the Cathedral, and there not only assisted at Divine Service, but sung the

^m Apud Lenfant. Hist. du Concile de Constance, l. 1. p. 58.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

151

Gospel in the Habit of a Deacon, a Privilege enjoyed by no Layman but the Emperor. When or by whom this Privilege was granted, we know not; but *Charles IV.* the Father of the present Emperor, is the First whom we find upon Record to have used it, and that on Occasion of a General Diet of the Empire held at *Mentz* in 1356. The Emperor was applied to soon after his Arrival by several Lords of *Bobemia* in Favour of *John Hufs*, imprisoned in open Defiance of his Safe Conduct. But the Pope and the Cardinals, pretending that in Matters of Faith the Emperor had no Authority to grant a Safe Conduct, had already obtained Leave to proceed, according to the Canons, against such as were tainted with Heresy, notwithstanding their Safe Conduct.

Year of
Christ 1414.

Of the Number and Quality of the Persons, who assisted at this Council, we have Lists made at the Time, and by Persons upon the Spot, namely, by *Riechental* and *Dacherius*; and according to those Lists, there were present about Thirty Cardinals, Three or Four Patriarchs, Twenty Archbishops, One hundred and Fifty Bishops, One hundred Abbots, One hundred and Fifty other Prelates, such as Priors and Generals of Religious Orders, above Two hundred Doctors of Divinity, as well as of Civil and Canon Law, Four Electors, viz. the Elector *Palatine*, and the Electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*, Nineteen Dukes, Eighty-three Counts, and prodigious Numbers of other Persons of Rank, of Ecclesiastics of all Conditions, of Embassadors from Princes, and Deputies from Cities, Chapters, and Communities, there being scarce any Church, City, State, or Community in *Europe* that had not its Embassadors or Deputies at this Council. As the Pope, the Emperor, the Cardinals, and the other dignified Ecclesiastics, as well as the secular Princes, had all numerous Retinues, their Number, in all, amounted, if *Blondus* is to be credited, to Forty thousand Persons and upwards, and their Horses, according to *Antoine of Florence*, to Thirty thousand^m; insomuch, that to prevent the total Want of Fodder, that soon became very scarce, a Decree was issued by the Council, allowing to the Pope and the sovereign Princes Twenty Horses each, and no more, to the Cardinals Ten, to the Bishops Five, and Three to the Abbotsⁿ.

Number and
Quality of
the Persons
present at the
Council.

^m Blond. Decad. 2. l. 1. Antonia. tit. 22. c. 6.
viii. 13.

ⁿ Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1414.

Gregory

Year of
Christ 1414.

Both Gre-
gory and Be-
nedict send
Deputies to
the Council.

Some mate-
rial Points
settled in pri-
vate Congre-
gations.

Gregory and *Benedict* were both invited by the Emperor to assist at the Council, and both sent Deputies to assist in their Room. The Deputies or Nuncios of *Gregory* declared upon their Arrival, that their Master was ready to resign, upon Condition that both his Competitors resigned; and all of his Obedience, among whom was the Duke of *Bavaria*, solemnly engaged to renounce his Obedience, if, in that Case, he did not resign. At the same time all of *Gregory's* Party joined in petitioning the Emperor and the Fathers of the Council, that *Balthasar Cossa*, stiling himself *John XXIII.* might not be allowed to preside at the Council, nor even be present when the Manner of removing the Schism came under Deliberation, as it was not to be doubted but he would oppose the most effectual of all, the Way of Cession. This gave Occasion to several private Conferences, at which the leading Men among the Bishops were present, with some of the Cardinals; and by them it was agreed, that a Renunciation was the only Method of restoring Tranquillity; that it should be proposed to the Pope, and all should join in exhorting him to embrace it. In these Conferences Two other Points were settled of no small Importance; viz. I. That not only Bishops, Abbots, and the Deputies of the absent Bishops, should be allowed the Privilege of voting, but that the same Privilege should be granted to all Doctors, whether in Divinity, or in Civil and Canon Law, and even to the Embassadors of Princes, of States and Communities, in what related to the extinguishing of the Schism, since by them the Decrees relating thereunto were to be carried into Execution. II. That all present at the Council should be comprized under the Four principal Nations, namely, the *Italian*, the *English*, the *French*, and the *German*; that all Points under Debate should be decided by the Majority, not of single Votes, but of Nations, and that the Majority of Votes in each Nation should be reputed the Vote of that Nation. As the *Italian* Bishops, depending entirely upon the Pope, exceeded in Number those of all the other Nations together, this Method of voting was contrived to prevent the Pope from becoming, by their Means, absolute Master of the Council. Each Nation had, pursuant to this Regulation, a particular Assembly to consider of the Matters that were to be laid before the Council; in these Assemblies every Member was at full Liberty to propose by Word of Mouth, or in Writing, what he thought expedient

John XIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

153.

pedient for the Good of the Church; they communicated their Resolutions to each other, and when they had all agreed upon any Article, it was carried, signed and sealed, to the next Session, to be approved by the Council; so that the Council only confirmed what had been previously determined first in the Particular, and afterwards in the General Assemblies of the Nations.

Year of
Christ 1414.

These Points being settled in private Congregations, at which were present most of the leading Men of the Four Nations, it was thought expedient that they should be notified to the Pope, and that a General Assembly of the Nations should be convened for that Purpose. A General Assembly was accordingly summoned to meet in the Pope's Palace, and the 1st of *March* was the Day fixed for their Meeting, that what was there determined might the next Day be laid before the Council, which after several Prorogations was then to meet the Second Time. As it had been concluded by the Nations in their respective Assemblies, that an End could by no other Means be put to the Schism, but by the voluntary Resignation of the Three Competitors, *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, a *Frenchman*, and President of the *French Nation*, proposed that Method to the Pope, earnestly intreating him, in the Name of the other Nations, to agree to it, as the only Means of restoring a lasting Peace to the Church. The Pope, to the great Surprise of the whole Assembly, consented to it at once, nay, he drew up himself a Form of Resignation, and finding that the Members of the Assembly were not satisfied with it, he left the Affair to their Wisdom and Discretion, only begging that they would not forget the Regard that was due to his Rank and Dignity. The Deputies of the Nations, availing themselves of his present Disposition, whether real or pretended, drew up and presented to him another Form, which he read first to himself, and then publicly, without complaining in the least

*The Method
of Resignation
proposed
to the Pope,*
Year of
Christ 1415.

*who agrees
to it.*

of, or objecting to, any of the Articles it contained. It was drawn up in the following Terms: *I Pope John XXIII. for the Peace of the whole Christian World, declare, promise, vow, and swear to God, to his Holy Church, and to this Holy Council, to give Peace to the Church by the way of Cession, or Resignation of the Pontificate, and to execute freely and spontaneously what I now promise, in case Peter de Luna, and Angelus Corarius, called in their Obediences, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. in like Manner resign their pretended Dignity, and also in case either of*

*Form of Resignation
drawn up by
the Deputies
of the Nations.*

Year of
Christ 1415.

Resignation, of Death, or in any other, when my Resignation may give Peace to the Church of God, and extirpate the present Schism. This Form the Pope read the next Day in full Council, and at these Words *I vow and swear*, he rose from his Seat, kneeled before the Altar, and laying his Hand upon his Breast, said, *I promise thus to observe it*, then sitting down again, he finished the reading of it with the same Promise. When he had done, the Emperor, laying down his Crown, and prostrating himself before him, kissed his Foot, and thanked him, in the Name of the whole Council, for his good Resolution. At the same time the Council, the Princes who were present, and the Embassadors of those who were absent, engaged to support him, to the utmost of their Power, against his Two Competitors, if they followed not his Example.

*Memorial
presented
against the
Pope.*

The ready Compliance of the Pope with every Thing the Council required of him, was chiefly owing to a Memorial, that had been presented, a few Days before, to the Assembly of the Nations against him, and contained a long List of most atrocious Crimes, which the Author of the Memorial said could be proved by unexceptionable Witnesses, if the Council would be pleased to hear them. As most of those Crimes were notorious, the Pope, to prevent a more strict Enquiry into his past Life, was for pleading guilty before the Council, and putting them, at the same time, in Mind of the generally received Maxim, that *a Pope could not be deposed for any Crime, except that of Heresy*. But from that Resolution he was diverted by his Friends; and the greater Part of the Deputies of the Nations, not thinking it decent that Crimes of so heinous a Nature should be laid before the Public, and narrowly enquired into, they resolved to suppress the Memorial, and, taking Advantage of the Pope's present Fright, to extort from him his Consent to a Resignation; and they succeeded therein, as we have seen. But the Council was soon convinced that he never intended to observe what he had so solemnly promised, sworn, and vowed. For, finding that the Emperor, as well as the Deputies of the Nations, insisted upon his actually resigning, he put it off for some Time with fair Words and Promises, and in the mean while applying to his Friend *Frideric*, Duke of *Austria*, he escaped by his Means from *Constance*, and fled to *Schaffhausen*, a strong Hold belonging to the Duke,

*The Pope
escapes from
Constance to
Schaffhausen.*

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

255

Year of
Christ 1415.

and distant but Four *German* Miles from *Constance*. As *Frideric* held many strong Places in the Neighbourhood of *Constance*, and was besides Lord of *Tirol*, the Pope, in passing through that Province, in his Way to the Council, had made a secret Treaty with him, and appointed him Captain-General of all the Troops of the *Roman* Church, with a Salary of Six thousand Florins of Gold, to be paid yearly out of the Apostolic Chamber; and the Duke, on his Side, had engaged to bring his Holiness off, if he liked not the Proceedings of the Council, and offered him a safe Retreat in his Dominions. To him therefore the Pope had Recourse, when pressed by the Emperor and the Deputies of the Nations to perform his Promise and resign. The Duke thereupon immediately repaired to *Constance*, and in a private Conference with the Pope by Night it was agreed, that the Duke should give a Turnament, and his Holiness should make his Escape in Disguise while all were at the Show. The Duke gave accordingly, on the 20th of *March*, that Entertainment then in Vogue above all others, and while the whole City was taken up with it, the Pope, in the Disguise of a Groom, rode through the Crowd upon a shabby Horse in the Dusk of the Evening, and got undiscovered to *Schaffausen*. The same Evening he wrote, and sent the next Morning the following Letter to the Emperor to excuse his Flight, and at the same time to prevent him from suspecting the Duke of *Austria* of having been privy to it. "My dear Son, by the Grace of Almighty God, I am arrived at *Schaffausen*, where I enjoy my Liberty, and Air that agrees with my Constitution. I came hither, unknown to my Son the Duke of *Austria*, not to be exempted from keeping the Promise I have made to abdicate for the Peace of the holy Church of God, but on the contrary to do it freely and without endangering my Health." The Direction was, *To my most dear Son Sigismund, King of the Romans*.

He writes
from thence
to the Em-
peror.

The Pope flattered himself that by his Absence the Council would be dissolved, and the Bishops would all return to their respective Sees. But the Emperor, riding through the City, attended by the Elector, Marshal of the Empire, with Trumpets sounding before him, declared that the Council was not dissolved by the Flight of the Pope, but that he would defend it to the last Drop of his Blood; and the celebrated *John Gerson*, Chancellor of the University of *Paris*,

The Emperor
resolves to
support the
Council.

Year of
Christ 1415.

made an Oration before the Emperor and the Deputies of the Nations, to prove that a General Council was superior to the Pope, and that its Determinations held good, whether the Pope was present or absent, whether he approved or disapproved of them ^P.

Articles ap-
proved by the
Council in the
Third Session.

The Third Session was held, notwithstanding the Absence of the Pope, on the 25th of *March*, at which were present only Fifty-six Archbishops and Bishops, Twenty-five Abbots, and Two Cardinals, *Peter d' Ailly*, Cardinal of *Cambray*, and *Francis Zabarella*, Cardinal of *Florence*, the Rest being gone, or having been sent by the Council to persuade the Pope to return, or pretending to be indisposed. At this Session the Cardinal of *Cambray* presided, and the Emperor assisted in Person, attended by the Princes of the Empire, and the Embassadors of all the other Princes. In this Session the following Articles were read by the Cardinal of *Florence*, and approved by all who were present; I. That the Council had been lawfully assembled in the City of *Constance*. II. That it was not dissolved by the withdrawing of the Pope and the Cardinals. III. That it should not be dissolved till the Schism was removed, and the Church reformed in its Head and Members. IV. That the Bishops should not depart, without a just Cause approved by the Deputies of the Nations, till the Council was ended; and lastly, if they obtained Leave of the Council to depart, they should appoint others to vote for them as their Deputies or Proxies ⁹.

The Pope's
Letter to the
French Na-
tion.

In the mean time most of the Cardinals, who had been sent to the Pope, or had followed him of their own Accord, returned to *Constance*, and with them the Archbishop of *Rheims*, whom the Pope had charged with a Letter to the *French Nation*, to assure them that it was not out of Fear, or any Apprehension of Danger from his Son the King of the *Romans*, that he had left *Constance*, but merely for the Sake of the Air, and that being but at a small Distance from the Council, he would readily concur with them in all their Resolutions as soon as communicated to him. But his Stay at *Schaffhausen* was very short; for the Emperor, being certainly informed that the Duke of *Austria* had been accessary to his Flight, had put that Prince under the Ban of the Empire, and was preparing to invade his Dominions. Upon that Intelligence the Pope, thinking himself no longer safe at *Schaffhausen*,

Flies from
Schaffhausen.

^P Acta Concil. apud Labbeum. Concil. tom. 12. col. 1464. Nauclet. p. 1046. et Thesaur. novus Anecd. col. 1684. ⁹ Acta Concil. ibid.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

157

removed from thence in great Haste to *Lauffenberg*, a strong Place on the *Rhine* belonging likewise to the Duke. He had writ, as has been said, but a few Days before, that it was not out of Fear he had left *Constance*. But as soon as he got out of *Schaffausen*, he sent for a Notary and Witnesses, and in their Presence declared, that every Thing he had sworn at *Constance* was the Effect of Fear, and that he was not therefore obliged to keep his Oath ^b.

Year of
Christ 1415.

The Fourth Session was held on *Easter-Eve*, the 30th of *March*, and the Cardinals were all present at it, except those who were indisposed, with about Two hundred Bishops, a great Number of Abbots, and the Embassadors of *France, England, Poland, Cyprus, and Navarre*. *Articles established by the Council in the Fourth Session.*

The Emperor assisted in his royal Robes, and the following Articles, drawn up the Day before in a General Assembly of the Nations, were read by the Cardinal of *Florence*, and approved by the Council: *That the present Council lawfully assembled in the City of Constance, and representing the whole Church militant, holds its Power immediately of Jesus Christ, and all Persons of whatever State or Dignity (the Papal not excepted) are bound to obey it in what concerns the Faith, the Extirpation of the Schism, and the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members.*

Thus we have the Superiority of a General Council to the Pope established and defined by a General Council lawfully assembled. *The Superiority of a General Council to the Pope defined.*

What *Schelfstrate* says may be true, viz. that the Words concerning the Faith are not to be found in some of the Manuscripts of the *Vatican Library*. But he owns that they are to be met with in most other Manuscripts as ancient as the Council itself, and that in the next Session this very Article was confirmed with the Addition of those Words. The other Articles, approved and confirmed in this Session, were, that none of the Officers of the Pope's Court should withdraw from *Constance* without the Permission of the Council, and that his Proceedings against them should be all reputed null; that Three Deputies should be appointed out of each Nation to examine the Reasons that they, who wanted to leave the Council, should allege for leaving it; that no new Cardinals should be created, and that those alone should be reputed true Cardinals, who had been publicly owned as such before the Pope's Flight from *Constance*.

^b Niem. apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

Year of
Christ 1415
The Pope
notifies his
Second Flight.

A solemn
Embassy sent
to the Pope
by the Coun-
cil.

His De-
mands.

In the mean time the Pope notified his Second Flight by a Bull dated the 4th of *April*, and addressed to all the Faithful; and in that Bull, openly contradicting again what he writ upon his First Flight to the Emperor, he declares, that he had left *Schaffausen* from a just Apprehension of being put under an Arrest, and thus disabled from executing what he had promised, and that the same Reason had obliged him to retire from *Schaffausen* to *Lauffenberg*. But the Emperor, highly provoked against the Duke of *Austria* for favouring his Escape, and affording him an Asylum in his Dominions, having in the mean time sent an Army of Forty thousand Men to invade his Territories, the Pope, alarmed at the Progress they made, soon left *Lauffenberg*, and fled first to *Friburg*, and after a short Stay there, to *Brisac*, a very strong Place belonging to the Duke his Protector, and distant Three Days Journey from *Constance*. The Council had sent, upon the First Notice they had of his Flight from *Schaffausen*, a solemn Embassy, at the Head of which were the Two Cardinals of *St. Mark* and of *Florence*, to invite him back to *Constance*, and assure him, in their Name and the Emperor's, that no Violence should be offered him. If he refused to return, or to appoint Deputies to resign, in due Form, in his Name, they were to let him know that the Council would proceed against him as guilty of Perjury, and the Author of the Schism. The Embassadors found him at *Brisac*; and he promised to grant them an Audience the next Day. But early in the Morning he left the Place, and went to *Neuenberg*, distant Two Leagues from *Brisac*. From thence he returned to *Friburg*, and was met there by the Embassadors, who apprehending that he might escape early from thence the next Day, as he had done from *Brisac*, went to wait upon him while he was yet in Bed. He received them in a very indecent Posture, *Scalpando se inferius inverecunde*, heard their Message, and returned to it the following Answer; that he was ready to perform his Promise, though extorted from him by Fear, and resign the Dignity to which he had an undoubted Right, upon the following Conditions and no other. I. That the Emperor should grant him a safe Conduct in due Form, such as he himself should dictate. II. That a Decree should be issued by the Council, granting him entire Freedom and Security, and exempting him from being molested upon any Account whatever. III. That a Stop should be put to the War against the Duke of *Austria*. IV. That
after

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

159

after his Resignation he should be appointed perpetual Legate over all *Italy*, or enjoy, during Life, the *Bolognese* and the County of *Avignon*, with a yearly Pension of Thirty thousand Florins of Gold; and lastly, that he should hold of no Person whatever, nor be obliged to give an Account to any Person of what he had done, or might thenceforth do ^l.

Year of
Christ 1415.

In the mean time the Fifth Session was held at *Constance* on Saturday the 6th of *April*, at which presided Cardinal *Ursini*, Bishop of *Albano*, and the Emperor assisted in his Imperial Robes with the Electors and other Princes of the Empire. In this Session the Determinations of the Fourth were all confirmed, those especially that related to the Superiority of the Council to the Pope; and it was further declared, that the Pope was obliged to obey the Decrees of the Council, and stand to its Decisions; that if he refused to resign, the Faithful should all withdraw their Obedience from him, and he should be looked upon as actually deposed; that his Flight from *Constance* was unlawful, and prejudicial to the Unity of the Church; that if he would return, a most ample safe Conduct should be granted to him, and if he performed his Promise and resigned, he should be provided for, during Life, as should be judged proper by Four Persons named by him, and Four named by the Council ^m.

Decrees of
the Fifth Ses-
sion.

As it was defined in the preceding and confirmed in the present Session, that Persons of what Rank and Dignity soever (the Papal not excepted) are bound to obey the present Council in what concerns the Faith, the Extirpation of the Schism, and the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members, the Sticklers for the Papal Supremacy confine that Definition to the present Time, the Time of Schism, when it is not known which of the Pretenders to the Papal Dignity is true and lawful Pope. Put in Answer to that it must be observed, I. That the present Council acknowledged John XXIII. for lawful Pope; and yet declared him bound to obey the Council in what concerned the Faith, &c. which was, in Effect, declaring every Pope, how canonically soever elected, bound to obey a General Council. II. That they actually deposed him at the same time that they owned him for true and lawful Pope, and consequently believed themselves to be vested with a Power superior to that of a true and lawful Pope. III. That they claimed that

The Super-
iority of a
General
Council to the
Pope defined.

^l Niem. apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 493.

^m Idem ibid.

Power;

Year of
Christ 1415.

Power as representing the whole Church militant, which was declaring the same Power to be vested in every other General Council, as every General Council represents the whole Church militant. IV. That the Decrees and Definitions of the present Council, and this amongst the Rest subjecting the Pope to a General Council, had such Approbation and Confirmation as has ever been thought sufficient to make the Decrees of a General Council of unquestionable Authority in the Church ; and no satisfactory Reason can be assigned why the other Decrees should be received, if this be rejected. In the same Session, *Peter d'Ailly*, Cardinal of *Cambray*, *William Philasterius*, Cardinal of *St. Mark*, *Stephen Coëvret*, Bishop of *Dol*, *John de Martiniaco*, Abbot of *Citeaux*, and several Doctors in Divinity and Canon Law were named by the Council to examine the Doctrine of *John Wickliffe*, and *John Hufs*, who was still kept closely confined, and not yet allowed to appear before the Council, to which he had appealed.

The Sixth Session. The Deputies of the Nations draw up a Form of Renunciation to be sent to the Pope.

The Sixth Session was held on *Wednesday* the 17th of *April*, at which presided *John de Brogni*, as he did at all the Rest till the Election of a new Pope, being the oldest Cardinal and Dean of the College ; for he had been preferred to that Dignity by *Clement VII.* in 1385. He was at this Time Bishop of *Ostia*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, but from his First Bishopric he is commonly called the Cardinal of *Viviers*. In this Session the Form of Renunciation, which the Presidents of the Four Nations had drawn up, in order to its being sent to the Pope, was read and approved by the Emperor and the whole Council ; and it was declared that he was bound by his solemn Oath and Vow to receive it, and that the Council would admit of no other Form.

Seventh Session. The Pope summoned to appear.

In the Seventh Session, held on *Thursday* the 2d of *May*, the Pope was summoned to appear and answer the many Accusations brought against him, and a safe Conduct was offered him, in the Name of the Council and likewise of the Emperor, *to come, to stay, and to depart with all Safety and Freedom.* The Summons was read at the Church-Door, and Pope *John XXIII.* was called upon to justify his Flight from *Constance*, and to clear himself from the Crimes of Heresy, of Schism, of Simony, and from many others laid to his Charge.

The principal Business of the Eighth Session, held on *Saturday* the 4th of *May*, was the condemning of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, Books, and Memory.

Memory. Three hundred Propositions and upwards advanced by him in different Books and at different Times were read in full Council by the Archbishop of *Genoa*, and condemned with one Consent. The principal and most offensive Articles were; The Substance of material Bread, and the Substance of material Wine, remain in the Sacrament of the Altar; the Accidents of the Bread do not remain without a Subject in the Sacrament of the Altar; *Christ* is not himself identically and really in his proper corporeal Presence in the Sacrament; a Bishop or Priest in mortal Sin cannot ordain, nor consecrate, nor baptize; it cannot be proved from the Gospel that *Christ* instituted the Mass; God is obliged to obey the Devil; if a Man be truly contrite external Confession is superfluous; if a Pope is a Reprobate, and consequently a Member of the Devil, he has received no Power over Believers; it is contrary to the Holy Scripture for Ecclesiastics to have any temporal Possessions; no Prelate ought to excommunicate a Person, unless he knows him to be excommunicated by God, and whoever excommunicates in any other Case excommunicates himself; he who excommunicates a Clergyman because he has appealed to the King, or his Council, is guilty of High Treason; such as cease to preach or to hear God's Word because they are excommunicated by Men, are truly excommunicated, and will be looked upon as Traitors to *Jesus Christ* at the Day of Judgment; all the Mendicant Friars are Heretics, and they who give them Alms are excommunicated; during all the Time that a temporal Lord, or Prelate, or Bishop, is in mortal Sin, he is neither Lord, nor Prelate, nor Bishop; the Tithes are mere Alms, and it is lawful for the People to retrench them for the Sins of their Prelates; the Prayers of a reprobate Person avail nothing; all Things happen from absolute Necessity; it is contrary to the Institution of *Jesus Christ* to enrich the Clergy; the Church of *Rome* is the Synagogue of Satan; it is lawful for a Priest or a Deacon to preach the Word of God without the Authority of the Apostolic See, or of any Bishop; the Election of the Pope by the Cardinals is an Invention of the Devil; all Religious Orders were introduced by the Devil, &c. As no Notice is taken of the shocking Blasphemy, *God is obliged to obey the Devil*, either by *Thomas of Walden*, or by *William Wildford*, who made it their Study to collect and confute all the *Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of the Arch-heretic John Wickliffe*, we may well sup-

Year of
Christ 1414.

*The Doctrine
of Wickliffe
condemned in
the Eighth
Session.*

*Chief Arti-
cles of his
Doctrine.*

Year of
Christ 1414.

pose, with the learned *Lenfant*, that Proposition to have been falsely ascribed to him, or to be but a wretched Inference from some of his Principles. The above Articles, and many others, were all condemned, some of them as notoriously heretical, and others as rash, erroneous, seditious, and offensive to pious Ears; *John Wickliffe* was declared a notorious, obstinate, and impenitent Heretic, his Books were forbidden, his Memory was anathematized, and his Bones were ordered to be dug up, if they could be distinguished from the Bones of the Faithful, and to be thrown upon a Dunghill.

Some Account
of John
Wickliffe.

John Wickliffe, so called from the Place of his Nativity, a Village of that Name near *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*, was Doctor and Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*, and Head of a College founded in that University for the Education of the Youth of *Canterbury*. But the Secular Clergy being in 1370 driven from that College by Cardinal *de Langham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Pope *Urban V.* and the Religious introduced in their Room, *Wickliffe* was obliged to yield his Place to one of them. Whether he was prompted by a true Christian Zeal and the Love of Truth, or instigated by the Spirit of Revenge, as the *Roman Catholic* Writers would make us believe, to advance the above-mentioned Opinions, it matters little to know. However that be, his Doctrine met with a very uncommon Reception, so far, at least, as it tended to confine the Power of the Pope, and the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, both become quite insupportable to the People of *England*. The Bishops were for proceeding to the Censures of the Church against him. But the Duke of *Lancaster*, who governed the Kingdom with an absolute Sway, the King, *Edward III.* being very infirm and near his End, having taken *Wickliffe* into his Protection, they were obliged to content themselves with enjoining him Silence, in a Council held at *London* in 1377, though they had received Letters from the Pope, *Gregory XI.* commanding them privately to enquire into the Doctrine laid to be taught by *John Wickliffe*, of which he sent them Nineteen Articles, with a Mandate to arrest him and keep him closely confined till further Orders, if convicted of holding and teaching such Opinions. *Wickliffe*, depending upon the Protection of his powerful Friend, paid no Regard to the Injunction of the Bishops, but continued openly to maintain the same Opinions both in his Sermons and Writings. However, finding in 1382 that the Bishops were determined to proceed

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

163

proceed against him as a Heretic, and had gained over the young King, *Richard II.* to their Side, he retracted in a Council held that Year in *London*, at which presided *William de Courtenay* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and were present the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, *Worcester*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford*, and *London*. But soon after he taught the same Doctrines again, and retiring, as he could not live peaceably at *Oxford*, to *Lutterworth* in *Leicestershire*, of which Place he was Rector, he finished there his *Dialogue*, *Triologue*, and some other Pieces mostly calculated to confirm the Doctrines he had taught. He died at his Rectory on the last Day of *December* 1384, and was buried there. As the Number of his Followers increased daily, even after his Death, *Thomas Arundel*, the Successor of *William de Courtenay* in the See of *Canterbury*, condemned anew the chief Articles of his Doctrine in Two Councils, the one held at *London* in 1396, and the other at *Oxford* in 1408. In a General Council held at *Rome* in 1413, under the present Pope John XXIII. the *Triologue*, *Dialogue*, and all other Books, Treatises, and Opuscles or small Pieces, bearing the Name of *John Wickliffe*, were ordered to be publicly burnt, and Nine Months were allowed for his Followers or Disciples to appear at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See, and freely to offer whatever they could in Defence of his Memory; lest he should be condemned as a Heretic after his Death. But all the Endeavours of the Popes, Bishops, and Councils to suppress the new Doctrine proved ineffectual in this, as well as in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, where it took soon deep Root, till Recourse was had to the unanswerable Argument of Fire and Faggot. To return now to the Council.

Year of
Christ 1414.

In the same Eighth Session the Pope was summoned a Second Time to appear; and the Summons set up at all the Gates and Churches of *Constance*. At the same Time his Flight from *Constance* was again declared prejudicial to the Peace and Unity of the Church, shameful, scandalous, tending to keep up the Schism, and contrary to his Oath and Promise.

The Day after this Session, *Sunday* the 5th of *May*, a general Congregation of the Nations was held, at which the Emperor assisted in order to acquaint them with the Submission of the Duke of *Austria*. For the Imperial Troops, and at the same Time the *Swiss* having in-

* Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. & Walsingham in Richard. II.
tom. 11. col. 2322. Cochleus Hist. Hussit. l. 1.

° Concil. Labbei,

Year of
Christ 1414.

who promises
to abandon
the Protec-
tion of the
Pope.

vaded his Dominions, and made themselves Masters of many of his strong Holds, he had no other Resource to save the Rest, but to recur to the Emperor, and throw himself upon his Mercy. Accordingly he came to *Constance*, having first obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperor. But *Sigismund* would not see him till he had consulted the Nations about the Manner in which he should treat him. The Four Nations being therefore assembled, at his Request, in the Place where the *German* Nation usually met, he laid before them the past Conduct of the Duke, who, he said, had contrived the Manner of the Pope's Flight, had encouraged him to it, had assisted him in it, and in open Defiance both of the Church and the Empire, taken him into his Protection. He added, that the said Duke, a Rebel to God as well as to the Empire, had driven out several Bishops and Abbots, had seized on their Temporalities, had oppressed the Widows and Orphans, that for these Reasons he had not only made War upon him, but sworn that he would never make Peace with him, and he therefore desired to know of them whether he might grant him the Peace he now sued for, and receive him into Favour without a Breach of his Oath. They answered all with One Voice, that he might; and Four Bishops with the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, being thereupon sent to bring him to the Assembly, he threw himself at the Emperor's Feet as soon as he entered the Room, and so did the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Burgrave, begging Forgiveness for him in the same humble Posture as he begged it himself. He promised to put the Emperor in the immediate Possession of all his Dominions, and not only to abandon the Protection of the Pope, but to deliver him up into his Hands, provided no Violence was offered to him, or to any belonging to him, either in their Goods or their Persons. He added, that to convince the Emperor of his Sincerity, he would remain at *Constance* as an Hostage till he had performed what he had promised. *Sigismund* forgave him his past Conduct, received him into Favour, and ordered some of the Places he had taken to be immediately restored to him. The *Swiss* had invaded, as has been said, the Dominions of the Duke jointly with the Emperor; and that, as we are told by *Joannes Switzerus*, in Obedience to the Council commanding them to make War upon the Duke, notwithstanding a Fifty Years Truce concluded between him and them not long before. *Felix Faber*, who lived nearer these

these Times, says, that the Council commanded the *Switenses*, or *Swiss*, to declare War against *Frideric* Duke of *Austria*, and granted to them for ever all the Places they should reduce^p. Thus did the Council assume, as well as the Pope, the Power of annulling the most solemn Treaties, of absolving those, who made them, from the Obligation of observing them, and transferring Principalities and Dominions from one to another at their Pleasure. In this War the *Swiss* made themselves Masters of *Schaffhausen*, of the County of *Harbspurg*, the native Country of the Dukes of *Austria*, and all other Places belonging to that Family in the Diocese of *Constance*. When the Emperor was reconciled with the Duke, he ordered the *Swiss* to restore to him the Places they had taken. But they, pleading the Grant of the Council, paid no Regard to that Command, but continued to keep Possession of these Places; and so they do to this Day. Thus did the House of *Austria* lose, and have never since been able to recover the Place of their Nativity. For they were originally only Counts of *Harbspurg*, or *Habspurg*, and had no other Title till *Rudolph*, One of that Family, elected King of the *Romans* in 1273, having taken *Austria* from *Othobonus* King of *Bohemia*, gave it to his Son *Albert*, who being raised to the Empire in 1298 exchanged the Title of Count of *Harbspurg* for that of Duke of *Austria*. From *Rudolph*, the present Family derive their Origin, and not from the Kings of *Austrasia* as some have dreamt.

The Duke of *Austria* having abandoned the Protection of the Pope, Ninth Session as has been said, he was summoned anew at the Church Door in the Ninth Session, held on Monday the 13th of May, and as neither he appeared, nor any Body for him, the Two Archbishops of *Besançon* and *Riga* were sent by the Council with the *Burgrave* of *Nuremberg* at the Head of 300 Men to arrest him at *Friburg* where he still was, and carry him strictly guarded to *Ratolfell*, a Fortress about Two German Leagues distant from *Constance*. He was there kept closely confined, and none were admitted to him but those who were sent by the Council. His own Servants were all discharged except his Cook, and others were named by the Council, or the Deputies of the Nations, to their respective Offices. *Vitalis* Bishop of *Toulouse*, and Eight other Persons of some Note, Two out of each of the Four Nations, were appointed to keep him Company in his Confinement, or rather as so many Spies

Year of
Christ 1414.

The Pope arrested and imprisoned.

^p Joan. Suiz. in Chin. ad hunc ann. & Faber in Hist. Suevor. l. 1. c. 15.

Year of
Christ 1414.

to observe all his Actions. To the Bishop of *Toulouse* the Pope delivered, no doubt by Order of the Council, the *Bull*, or *Great Seal*, with which the Popes sealed their public Letters, Mandates, and Constitutions, and the *Privy Seal*, called the *Fisher's Ring*, which they used in their private Letters; and both were sent by the Bishop to the Council. At this Session *Benedictus Gratianus*, a *Benedictine* Monk and Professor of Divinity in the University of *Paris*, presented a Letter to the Fathers from that University, to thank them for their Steadiness in pursuing the great Work of the Union, notwithstanding the Absence of the Pope, and to exhort them not to separate till they had brought it, in spite of all Opposition, to a happy Issue¹.

Tenth Session. In the Tenth Session, held on *Tuesday* the 14th of *May*, the List of Accusations against the Pope, of which I have spoken above, was read. It contained in all Seventy Articles. But Twenty of them appearing to the Fathers too scandalous and too shocking to be publicly inquired into, they were suppressed by their Order for the Honour of the Apostolic See, and Fifty only were read. However, of the Articles that were suppressed and are not to be met with in the Acts of the Council, we have a Catalogue in the very curious Collection of *Von der Hardt*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Helmstadt*, employed by the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle* at a vast Expence to procure from all Places all Papers, that could give any Light to the Proceedings of the present Council. In that Collection, consisting of Six Volumes in Folio, is exhibited the List of the suppressed Accusations from several Manuscripts of the same Date with the Council itself; and they may be reduced to the following Heads: That Pope *John XXIII.* had been of a wicked Disposition from his Childhood, lewd, dissolute, a Liar, disobedient to his Father and Mother, and addicted to almost every Vice; that he had raised himself to the Pontificate by causing his Predecessor to be poisoned; that he had committed Fornication with Maids, Adultery with Wives, Incest with his Brother's Wife, and with Nuns (in some Manuscripts *with 300 Nuns*) and had been guilty of those Abominations, that drew down the Indignation of Heaven upon the Children of Rebellion; that he had agreed to sell the Head of *St. John Baptist* to the *Florentines* for 50,000 Ducats; that he had absolutely maintained that there is no Life after this, and that the Soul dies with the Body¹. The Articles, that were read and have been

List of Accusations
against the
Pope read.

¹ Acta Concil. apud Spondan. num. 30.

¹ Von der Hardt, l. 4. p. 230.

inserted

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

167

inserted in the Acts of the Council relate to his Simony, his Tyranny, his amassing immense Wealth not only by Sale of the Benefices, Bishopricks, Indulgences, and every Thing that was sacred, but by openly selling and mortgaging the Lands and Estates of the Roman Church, and most other Churches, leaving scarce any Thing for those, who served them, to subsist upon. Some very notorious Instances of his Simony both before and after his Promotion to the Papacy, of his Tyranny, Extortions, and Oppression of all under him, especially of the Poor, while he was Legate of *Bologna*, would scarce have been credited, had they not been attested and sworn to, as indeed were all the other Accusations, by the most unexceptionable Witnesses, by Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and some of *John's* own Secretaries. The Author of the Memorial, containing those Accusations, closed it with the following Words; *He is universally looked upon, as will be found upon the slightest Enquiry, as the Sink of Vice, the Enemy of all Virtue, the Mirror of Infamy, and all, who know him, speak of him as a Devil incarnate.*

Year of
Christ 1514.

In the Eleventh Session, held on *Saturday* the 25th of *May*, the Articles not suppressed were read again by the Bishop of *Posen*, and when he had read One Article, another read the Depositions of the Witnesses, and their Characters, without naming them. When they had been thus all read, the Council declared them to be fully proved, and then unanimously proceeded to the following Sentence: *Whereas* ^{The Pope suspended.} *to us it has been made manifestly to appear, that our Lord Pope John XXIII. has, ever since his Promotion to the Papacy, ill administered that Office; that by his damnable Life and execrable Manners he has set a bad Example to the People; that he has, with the most notorious Simony, disposed of Cathedral Churches, Monasteries, Priories, and other Ecclesiastical Benefices; and that being charitably admonished to desist from such Practices, and reform his Life, he has persevered and still perseveres in his wicked Courses, notoriously scandalizing the Church of God; for these Reasons we pronounce, decree, and declare by this our present Sentence, that the said Lord Pope John ought to be suspended from all Administration, in Spirituals as well as in Temporals, belonging to him as Pope, and we declare him accordingly actually suspended for his notorious Simony and wicked Life; that he has given great Offence to the whole Church, and forbid him henceforth any-ways to concern himself with the Administration or the*

Year of
Christ 1414.

Submits to
the Sentence.

Government of the Church. This Sentence was communicated to the Pope by the Bishop of *Lavaur* and other Bishops, whom the Council sent to him for that Purpose, and to know whether he had any Thing to offer in his own Defence, that might stop any further Proceedings against him. *John* returned Answer, that he entirely acquiesced in the Sentence they had already pronounced, and was ready to submit to any Sentence they should pronounce, as he knew that the Council could not err. In some Manuscript Accounts of the Acts of the Council, quoted by *Spondanus*, it is said that Five Cardinals were sent to the Pope on this Occasion, namely, the Cardinals *Ursini*, *de Chalant*, and those of *Saluzzo*, of *Cambray*, and of *Florence*, and that the Guards would not permit them, as he had been suspended, to kiss his Foot, but only his Hands and his Mouth ^s. By those who were sent the Pope wrote a Letter to the Emperor, to put him in Mind of the Endeavours he had used with the Electors to get him elected King of the *Romans*; of his readily concurring with him in the Assembling of a General Council, and leaving to him the Choice of the Place; of the many Proofs he had given of an inviolable Attachment to his Person and his Interest, &c. He closed his Letter with earnestly intreating him to interpose in his Behalf with the Council, and get them to provide for his future Maintenance as well as Safety, in case they should deprive him of his Dignity.

Twelfth
Session.

The Sentence
of Deposition
pronounced
against the
Pope.

Upon the Return of the Deputies with the Pope's Answer, the Twelfth Session was held on *Wednesday* the 29th of *May*, and the definitive Sentence of his Deposition was read in full Council by the Bishop of *Arras*. It was drawn up in the following Terms: " The General Council of *Constance* having invoked the Name of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and examined, in the Fear of God, the Articles exhibited and proved against *John XXIII.* and his voluntary Submission to the Proceedings of the Council, does pronounce, decree, and declare by the present Sentence, that the nocturnal Escape of the said *John XXIII.* in Disguise and in an indecent Habit, was scandalous; that it was prejudicial to the Unity of the Church, and contrary to his Vows and Oaths; that the same *John XXIII.* is a notorious Simonist; that he has wasted and squandered away the Revenues of the *Roman* Church and other Churches; that he has

“ been guilty in the highest Degree of Mal-Administration both in
 “ Spirituals and Temporals; that by his detestable Behaviour he has
 “ given Offence to the whole Christian People; that by persevering
 “ in so scandalous a Conduct to the last in spite of repeated Admo-
 “ nitions, he has shewn himself incorrigible; that as such, and for
 “ other Crimes set forth in his Process, the Council does declare him
 “ deposed and absolutely deprived of the Pontificate, absolves all
 “ Christians from their Oath of Allegiance to him, and forbids them
 “ for the future to own him for Pope, or to name him as such. And
 “ that this Sentence may be irrevocable, the Council does from this
 “ Time, with their full Power, supply all the Defects that may after-
 “ wards be found in the Process; and does further condemn the said
 “ John XXIII. to be committed, in the Name of the Council, to
 “ some Place where he may be kept in the Custody of the Emperor,
 “ as Protector of the Catholic Church, so long as the Council shall
 “ judge necessary for the Unity of the Church, the said Council re-
 “ serving a Power to themselves to punish him for his Crimes and
 “ Irregularities according to the Canons, and as the Law of Justice
 “ or Mercy shall require.” This Sentence being read and approved
 by all who were present, the Council ordered the Seals of *Balthasar*
Cossa, presented to them by the Archbishop of *Riga*, to be broken.

Year of
Christ 1415.

In this Session Two Decrees were issued; the One forbidding a new Pope to be elected without the Consent and Approbation of the Council, and declaring such an Election to be *ipso facto* null; the other excluding for ever *Balthasar Cossa*, *Angelus de Corario*, and *Peter de Luna*, called in their respective Obediences *John XXIII.* *Gregory XII.* and *Benedict XIII.* from being ever re-elected. The Bishop of *Lavaur* was sent to the Pope at *Ratolfcell* to notify to him his Deposition, and deliver into his Hands a Copy of the Sentence. He received the Bishop with the greatest Marks of Respect, and having read Part of the Sentence to himself with great Composure, he begged Leave to peruse it at his Leisure, and dismissed the Bishop. But in the Space of about Two Hours he recalled him, and, expressing great Contrition for his past Conduct, told him, that he had perused the Sentence with due Attention; that he approved and confirmed it; and laying his Hand upon his Breast, swore that he should never act contrary to it, but renounced that Moment the Pontificate of his own Free Will, and gave up all

Decrees issued
in this Ses-
sion.

The Sentence
how received
by the Pope.

Year of
Christ 1415.

Right or Claim he had to that Dignity. He added, that he had already caused the Pontifical Cross to be removed out of his Chamber, and that, if he had any Change of Raiment, *Si mutatorias vestes habuisset*, he would immediately quit the Pontifical Robes, and every Badge of the Pontifical Dignity. However the Council, knowing by Experience that his Promises, Vows, and Oaths were not to be relied on, ordered him to be removed from *Ratolfcell* to the Castle of *Gottleben*, within Half a League of *Constance*, where he had *John Hufs* for his Fellow-Prisoner. For the Pope's Domestics, who guarded *Hufs*, and treated him, as he himself owns, with the greatest Kindness, being upon the Flight of their Master gone after him to *Schaffausen*, he was delivered up to the Bishop of *Constance*, who caused him to be conveyed to *Gottleben*, as a Place from which he could not, without great Difficulty, make his Escape. When the Pope, stiled henceforth in the Acts of the Council *Balthasar Cossa*, had been kept but a few Days at *Gottleben*, he was committed by the Council to the Custody of *Lewis*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who treated him with great Civility and Respect, appointed Two Chaplains to perform daily Divine Service in his Presence, and Gentlemen *honestos nobiles* to attend him at his Meals, using him rather as his Guest than his Prisoner. Thus *de Niem*. But *Platina* and *Naclerus* tell us, that he was kept confined and narrowly watched by the Duke, who was of *Gregory's* Party; that his *Italian* Servants were all dismissed; and that none but *Germans* were allowed to come near him, with whom he could only speak by Nods and Gestures, as he understood not the *German* Language, nor they the *Italian*. He was thus kept, according to *Platina*, at *Heidelberg*, or, as we read in *Naclerus*, at *Manheim*, for the Space of about Four Years, that is; till the Year 1419, when we shall have Occasion to bring him again upon the Stage. He had held the Pontificate Five Years and Four Days, reckoning from his Coronation on the 25th of *May* 1410, and from his Election on the 17th of *May*, Five Years and Thirteen Days.

The Decree
concerning
the Commu-
nion in One
Kind.

One Pope being thus deposed and secured, the Council thought it necessary, before they proceeded against the other Two, to obviate a Custom, that prevailed at this Time, almost universally, in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, the Custom of administering the Eucharist in both Kinds to the Laity. That Point was therefore discussed in the Thirteenth Session

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

171

Year of
Christ 1415.

Session, held on the 15th of June, and it was decreed, that thenceforth the Laity should receive this venerable Sacrament under One Kind only, that of Bread. The Words of the Decree are worthy of Notice. *Though Christ instituted, says the Council, and administered to his Disciples this venerable Sacrament under both Kinds of Bread and Wine; and though it was received by the Faithful in the primitive Church under both Kinds; yet for the avoiding of some Scandals and Dangers the Custom has been introduced, upon reasonable Grounds, that it be received by the Laity under the Kind of Bread only; as it is most firmly to be believed that the intire Body and Blood of Christ are contained under the Species of Bread, as well as under the Species of Wine. As this Custom therefore has, upon just Grounds, been introduced by the Church and the holy Fathers, and observed for a very long Time, diutissime, it ought to be deemed a Law, that is not to be set aside without the Authority of the Church, nor changed at pleasure. Hence to say, that it is sacrilegious or unlawful to observe such a Custom ought to be reputed erroneous, and they who obstinately maintain it, or administer the Sacrament to the People in both Kinds, ought to be excluded from it as Heretics, and severely punished by the Ordinaries, or the Inquisitors against heretical Pravity.*

I cannot dismiss this very remarkable Decree without some Observations. And, I. It is to be observed, that the Council itself owns, that *Christ instituted and administered this venerable Sacrament under both Kinds, and that, in the primitive Church, it was received by the Faithful under both Kinds.* And did they not, by owning so much, fully justify those, who then refused, and those, who still do refuse to comply with such a Decree? A Decree, made, by their own Confession, in open Defiance of *Christ's Institution*, and the Practice of the whole primitive Church! II. The Council did not think fit to specify in their Decree, the Scandals and Dangers attending Communion in both Kinds, or the *Institution of Christ* and the *antient Practice* of the Church. But the celebrated *John Gerson*, who was present at the Council, and wrote a Treatise in Defence of this Decree, tells us that they were, the Danger of spilling the Wine, in carrying it from Place to Place, of defiling the Vessels by their being touched and handled by Laymen; of Laymen dipping their long Beards in the Wine; of keeping the consecrated Wine for the Use of the Sick, as it might be changed into Vinegar, and so the Blood of *Christ* would cease to be there; the Danger

Owned by the Council itself to be contrary to Christ's Institution and the Practice of the Primitive Church.

Upon what Grounds Communion in One Kind introduced.

Year of
Christ 1415.

A modern
Practice at
the Time of
the Council.

of its becoming loathsome, as many others had drunk of it before; and the Danger of its freezing in Wintert. These were the frightful Dangers, these the horrible Scandals that induced the Council to set aside *Christ's* Institution, to abrogate his express Command, *drink ye all of it*, and depart from the Practice of the primitive Church; Scandals and Dangers, that the Church either never thought of in those early Times, though Men had long Beards then as well as at the Time of the Council of *Constance*, or took Care, if she thought of them, to avoid them by some other Means than by breaking in upon *Christ's* Institution. As at the Time of the Institution our Saviour certainly foresaw all the Scandals and Dangers, that could possibly attend the drinking of the Cup, and yet commanded *all to drink of it*, no Scandals nor Dangers can excuse *all* from drinking of it, nor justify those, who confine the drinking of it to One set of Men, to the Priesthood alone. III. The Custom introduced upon *the reasonable Grounds* we have seen, *has been observed*, says the Council, *for a very long Time, and therefore ought to be deemed a Law*, or have the Force of a Law. But that Custom was contrary to the Custom introduced and established by *Christ* himself, as the Council owns, and therefore could not be deemed a Law, nor have the Force of a Law, had it been observed for ever so long a Time. Besides, the Custom in question had not *been observed for a very long Time*, but, on the contrary, was of a very late Date at the Time of this very Council. For the learned Cardinal *Bona* has shewn, that the whole Church, the Laity as well as the Clergy, received in both Kinds, even in the *Roman* Church itself, for the Space of One thousand Two hundred Years^u; and the Jesuit *Gregory de Valentia* owns, that the Custom of communicating in One Kind did not begin to be generally received in the *Latin* Church, till a little before the present Council, held in the Fifteenth Century^w. So that a Custom, which had obtained for, at least, Twelve hundred Years, was made to give way to One, that had obtained for Two hundred Years only, *because it had been observed for a very long Time*. Add to this, that the Custom of administering the Eucharist to the Laity in One Kind had been observed, at the Time of the Council of *Constance*, for Two hundred Years by the *Latin* Church alone. Whereas the contrary Custom had been most

^t Gerson tract. contra hæres. de comm. sub utraque specie.
Liturgicis, l. 2. c. 18.

^u Bona de Rebus
^w Greg. de Valen. de legitimo usu Eucharist. c. 10.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

173

Year of
Christ 1415.

religiously observed by all other Churches throughout the World, was still so observed at the Time of that Council, and is so observed to this Day. For though they disagree in the Manner, the *Greeks* and *Muscovites* taking the Species mingled together in a Spoon, the *Armenians* dipping the Bread in the Wine, and some other Oriental Nations sucking through Pipes and Quills the consecrated Wine out of the Chalice; yet they all agree, and have all agreed ever since the Institution of this venerable Sacrament, in receiving it in both Kinds. And was the avoiding of the above-mentioned *Dangers and Scandals* a sufficient Reason for abrogating a Custom, that had been observed by the Church Universal ever since the Foundation of the Christian Religion, and establishing One in its Room, that had been observed for Two hundred Years only, and in the *Latin Church* alone? IV. When, where, or by whom, the Custom of administering the Eucharist to the Laity in One Kind was first countenanced is altogether uncertain. But certain it is, and can be proved by unquestionable Authorities, that for the Space of Eleven hundred Years, it was condemned both by the Popes and the Councils as contrary to *Christ's* Institution, as well as his express Command. Thus Pope *Julius*, raised to the See in 336, in forbidding *Intinction*, or the dipping of the Bread into the Wine, says, *the giving of the Bread and the Wine, each distinctly by themselves, is a Divine Order and Apostolic Institution*¹. Pope *Leo the Great*, in 440, ordered *those who received the Body of Christ, but refused to drink the Blood of our Redemption, to be, by sacerdotal Authority, cast out of the Society of Saints, that is, out of the Church*². Pope *Gelasius*, in 492, condemned *those who received the Bread but abstained from the Cup, as guilty of Superstition, and ordered them, either to receive both, or to be excluded from both*; BECAUSE ONE AND THE SAME MYSTERY CANNOT BE DIVIDED WITHOUT SACRILEGE³. By the First Canon of the Third Council of *Braga*, held in 675, all were ordered *to receive the Bread apart, and the Cup apart, because Christ, when he commended his Body and Blood to his Disciples, spoke of them as being apart*⁴. Lastly, the Council of *Clermont*, held under Pope *Urban II.* in 1094, forbade any to communicate at the Altar, unless they received separately the Body,

Condemned by
both Popes
and Councils.

¹ Julius apud Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 2. c. 7.
can. 1.

² Apud Gratian. ubi sup. dist. 2. c. 12.

³ Leo, sermon. 4. de quadagesima.
⁴ Concil. Bracarenf.

and

Year of
Christ 1415.

and in like Manner the Blood, except in Case of Necessity, viz. when it was to be administered to the Sick; and the Pope then allowed the Bread to be dipt in the Wine; which plainly shews, that so late as the latter End of the Eleventh Century it was not yet thought lawful to administer the Eucharist even to the Sick, in One Kind only. The preceding Popes had all condemned, as we have seen, the Custom of giving the Bread dipt in, or mixed with the Wine. But nevertheless *Gelasius* chose rather to adopt that Custom in the Communion of the Sick, than allow it to be administered to them under One Species only, that of Wine, as was suggested by some of the Council, because it could be swallowed with more Ease by the sick Person. It is true, the above Passages from the Popes and the Councils were chiefly levelled against the Custom of mixing the Species together. But the Reason they alleged for condemning that Custom as *sacrilegious* and *unlawful*, viz. *because it was contrary to the primitive Institution*, equally affects the Custom in question, owned by the very Council, that established it, to be contrary to the primitive Institution. V. The Council approves and commands the Custom of administering the Eucharist to the Laity in One Kind only, as it is most firmly to be believed that the intire Body and Blood of Christ are contained under the Species of Bread as well as under the Species of Wine. But though the intire Body and Blood of Christ be contained, according to the Council, under the Species of Bread as well as under the Species of Wine, though the Disciples in receiving the Body, received, according to their Doctrine, the Blood, yet Christ commanded all to drink of the Cup as well as to eat of the Bread, and the Popes and Councils, quoted above, though they held the same Doctrine, as the Roman Catholics all tell us, they nevertheless looked upon the receiving in One Kind only as the dividing of a Mystery that cannot be divided without great Sacrilege, and ordered those, who did not receive both, to be excluded from both. Eating the Bread, or the Body of Christ, and drinking the Wine, or the Blood of Christ, are always joined in Scripture when mention is made of this divine Sacrament, and as we are commanded to eat his Body, so are we commanded to drink his Blood. These are Two distinct Commands, and we can no otherwise comply with them but by eating the consecrated Bread, and drinking the consecrated Wine. For though we should allow those who receive only the Species of Bread, to receive, by the Doctrine

All commanded to drink of the Wine as well as to eat of the Bread.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

175

Doctrines of *Concomitancy*, not only the Body, but with it the Blood, as a living Body cannot be without Blood, yet they could not be said to drink the Blood, unless eating and drinking be the same Thing, and by eating the Body we drink the Blood; which is both absurd in itself, and contrary to the express Doctrine of Pope *Innocent III.* declaring, as quoted by *Durandus*, that *neither is the Blood drunk under the Species of Bread, nor the Body eaten under the Species of Wine; for as the Blood is not eaten, says he, nor the Body drunk, so neither is drunk under the Species of Bread, nor eaten under the Species of Wine*^b.

Year of
Christ 1415.

Thus have I made it undeniably appear, that, for the Space of Eleven hundred Years, it was by all *Christian* Churches, throughout the whole World, thought necessary from the Institution, the Example, and the Command of *Christ*, for all, who received the Eucharist, to receive it in both Kinds; and that in this they all agreed, though they disagreed in the Manner. But in the Twelfth Century, and not earlier, the Use of the Cup began by Degrees to be laid aside, some Bishops forbidding it, to avoid the above-mentioned *Scandals* and *Dangers* in administering the Sacrament to the People. By what Bishops, or into what Churches this Practice was first introduced, History has not informed us. But from the famous *Thomas Aquinas* it appears, that in his Time, that is, about a Century and a Half before the present Council, it was yet only observed by a few particular Churches. *In some Churches*, says he, *it is wisely observed that the Blood is not administered to the People*^c. That Practice he approved and recommended to all other Churches, and, as he was held by all in the highest Esteem for his Piety and Learning, it was in Process of Time, adopted by all upon his Recommendation; and being thus become, at the Time of the Council, a general Custom in the Western or *Latin* Church, the said Council, interposing their *Paramount Authority*, ordered it to be thenceforth observed as a Law, at the same time that they owned it to be contrary to *Christ's* Institution and Example, as well as to the ancient Practice of the whole Catholic Church; which was, in Effect, assuming to themselves, openly and without Disguise, an Authority not only superior to the Authority of all preceding Popes and Councils, but to that of *Christ* himself. If they had no such Authority, and who will say that

^b Durand. Rational. l. 4. c. 42.

^c Aquin. 3 part. quest. 80. art. 12.

they

Year of
Christ 1415.

Fourteenth
Session.

they had? their Decree, setting aside, with a *non obstante*, Christ's Institution, and the ancient Practice of the Church Universal, carries evidently along with it its own Confutation.

And now to return to the History of the Council. *John XXII.* now *Balthasar Cassa*, being deposed and secured, the Council resolved to proceed in like Manner against the other Two, if they resigned not, of their own Accord, in a limited Time. But in the mean while arrived at *Constance* *Charles Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*, where *Gregory* still continued to reside, having been sent by him to resign the Pontificate, in his Name, and all Right and Title to that Dignity. He entered *Constance* on the 15th of *June*, with a very numerous and splendid Retinue, and went the next Day, attended by *John Dominici* Cardinal of *Ragusa*, and *John* Patriarch elect of *Constantinople*, *Gregory's* Nuncios, to wait on the Emperor and acquaint him with his Commission, which, he said, was to treat only with him about the Means of restoring Peace to the Church, and not with the Council, as *Gregory* did not acknowledge the Authority of a Council convened by *Balthasar Cassa*, styling himself *John XXIII.* who had no Power to convene One. He added, that if the Emperor and the Nations consented to its being convoked anew by his Master, he would in that Case, but could in no other, own it for a lawful Council. This the Emperor readily agreed to as well as the Deputies of the Nations; and the Fourteenth Session being thereupon held on the 4th of *July*, the Cardinal of *Ragusa* and the Patriarch of *Constantinople* assisted at it as Nuncios of Pope *Gregory*, and *Charles Malatesta* in the Character of his Proxy, to resign in his Name. At this Session Cardinal *De Viviers* took the Place of President, as he had presided at most other Sessions. But *Charles Malatesta* declaring, that he was ordered by *Gregory* to resign his Dignity into the Hands of the Emperor, *Sigismund*, quitting his usual Seat with the Approbation of the Council, placed himself as President in a Chair before the Altar; and then, as President, ordered Two Bulls of *Gregory* to be read, both dated at *Rimini* the 13th of *March* in the Ninth Year of his Pontificate. The One was directed to *John*, Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, commonly called Cardinal of *Ragusa*, to *John* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to *Werner* Archbishop of *Treves*, to *Lewis* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and to *Charles Malatesta*. By that Bull Power was given them by *Gregory* to convoke, in his Name, the Council of *Constance*, and after convoking

The Council
convoked in
Gregory's
Name, who
resigns.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

177

Year of
Christ 1415.

voking it to own it for a lawful Council. The other Bull was addressed to *Charles Malatesta* alone, empowering him to act as his Proxy, and submit, in that Character, to the Decisions of the Council when lawfully assembled. These Bulls being read, the Cardinal of *Ragusa* convoked the Council in the Name of his Lord Pope *Gregory XII.* and then, owning the Assembly of Bishops met at *Constance* for a General Council, declared that his Holiness was ready to sacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, and left them to dispose of him as they should think fit. When he had done, all the Cardinals gave him the Kiss of Peace, and the Emperor resuming his Place, Cardinal *De Viviers* took the President's Seat. A Third Bull was then read from *Gregory*, giving *Charles Malatesta* full Power to resign the Papal Dignity in his Name. When that was done, *Charles*, rising up, read, after a short Preamble in Commendation of *Gregory*, the Act of Resignation drawn up in the following Terms: " I *Charles Malatesta*, Vicar of *Rimini*, Governor of *Romagna* for our most holy Father in Christ Lord Pope *Gregory XII.* and General of the holy *Roman Church*, being authorized by the full Power that has just now been read, and has been received by me from our said Lord Pope *Gregory*, compelled by no Violence, but only animated with an ardent Desire of procuring the Peace and Union of the Church, do, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, effectually and really renounce for my Master Pope *Gregory XII.* the Possession of and all Right and Title to the Papacy, which he legally enjoys, and do actually resign it in the Presence of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and of this General Council, which represents the *Roman Church* and the Church Universal." This Act of Resignation was approved and received with great Applause by the Council, the *Te Deum* was sung, mighty Commendations were bestowed upon *Gregory*, and it was decreed, that *Peter de Luna* should be required in like Manner to resign, in the Term of Ten Days, from the Time the Request of the Council should be notified to him, and that, if he did not, within that Term, comply with their Request, he should be declared a notorious Schismatic, an obstinate and incorrigible Heretic, and as such be deprived of all Honour and Dignity, and cast out of the Church d.

The Act of
Resignation.

d Acta Concil. apud Spondan. & Lenfant.

Year of
Christ 1415.
Favours be-
stowed upon
Gregory by
the Council.

The Council, fully satisfied with the Submission and Resignation of *Gregory*, and at the same time flattering themselves, that their Kindness to him might encourage *Peter de Luna* to follow his Example, decreed that *Angelus Corarius* should retain the Dignity of Cardinal Bishop so long as he lived; that he should be the First in Rank after the Pope, unless some Alteration should be judged expedient, with respect to this Article, upon the Resignation of *Peter de Luna*; and that he should be perpetual Legate of the *Marche* of *Ancona*, and enjoy undisturbed all the Honours, Privileges, and Emoluments annexed to that Dignity. The Council granted him besides a full and unlimited Absolution from all the Irregularities he might have been guilty of, during his Pontificate, exempted him from giving an Account of his past Conduct, or any Part of it, to any Person whatever, and forbade any to be raised to the Pontificate till they had promised upon Oath to observe this Decree, notwithstanding all the Canons, Constitutions, and Decrees of General Councils to the contrary. *Gregory*, or rather *Angelus Corarius*, no sooner heard of his Resignation being approved and received by the Council, than assembling all the Bishops and Clergy, who still adhered to him, and were then with him at *Rimini*, he divested himself, in their Presence, of the Pontifical Robes, declaring that he never would resume them, but laid them down with greater Joy than he ever wore them. He wrote to the Council a most submissive Letter, declaring that he entirely acquiesced in their Decision, and returning them his most sincere Thanks for their Generosity in providing, beyond what he could have expected, for his future Support as well as his Dignity; which, he said, could only be owing to the Regard they had for the Dignity, with which he had once been distinguished. This Letter is dated at *Recanati* the 7th of October, and subscribed, *Your humble and devoted Angelus, Bishop and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church*. He died at *Recanati*, about Two Years afterwards, in the Eighty-ninth Year of his Age, and was buried in the Cathedral of that City, and not at *Rimini*, as we read in *St. Antonine*. *Oldoinus* tells us, that his Tomb being opened in 1623, his Body was found entire, adorned with the Pontifical Robes all likewise entire, and adds, that he had

* Vander Hardt. tom. 4. p. 473.
Anecd. tom. 2. col. 1645.

† Niem. in vit. Joan. XXIII.

‡ Thesaur.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

179

this Information from one, who was present at the Opening of the Tomb. This we find frequently alleged as a Proof of an extraordinary Sanctity. But who does not know that Instances are not wanting of the Bodies of great Sinners being preserved free from Corruption, as well as the Bodies of great Saints? The Author of *Roma Subterranea*, who lived in Rome more under than above Ground, tells us, that he discovered several Bodies of the old *Pagan Romans* as fresh and entire as they were, when put into their Coffins many Ages before. Gregory was guilty, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, of a Breach of the Oath, which he took before and confirmed after his Election, to embrace *the Way of Cession*, if judged necessary to procure the Unity and Peace of the Church. He embraced it indeed at last, and resigned his Dignity, but it was when he could no longer hold it, being forsaken by all, who were able to support and protect him.

Year of
Christ 1415.

The chief Business of the next Session, the Fifteenth, held on *Saturday* the 6th of *July*, was the Condemnation of *John Hufs*, who had been kept Prisoner in the Castle of *Gottleben* ever since the Flight of Pope *John* to *Schaffhausen*, and had been there frequently examined by the Divines, whom the Council had appointed to enquire into his Doctrine. On the 30th of *May* he was heard in the Assembly of the Nations, and upon his declaring that he was ready to retract, if convinced of having advanced any Thing contrary to the Catholic Faith, he was by them referred to the Council, and on the 6th of *June* brought by their Order to *Constance*, and lodged, under a strong Guard, in the Convent of the *Minorites*. The next Day he had a public Hearing, and his Accusers being required to make good the Charge of Heresy, which they had brought against him, and specify the Articles he held and had taught contrary to the received Doctrine of the Church, *Michael de Causis* accused him of having taught, after *Wickliffe*, that *the Substance of the Bread and Wine remains in the Sacrament of the Altar after Consecration*. That Accusation *Hufs* answered by calling God to Witness that he never had advanced that Proposition, nor did he believe it, but, on the contrary, had always taught and firmly believed, that *the true Body of Jesus Christ, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered upon the Cross, lay Three Days in the Grave, ascended into Heaven, and sits at the Right Hand of the Father, is present in the Eucharist, and received*

Fifteenth Session.

John Hufs, when first heard by the Council,

Accused of holding Doctrines that he never held.

Year of
Christ 1415.

by the Faithful. These are *Hufs's* own Words in his Treatise *on the Body and Blood of Christ* g. The next Charge brought against him was, that he had taught that a Priest in mortal Sin neither consecrates nor baptizes, being no Minister of Christ, but a Member of the Devil. *Hufs* denied his having ever held such a Doctrine, and, to shew how unjustly he was accused, referred his Accusers to the Treatise I have just quoted, where he said, they would find the contrary Doctrine asserted in the plainest Terms. His Words in that Treatise are, *A wicked Priest, provided he has an Intention to do what Christ has commanded, and says the Words according to the Institution of the Church, such a Priest, by virtue of the Sacramental Words, causes ministerially the Body and Blood of Christ to be under the Species of Bread and Wine; I say, he adds, ministerially, because such a Priest, as a Minister of Jesus Christ, does by his Power and Words what Jesus Christ does by his own Power, transubstantiating the Bread into his Body, and the Wine into his Blood* h. From these Words it is manifest that *Hufs* held Transubstantiation, nay, and believed the Intention of the Priest to be necessary in the Administration of the Sacraments. The other Articles of his Indictment were, that he had found Fault with the Emperor *Constantine* and Pope *Sylvester*, for endowing and enriching the Church; that he had maintained Tythes to be mere Alms, and to have been originally free; that he had wished his Soul were in the same Place with *Wickliffe's*; that when the Errors of that Heretic were condemned at *Prague*, he openly espoused his Cause, declaring that he was condemned unjustly; that he had preached against Indulgences, and that being summoned by the Pope to *Rome*, he had appealed from him to *Jesus Christ*. To these different Charges *Hufs* returned the following Answers; that Riches served rather to corrupt than to improve the Manners of the Clergy, and therefore, in his Opinion, *Constantine* and Pope *Sylvester* had better left the Church as they found it; he owned his having taught Tythes to be mere Alms, but had, he said, recommended to all the Payment of them as a Duty; he did not deny his having wished that his Soul were in the same Place with *Wickliffe's*, but had wished so, he said, before his Doctrine was condemned in *Bohemia*; he ingenuously confessed that, in his Opinion, some of *Wickliffe's* Propositions did not deserve the Censures with which they were

g Opera Hufi. tom. 1. fol. 38.

h Opera Hufi. ibid.

stigmatized

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

181

stigmatized by the Archbishop of *Prague*, and he left the Council to judge whether he could, on that Account, be said to have espoused his Cause, or could be arraigned as a *Wickliffeist*; he owned that he had preached against the Abuse of Indulgences, against their being employed to encourage Christians to cut one another's Throats, but defied his Accusers to prove that he had ever preached against Indulgences themselves; as to his Appeal from the Pope, he said, he had, he said, been summoned to *Rome* upon a false Accusation, had sent proper Persons to plead his Cause, and convince the Pope of his Innocence, but they were thrown, unheard, into Prison, which he hoped would justify his not appearing personally, but appealing to his only Refuge *Jesus Christ*.

Year of
Christ 1415.

Hufs was, a few Days afterwards, heard again by the Council, when his Books were put into his Hands, and upon his owning them, Twenty-six Articles, taken out of his Book *Of the Church*, and his other Works, were read. He owned that those Propositions were all to be met with in his Books, but added, that they had a very different Meaning, when joined with the preceding and the subsequent Words, from that which they had when taken by themselves; that by thus curtailing and disjoining Propositions, the most orthodox Writers might be made to write rank Herefy, nay, and to impugn the very Doctrine which they had undertaken to maintain; he therefore begged that he might be allowed to explain his Doctrine, promising to retract what he could not support with solid Arguments. But the Council, instead of complying with so reasonable a Request, insisted upon his pleading guilty, and retracting those Errors as they were laid to his Charge. *Hufs* answered, that some of those Propositions were falsely and maliciously charged upon him by those who sought his Destruction, and therefore desired they would excuse him from retracting them, since that would be owning he had held them. As for those which he had really held and taught, he was ready, he said, to retract and abjure them the Moment he was convinced of their being erroneous, or contrary to any Article of the Catholic Faith. As he persisted in that Answer, he was sent back to Prison. The Council sent several Bishops and Divines to persuade him to own his Errors, and retract them: But to all he returned the same Answer, *viz.* that he would neither retract Opinions that he had never held, nor those that he had really held,

Not allowed
to explain his
Doctrine.

Year of
Christ 1415.

held, till he was convinced that they were erroneous. It was therefore determined, after much Altercation, in an Assembly of the Nations, that the Council should proceed, without further Delay, against *John Huss*, as an obstinate and incorrigible Heretic. He was, accordingly, the next Day from his Prison before the Council by the Arch-Bishop of *Riga*, and being placed upon a high Stool, that all might the Bishop of *Lodi* preached a Sermon upon the Words of *that the Body of Sin might be destroyed*. When he had done, the Bishop of *Concordia* read a Decree of the Council, enjoining all of what Rank or Dignity soever, whether Emperors, Kings, Archbishops, to keep Silence on Pain of Excommunication, and Two Months Imprisonment. A very extraordinary Decree indeed!

In the next Place Sixty Articles were read, extracted, or pretended to be extracted, out of *Wickliffe's Works*, and Thirty out of *John Huss's Book Of the Church*, and other Books, which he owned to be his. These Articles were all condemned as *rash, seditious, erroneous, offensive to pious Ears*, and *contrary to the received Doctrine of the Catholic Church*; the Books, from which they were taken, were ordered to be

Is condemned to be degraded.

publicly burnt; and *John Huss*, who had taught and refused to retract them, was condemned, as an obstinate and incorrigible Heretic, to be degraded from the Order of Priesthood. This Sentence *Huss* received on his Knees without uttering a single Word, or betraying the least Concern. The Ceremony of Degradation was immediately performed by the Archbishop of *Milan*, and the Bishops of *Feltri*, *Asli*, *Alexandria della Paglia*, *Bangor*, and *Lavaur*, who ordered him to apparel himself with the Vestments as if he were going to celebrate Mass, and stript him of them all, One by One, with a Curse at the taking off of each of them. They then put a Paper Mitre upon his Head, on which were painted Three Devils, with this Inscription, *Herefiarch*, and being thus declared a Layman, he was delivered over to the Secular Power. The Emperor, in Defiance of whose Safe Conduct he was condemned, ordered the Elector *Palatine*, as Vicar

Is degraded, delivered over to the Secular Power, and burnt alive.

of the Empire, to receive him, and consign him up to Justice. The Elector put him into the Hands of the Magistrates of *Constance*, who immediately delivered him to the Executioner, with Orders to burn him alive with his Clothes and every Thing about him, even his Purse and the Money in it. The Executioner, having tied his Hands behind

his

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

183

Year of
Christ 1415.

his Back, carried him, under a strong Guard, to the Suburbs of *Constance*, the Place appointed by the Magistrates for his Execution.

When he was fastened to the Stake, and the Executioner was upon the Point of setting Fire to the Wood piled about him, the Elector *Palatine* and the Count of *Oppenheim*, Marshal of the Empire, riding up to him, exhorted him once more to retract and save his Life. He answered, that he had rather suffer the cruellest Death, than retract Doctrines that he had never held, or those that he really held, but was not convinced of their being erroneous. The Two Princes, finding him unalterable in that Resolution, withdrew not without great Concern, and Fire being set to the Pile upon their withdrawing, his Body, with every Thing belonging to him, was burnt to Ashes, and the Ashes were, by the Order of the Council, thrown into the *Rhine*, lest his Followers should honour them as Reliques.

That *John Huss* died with a Firmness and Constancy truly heroic, *Dies with great Firmness and Constancy.* without ever betraying the least Fear or Concern, and would, on that Account, have deserved a Place amongst the most renowned Martyrs

of the Church, had he suffered in a better Cause, is allowed by all, without Exception, who have spoken of him. *His Life was entirely blameless,* as we have seen owned above by One, whom we cannot

suspect of bestowing Praises upon him that he did not deserve ^k. As *Differed in no material Point from the Church of Rome.* to his Doctrine, *Florimund de Raymund*, and *Herebert Resweide*, both declared, after perusing his Works with the greatest Attention, that he did not deviate, in any material Point, from the Sentiments of the

Church of *Rome* ^l. He held the real Presence, and believed Transubstantiation, as has been observed above: He allowed the Invocation of Saints, especially the Virgin *Mary*; for he says, in express Terms, that *a Sinner cannot possibly be saved without the Intercession of the Virgin Mary* ^m: He held the Doctrine of Purgatory; *in praying for the Dead, we procure Relief*, says he, *for the sleeping Church* ⁿ. Of Image-Worship he expresses himself thus; *the Knee may be bent, Prayers addressed, Offerings made, and Wax-Tapers lighted up to the Image of Jesus Christ, or of any Saint whatever, provided it be not done for the Sake of the Image itself, but of him whose Image it is* ^o: He admitted the Seven

¹ Acta Concil. Cochleus, l. 2. et Vander Hardt, apud Lenfant Hist. du Concile de Const. ² See above, p. 129, 130: ³ Florimund. de ortu haer. l. 4. p. 400 et Resweide de fide hereticis servanda, c. 18. p. 196. ^m Opera Huss. l. 1. fol. 147, 148. ⁿ Ibid. l. 2. fol. 49 et 183. ^o Ibid. l. 11. fol. 343.

Year of
Christ 1415.

The true
Cause of the
Persecution
raised against
him.

Sacraments^p: And was, it seems, persuaded of the Necessity of Confession; for upon his Condemnation he demanded a Confessor, but the Council would not allow him one, unless he retracted q. Add to these indisputable Proofs of *Hus's* Orthodoxy (out of his own Works) the unquestionable Testimony of *Conrad*, Archbishop of *Prague*, protesting, in an Assembly of the Lords of *Bohemia*, that *he had never met with One single Error in the Writings of John Hus*^r, and that of *Nicholas*, Bishop of *Nazareth*, and Inquisitor for the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, declaring that, *in the many Conferences he had with John Hus, he had always found him a sound Member of the Catholic Church*^s. He was therefore guilty of no Heresy; but, what was no less unpardonable, being himself a Man of a *most austere and blameless Life*, and not able to bear with the irregular and debauched Lives of the Clergy, he inveighed, perhaps, with too much Boldness and Acrimony, against their Vices, reproaching them with Pride, Avarice, Ambition, Ignorance, Incontinence, &c. sparing neither Bishops, nor Cardinals, nor the Pope himself. Besides, he talked too freely of the Corruptions of the Church, and demanded its Reformation with too much Boldness. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* While *John Hus* declaimed against the Vices of the Laity, every body said that he had the Spirit of God, but he became odious as soon as he fell upon the Clergy, because that was like touching a galled Horse. Thus the Author of an ancient Manuscript Preface to the Works of *John Hus*, as quoted by *Lenfant* in his admirable History of the present Council; and to him I am chiefly indebted for the Account I have given of *John Hus* and his Doctrine. Indeed no Man can suppose that, had *Hus* been conscious to himself of having taught any Doctrine or Doctrines condemned by the Church, and manifestly heretical, he would have come to *Constance*, and much less that he would, by Papers set up in *Prague*, and in all Places on the Road, have invited those, who suspected him of Heresy, to repair thither, and convince him, before the Pope and the Council, of having ever preached or maintained any Doctrine contrary to the received Faith of the Church. To conclude, *John Hus* was a sound Member of the Catholic Church, as sound a Member as any of the Bishops who sat in the Council; and it was not any Heresy, or Error in Point of Faith, obstinately maintained by him, that brought him to the Stake,

^p Ibid. l. 1. fol. 37.

^q Ibid. fol. 37.

^r Ibid. fol. 10.

^s Ibid. fol. 11.

but

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

185

Year of
Christ 1415.

but his having disoblged the whole Body of the Clergy by exposing their Vices, and thus striving to reform their Manners, and banish the Abuses they had introduced into the Church.—*Martinus Crusius* tells us, in his *Suevian Annals*, that *John Huss* should have said, when Sentence was pronounced against him, *An hundred Years hence you shall answer to God and to me*. That he had really said so was believed, and Money was coined in *Bobemia* with these Two *Latin* Inscriptions, on the One Side, *Centum revolutis annis Deo respondebitis et mihi*; and on the other, *Credo in Unam Ecclesiam Catholicam*, *I believe in One Catholic Church*. That Prophecy was afterwards improved by others, pretending that *Huss* should have added, *You now burn a Goose* (the Import of the Word *Huss* in the *Bobemian* Language) *but an hundred Years hence a Swan will come, whom you shall not burn*, alluding to *Luther*; who came about One hundred Years after *Huss*. But these Prophecies were never heard of till after the *Swan* was come ^u.

In the same Fifteenth Session was condemned the following Proposition; *It is lawful, and even meritorious, for any private Man, Subject or Vassal, to kill a Tyrant by lying in Ambush for him, or by any other Method whatsoever, without Order from any one whomsoever, or any Form of Law, and notwithstanding any preceding Reconciliation or Oath to the contrary*. This Assertion was maintained by *John Petit*, a *Franciscan* Friar, and Doctor of Divinity in the University of *Paris*, in a Piece he published under the Title of *A Justification of the Duke of Burgundy*. For the Duke, who was Uncle to the *French* King *Charles VI.* had caused the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's only Brother, to be basely murdered, when they had been reconciled but Two Days before, and, in Token of an entire Reconciliation, had assisted at Mass, and received the Sacrament together. This treacherous and horrid Murder the abandoned and venal Friar, who was Privy Counsellor to the Duke of *Burgundy*, undertook to defend, nay, and to prove, that it was meritorious, and that the Duke deserved not to be punished, but ought to be thanked by the whole Kingdom, and amply rewarded. For in the Piece I have mentioned the Friar painted the deceased Duke as a lawless Tyrant, a Character which he did not at all deserve,

The Doctrine concerning the killing of a Tyrant, condemned by the Council.

^u *Crusius Annal. Suevic. l. 6. c. 10. Hussi, &c.*

^u See *Gretzerus de Numif. cusò in laudem*

Year of
Christ 1415.

charged him with aspiring to the Crown, with recurring to Magic and Magicians, in order to procure the Death of the King, &c. blackening his Memory with a Thousand groundless Calumnies, and stabbing his Reputation more barbarously than the Assassins had done his Body. *Petit's* Book was condemned in 1414 by *Gerard de Montaigu*, Bishop of *Paris*, and *John Polet*, Inquisitor. But the Duke of *Burgundy* appealing from them to Pope *John XXIII.* their Sentence was reversed by that Pope, who then stood in great Need of the Duke's Protection. However, the above Proposition being examined, at the Request of *John Gerson*, by the present Council, it was condemned as erroneous, scandalous, and heretical, and all, who obstinately maintained so pernicious and dangerous a Doctrine, were ordered to be punished as guilty of Heresy. But, out of Respect to the Duke of *Burgundy*, no Mention was made in the Sentence either of the Book or the Author w.

Sixteenth
Session.
The Emperor
proposes to
meet Bene-
dict at Per-
pignan.

In the next Session, the Sixteenth, held on *Thursday* the 11th of *July*, the Emperor acquainted the Council with his Design of setting out in a few Days for *Perpignan*, in order to meet there *Peter de Luna*, called in his Obedience *Benedict XIII.* and *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, who still adhered to him, but expressed a great Desire to see the Church settled in Peace, and had promised to contribute all in his Power towards it. This Interview had been long before agreed upon. For *Benedict*, soon after the Opening of the Council, had sent Nuncios to *Sigismund* to excuse his not assisting at a Council, which he could not look upon as lawfully convened, since it had not been convened by him, and at the same time to propose a Congress to be held at *Nizza* or *Villafranca*, at which his Holiness, said the Nuncios, would assist in Person with his beloved Son King *Ferdinand*, no less desirous than himself of putting an End to the present Troubles. When the Time of the Congress drew near, *Benedict* sent other Nuncios to *Sigismund* to beg he would excuse him from repairing to the Place appointed, on account of the great Distance, for he was then in *Arragon*, and invite him to *Perpignan*, where he promised to meet him. The Emperor plainly saw that *Benedict* only wanted to gain Time; but nevertheless resolved to undertake that Journey, being determined to spare no Pains nor Fatigue to complete the Work he had begun, and

flattering himself that he should be able to prevail upon the King of *Arragon*, and the other *Spanish* Princes to abandon their Pope, if he continued to keep up the Schism by obstinately refusing to part with the Dignity, which he had so often promised and sworn to resign. The Emperor having imparted this Resolution, in the present Session, to the Council, the Archbishop of *Tours*, with other Bishops, Abbots, and Doctors, in all Twelve, were appointed to attend him, and assist with him at the Congress. On this Occasion *John Gerson*, in wishing with the Rest that *Peter de Luna* might be prevailed upon to resign, and Peace be again restored to the Church, added pleasantly with the Words of the Seventy-second Psalm, *But I fear we shall have no Peace SO LONG AS THE MOON ENDURETH* *.

Year of
Christ 1415.

In the Seventeenth Session, held on the 15th of *July*, Cardinal de *Seventeenth*
Viviers, President of the Council, wished the Emperor, who was *Session.*
upon the Point of setting out for *Spain*, a good Journey and a safe *The Emperor*
Return in the Name of the whole Assembly; and it was decreed, *sets out for*
that, during his Absence, general Processions should be made every *Perpignan.*
Sunday, and Masses celebrated for his Safety, that all, who assisted at those Masses or Processions, should gain a Hundred Days Indulgence, and all a Forty Days Indulgence who should say devoutly One *Pater-Noster*, and One *Ave-Mary* a Day for the Health and Preservation of so religious a Prince. At the same time dreadful Excommunications were thundered out against any who should stop or any-ways molest him on his Journey, or those who attended him. He set out from *Constance* on the 19th of *July*; but finding, upon his Arrival at *Narbonne*, that King *Ferdinand* was indisposed, and not in a Condition to assist at the Congress, he remained in that City till the 19th of *September*. On that Day he made his public Entry into *Perpignan* with the Deputies of the Council, and found there King *Ferdinand* with the Embassadors of all the Princes of *Benedict's* Obedience, whom *Ferdinand* had invited to the Congress. But *Benedict* himself refused to come, unless the Emperor sent him a Safe Conduct, and promised to receive and treat him as Pope. *Sigismund* answered, that it did not belong to him to give a Safe Conduct in the Dominions of another Prince, and that he could not receive him as Pope, but would receive

* Ibid. Sess. 16.

Year of
Christ 1415.

Congress of
Perpignan,
and Bene-
dict's Pro-
posals.

him as Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church, and treat him with all the Respect due to that Dignity.

As the Congress was of *Benedict's* own appointing, and the Place of his own chusing, the Embassadors of the Princes of his Obedience all joined in pressing him to repair to it, and even threatened to withdraw, in their Master's Name, their Obedience from him if he declined it, the rather, as the Emperor had undertaken so long a Journey on Purpose to meet him. Thus he was at last prevailed upon to yield; and he made his Entry into *Perpignan*, attended by his Five Cardinals, in the latter End of *October*. But when the Emperor and Deputies of the Council put him in Mind of his Oath, and exhorted him to follow the Example of his Two Competitors, the Terms he proposed were such as plainly shewed, that he was determined to resign upon no Terms whatever. These were, that all the Decrees, published to that Time against him, or those who adhered to him, should be declared null; that the Assembly at *Constance*, calling itself a General Council, should be dissolved; that a lawful General Council should be convened by him at *Lions*, or *Avignon*, or at some other Place that suited his Convenience; that he alone should elect the new Pope; that after his Resignation he should retain the Dignity of Cardinal and perpetual Legate *a latere*, with an unlimited Power, both in Spirituals and Temporals, in all the Countries then under his Obedience; that he should be First in Rank and Dignity after the Pope, and it should not be lawful to appeal from him. Upon these Subjects *Benedict*, though then in the Seventy-seventh Year of his Age, harangued for the Space of Seven Hours without the least Alteration in his Voice or Countenance, striving to prove that he alone was lawful Pope, and that, if the Good of the Church required him to resign, he alone had a Right to elect the new Pope, being the only undoubted Cardinal then alive, as having been created before the Schism, and consequently by an undoubted Pope, viz. *Gregory XI.* in 1375; whereas the Rest had been all created in the Time of Schism, and it might therefore be doubted whether the Popes, who created them, were true Popes, and consequently whether they be true Cardinals, and have a Right to vote in the Election of a Pope.

Valla in vit. Ferdinandi Regis Arragon. et Mariana, l. 10. c. 7.

As

As *Benedict* obstinately insisted upon these Terms, the Emperor, despairing of being able to overcome his Obstinacy, left *Perpignan*, and retired to *Narbonne*, in order to return to *Germany*. But King *Ferdinand*, his Son *Alphonso*, and the Ambassador of the Princes in the Obedience of *Benedict*, promising to abandon him if he did not resign, *Sigismund* was prevailed upon to suspend his Journey, and remain at *Narbonne*. There a Second Congress was held, at which were present the Emperor, with the Deputies of the Council, and the Ambassadors of all the Princes, who still acknowledged *Benedict*, that is, of the Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Castile*, and the Counts *de Foix* and *Armagnac*. At this Congress several Articles were agreed and sworn to by all, and this among the Rest by the Ambassadors of the Princes in *Benedict's* Obedience in their Masters Names, that if he did not voluntarily resign agreeably to his Oath and repeated Declarations, they would withdraw their Obedience from him, would send Ambassadors to the Council, and join in all their Proceedings against him. *Benedict* no sooner heard of what had passed at *Narbonne*, than, apprehending that the Emperor or the King might cause him to be arrested, he left *Perpignan* in great Haste, and retired with Four of his Cardinals, the Fifth being indisposed, to *Colliour*; but not thinking himself safe there, he soon withdrew from thence to *Peniscola*, a very strong Place; situated on a Rock in a Peninsula of the Kingdom of *Valentia*, not far from *Tortosa*, now known by the Name of *Roccha de Truena*.

King *Ferdinand*, being informed of his Flight, sent a solemn Embassy to acquaint him with the Result of the Congress of *Narbonne*, and exhort him to resign, of his own Accord, a Dignity, which he himself could not but know it was impossible for him to hold; as all, who had hitherto obeyed him, had sworn to renounce his Obedience, if he renounced not the Pontificate. *Benedict* answered, that his Two Competitors having resigned, and renounced all Right and Claim to the Pontifical Dignity, the Contest was ended, that he alone was now Pope, and that they could by no other Means restore Peace to the Church more effectually, than by acknowledging and obeying him as such. He added, that he never would abandon the Church, which it had pleased the Almighty to commit to his Care, and at the same time declared all excommunicated who did not acknowledge him, whether

Year of
Christ 1415.
Congress of
Narbonne.

All agree to
withdraw
their Obe-
dience to Be-
nedit, if he
does not re-
sign.

Benedict's
Obstinacy.

Year of
Christ 1415.
Ferdinand of
Arragon re-
nounces his
Obedience.

Benedict
excommuni-
cates him.

The Eigh-
teenth and
Nineteenth
Sessions.

All Safe Con-
ducts granted
to Heretics
by secular
Princes de-
clared null.

whether Emperors, Kings, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, or Bishops, as Rebels to St. Peter and his Church. *Ferdinand*, provoked beyond Measure at *Benedict's* Obstinacy and Presumption, publicly renounced his Obedience, and on the 6th of *January* 1416 an Edict was published by his Order, requiring all his Subjects in general, of whatever Rank or Dignity, to withdraw from the Obedience of *Peter de Luna*, styling himself *Benedict XIII.* and the Ecclesiastics in particular, on Pain of forfeiting their Benefices and Preferments ². In Answer to this Edict, *Benedict*, after reproaching the King with Ingratitude, thundered out, undaunted, the Sentence of Excommunication against him, absolved his Subjects from their Allegiance, and declared the Throne vacant.

While these Things passed in *Spain*, the Sessions of the Council were continued at *Constance*. In the Eighteenth, held on *Saturday* the 17th of *August*, nothing was transacted worthy of Notice. But in the Nineteenth, held on *Monday* the 23d of *September*, passed the famous Decree relating to Safe Conducts, granted by temporal Princes to Heretics, or to Persons suspected of Heresy. The Decree was drawn up and published in the following Words: *The holy Synod declares, that no Safe Conduct, granted by the Emperor, Kings, and other secular Princes to Heretics, or Persons accused of Heresy, in Hopes of reclaiming them from their Errors, by what Tie soever they may have bound themselves, ought to be of any Prejudice to the Catholic Faith, or to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, nor be any Hindrance that such Persons may and ought to be examined, judged, and punished by a competent and Ecclesiastical Judge, as Justice shall require, if those Heretics obstinately refuse to renounce their Errors; and that, though they should have come to the Place of Judgment relying upon a Safe Conduct, and would not have come without One; and the Person, who shall have promised them Security, shall be under no Obligation, when he shall have done all that it was in his Power to do.* By this Decree all Safe Conducts, granted by secular Princes to obstinate and unrepenting Heretics, are declared null. But it is to be observed, that the Council does not here decree, in general, *no Faith to be kept with Heretics*; nay, on the contrary, by these Words, *Nec sic promittentem, cum fecerit quod in ipso est, ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum*, the Council tacitly declares the Person, who has promised

² Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 1532.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

191

Safety, or given a Safe Conduct, to be bound, in virtue thereof, to do all in his Power that his Safe Conduct take place, and his Promise be made good. Year of Christ 1415.

Vander Hardt has produced from the Library of *Vienna* another Decree in a Manuscript bearing the Name of *John Dorre*, Canon of *Worms*, who was present at the Council, and speaks of this Decree as having been issued in the same Nineteenth Session. It is there declared, that, according to the natural, divine, and human Laws, no Faith ought to have been kept with *John Hufs*. Now, unless it can be proved, says *Lenfant*, and very justly, that the Case of *J. Hufs* was different from that of all other Heretics, it follows evidently from thence, that, according to the Council, no Faith is to be kept with any Heretic whatever. But as this Decree is not to be met with in any of the printed Copies of the Council, nor in any Manuscript, except that in the Library of *Vienna*, Occasion has been taken from thence to question its Authenticity; and it was rejected as spurious by the Roman Catholic Writers, as soon as brought to Light. Father *Pagi*, among the Rest, looks upon it as a mere Forgery, and argues thus; to declare, that according to the natural, divine, and human Laws, no Faith ought to have been kept with *J. Hufs*, was evidently to declare, that, according to the same Laws, no Faith ought to be kept with any Heretic whatever, should he have a Safe Conduct even from a General Council; as no Council can have a Power to act contrary to those Laws. Now the *Hussites* of *Bohemia*, says *Pagi*, came to the Council of *Basil*, held Fourteen Years after that of *Constance*, with Safe Conducts from the Emperor and the Council, and consequently must either have been then ignorant of that Decree, which is altogether incredible, had such a Decree been published; or must have come relying upon Safe Conducts, which they knew to have been declared contrary to the natural, divine, and human Laws; which is still, if possible, more incredible. That Writer adds, that the Decree in Question was unknown to the Protestants both in *France* and *Germany* at the Time of the Council of *Trent*. For *Catherine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, told the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Pope's Legate, that the Protestants demanded, before they came to the Council, a Revocation of the Decree of the Council of *Constance*, declaring that an Ecclesiastical Judge may proceed against

7 Vander Hardt. l. 4. p. 521, 522.

Heretics,

Year of
Christ 1415.

Heretics, notwithstanding the Safe Conduits of secular Princes; and the Embassador of the Duke of Saxony told the Council, that the Protestants of Germany were not yet come on account of a certain Decree of the Council of Constance, declaring that no Faith ought to be kept with Heretics, nor with Persons suspected of Heresy, though they should come with Safe Conduits from the Emperor, or from Kings. Had the Protestants known of the other Decree, they would have certainly taken Notice of it, and insisted upon its Revocation. As that Decree therefore is to be met with in no printed Copies of the Acts of the Council, and in One Manuscript Copy only; as it was unknown to the Hussites in Bohemia Fourteen Years after the Council, that is supposed to have issued it, and still unknown to the Protestants of France and Germany One hundred and Thirty Years after that Council, Father Pagi concludes, and I cannot help concluding with him, the Decree of John Dorre to be a posthumous One z.

Twentieth
Session.

In the Twentieth Session, held on the 21st of November, a Monitory was published against *Frideric*, Duke of *Austria*, who had seized on the Temporalities of the Bishop of *Trent*. From this Time no Session was held till the 30th of May 1416, the Emperor being absent, and many of the Bishops having laid hold of that Opportunity to visit their Sees. However, on the 30th of January, a general Congregation of the Nations was convened to hear the Articles agreed upon at the Congress of *Narbonne*, the Deputies of the Council, who had attended the Emperor into *Spain*, being returned to *Constance*. Those Articles were all approved in this Assembly, and sworn to in another, on the 4th of February, by all who were present. It is on this Occasion observed in the Acts of the Council, that the Cardinals and Bishops in Swearing laid their Hands on their Breasts, and the others touched the Gospels.

Twenty-first
Session.

Year of
Christ 1416.

In this Session, held on the 30th of May, the famous *Jerom* of *Prague*, so called because a Native of that City, was condemned by the Council, and delivered over, as an obstinate and incorrigible Heretic, to the Secular Power. He was, according to all the Accounts we have of him, a Man of most extraordinary Parts, of great Eloquence, and universal Knowledge; entertained the same Sentiments as *John Huss*, with whom he lived in the greatest Friendship and Intimacy, and, though

z Pagi Breviar. Pontific. Roman. tom. 4. p. 423, 424, 425.

a Layman, was no less zealous than he for a Reformation. When he heard of the Imprisonment of his Friend, he hastened to *Constance* to support him; but being told by some of his Friends that an Information was lodged against himself, he withdrew in such Hastē that he left his Sword at the Inn behind him. *Cochleus* writes, that he caused a Paper in Defence of *John Hufs* to be set up at the Door of the Cathedral, where the Council met, and fled immediately with a Design to return to *Bobemia*. Upon his Flight the Council summoned him to appear in the Term of Fifteen Days, in order to answer what should be objected to him concerning his Doctrine, or in Matters of Faith, and a Safe Conduct was sent to him in the Name of the Council. The Words of the Safe Conduct were: *For this, and that no Violence may be offered you, we give you, by these Presents, a plenary Safe Conduct, saving nevertheless Justice, so far as it is incumbent upon us, and the Orthodox Faith requires.* As this was a Safe Conduct to come to, but not to return from, *Constance*, *Jerom*, paying no Regard to it, pursued his Journey back to *Bobemia*. Some Authors tell us, that he wrote to the Emperor for a Safe Conduct, but that the Emperor flatly refused him One, lest he should have the Mortification of seeing his Authority again trampled upon by the Council. Others say, that the Emperor granted him One, but with this Declaration, *so far as he had a Right to do it*.

Year of
Christ 1416.

Some Account of
Jerom of
Prague, con-
demned in
this Session.

Be that as it may, *Jerom* continued his Journey, and got safe to a Town in the *Black Forest*. But being there invited by the Parson of the Place to an Entertainment, that he made for his Brethren, *Jerom* (having drunk, as *Maimburg* supposes, too freely) broke out into most furious Invectives against the Council, calling it the *School of the Devil*, and the *Synagogue of Satan*. Of this Notice was immediately given to the Governor of the Place, who thereupon arrested him, and delivered him up to the Duke of *Saltzbak*, by whom he was sent, under a strong Guard, to *Constance*. The Council ordered him to be imprisoned in a neighbouring Castle; probably of *Gottleben*; and a few Days afterwards he was examined in a General Congregation, held in the Convent of the *Minorites*, and after Examination sent back to his Prison, though no Error in Point of Faith had been proved upon him. But *John Hufs* being in the mean time condemned and executed, in the Manner we have seen, and *Jerom* threatened, as a Disciple of his,

Jerom is arrested and sent to the Council.

Makes a solemn Retraction.

* Opera Hufs, l. 2. fol. 343. 354. apud De Hardt & Lenfant.

Year of
Christ 1416.

*Repents and
retracts his
Retraction.*

with the like Treatment, if he did not acknowledge the Justice of his Sentence, and publicly abjure the Errors that *Huss* had held, he yielded, being overcome with Fear, owned *Huss* to have been justly condemned, retracted all the Errors they were pleased to charge him with, and declared himself willing to undergo all the Penalties inflicted by the Canons upon Heretics, if he ever relapsed into the same Errors. This solemn Profession and Recantation *Jerom* delivered to the Council, written with his own Hand. However, he was remanded to Prison, and only allowed a little more Liberty than before. He there began seriously to reflect on the Baseness of his Conduct, and, sincerely repenting it, he declared, in a General Congregation, held on Occasion of some new Articles being exhibited against him, that he honoured the Memory of *John Huss*, and ever should, who, he said, had led a most blameless Life, had never deviated from the Truth, but had been accused of many Things of which he was innocent. At Two other Congregations, the One held on the 23d, and the other on the 26th of *May* of the present Year 1416, he declared that *John Huss*, of blessed Memory, had neither held nor taught any Doctrines contrary to, or inconsistent with the received Doctrines of the Catholic Church; that nothing but the Fear of being burnt alive had made him own, basely and against his Conscience, the Justice of the Sentence pronounced against that holy Man and condemn his Doctrines; and that he now retracted his Retraction, as the greatest Crime he had ever been guilty of.

Upon this Change, quite unexpected, the Assembly ordered him to be more strictly confined than ever, and some of the ablest Divines of the Council were sent to satisfy him, that *John Huss* had been justly condemned, to represent to him the fatal Consequences of his departing from his late Declaration, and exhort him to adhere to it. But, their Endeavours proving all ineffectual, he was on the 30th of *May* brought before the Council, when he declared anew, that he had done nothing in the whole Course of his Life, which he repented of so much as his having revoked Doctrines, which he believed to be true, and he therefore now revoked, with all his Soul, his former Revocation. The Bishop of *Lodi* then charged him, in a Speech, related at length by *Cochlaus* b, with all the Errors imputed to *John Huss*, and warmly ex-

b Cochlaus Hist. Hussit. l. 2.

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

195

horted him to repent, as it was not yet too late, and save his Soul by saving his Body. When the Orator had done, *Jerom*, after expatiating in praise of *John Hufs*, who, he said, had been most unjustly condemned, solemnly renewed his last Retraction, protesting at the same time, that he would never depart from it, but would rather suffer the most cruel Death than save his Life at the Expence of his Conscience.

Year of
Christ 1416.

And now the Council despairing of being ever able to overcome his Obstinacy, as they called it, the final Sentence was drawn up by their Advocate, and pronounced in their Name against him, declaring him a relapsed, impenitent, and incorrigible Heretic, and ordering him to be delivered over, as such, to the Secular Arm. The Sentence was no sooner pronounced than the Magistrates of *Constance*, receiving him, consigned him to the Executioner, by whom he was carried that Moment to the Place of Execution, with the same Kind of Mitre on his Head as was given to *John Hufs*, and is still given in *Spain* and *Portugal* to condemned *Jews* and *Heretics*. He sung Psalms the whole Way, without the least Alteration in his Voice or Countenance, and when the Executioner, after tying him to the Stake, approached the Pile behind his Back, in order to set Fire to it without being seen by him, *Come forward*, he said, *and put Fire to it before my Face; for had I been afraid, I should not have come to this Place, as I might have easily avoided it.* When the Pile was fired, he sung aloud, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*; and continued repeating these Words till the Flame stopt his Mouth. The contemporary Writers, namely *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius II.* *Theodoric de Niem*, then at the Council, *Theodoric Urie*, and *Poggius* the *Florentine*, who was an Eye-witness of *Jerom's* End, all agree in extolling the heroic Firmness and invincible Constancy, with which he suffered so cruel a Death. *Poggius*, after giving an Account of his Death, in a Letter to *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, thus died, he added, in a Kind of Rapture, *this Man, eminent beyond all Belief—O glorious Man, truly worthy of immortal Memory! If he entertained Sentiments contrary to those of the Church, I do not commend him on that account; but I admire his prodigious Knowledge and Eloquence, which, I fear, Nature gifted him with only for his Ruin—I was an Eye-Witness of his End: Whether he was guilty of Insincerity*

Is condemned
and burnt
alive.

Dies with
great Firm-
ness and Con-
stancy.

Opera Hufs. l. 2. fol. 354. & De Hardt, l. 4. p. 772. apud Lenfant.

Year of
Christ. 1416.

or Obstinacy, I know not; but no Death was ever more philosophical—
Mutius did not, with so constant a Resolution, endure the Burning of One Member, as he did the Burning of his whole Body, nor did Socrates more cheerfully drink off the poisonous Draught, than he embraced the Stake. What a Pity that so fine a Genius should go astray from the Faith! allowing however what is said of him to be true. For it does not belong to me to judge of an Affair of such great Importance, and I refer it to those, who know more of it than I do. Poggius durst not call *Jerom's* Death a Christian Death; but, if it was not truly Christian, I should be glad to know what Martyr's was; neither was he convinced, as appears plain enough from his Words, of *Jerom's* having entertained Sentiments contrary to those of the Church, but he thought it not safe to speak out. As he was a Man of Note and of Learning, for he had been Secretary to the deposed Pope *John XXIII.* and had spent the greatest Part of his Life at the Court of *Rome*, he was, no doubt, present at all the Examinations of the pretended Heretic, and his speaking so doubtfully of his Guilt, is a strong Argument, at least, of its not being sufficiently proved. Indeed *Jerom* agreed intirely in his Sentiments with *John Hufz*, and *Hufz* differed, as has been shewn, in no material Point from the Church. But the Clergy, alarmed at the Spirit of Reformation, which they discovered in both, and looking upon both as dangerous Men, perhaps upon *Jerom* as the more dangerous of the Two, as he was a Man of quicker Parts than the other, and much greater Eloquence, they determined to remove both out of the Way.

The Embassadors of the Princes in the Obedience of *Benedict* join the Council.

To return now to the Council. In the Six following Sessions, held in the present Year 1416, the chief Business of the Fathers was to receive, and admit to the Council the Embassadors of the Kings of *Aragon*, *Navarre*, and *Castile*, and those of the Count *de Foix*, sent by their respective Masters to acknowledge the Council and join in the Resolutions, that should be taken by that Assembly against *Benedict*, if he refused to resign. On the 27th of *January* of the following Year 1417 the Emperor returned to *Constance*, when he had been absent a Year and a Half. From *Spain* he went to *France*, and from *France* to *England*, to negotiate a Peace between the Two Kings, *Charles VI.* of *France* and *Henry V.* of *England*. He was received with all possible Marks of Joy by the Council, and thenceforth assisted, as he had done before, at all the

* Poggius Epist. 3. ad Leonard Aretin. apud Lepfant.

Year of
Christ 1417.

all were absolved from the Oaths they might have taken to him, and forbidden to obey him, or afford him any Relief, or Retreat in their Territories or Dominions, under any Pretence whatever. However, *Peter* continued to thunder out, undauntedly, from his inaccessible Rock, Excommunications and Anathemas against the schismatic Assembly at *Constance*, and all the Princes and Bishops who assisted at it, or received its Definitions or Decrees, *calculated to foment and perpetuate so dangerous a Schism in the One holy Catholic and Apostolic Church*; so that *the One holy Catholic and Apostolic Church was now to be found only at Peniscola*, and all, but *Peter de Luna* and the few Clerks there with him, were Schismatics ^a.

Decree concerning the
Assembling
of General
Councils.

In the 39th Session, held on *Saturday* the 9th of *October*, it was decreed, that Five Years after the Conclusion of the present General Council another should be held; that a Second should be convoked within the Term of Seven Years after the breaking up of that, and thenceforth One should be assembled every Tenth Year, reckoning from the Time when the preceding Council ended. The Pope for the Time being was to name the Places, with the Approbation of the Council, where these Councils should meet; and that a Month before the End of each Council. In the Absence of the Pope the appointing of the Place was left to the Council. The Pope was allowed, upon any emergent Occasion, to shorten the Time between the Councils, with the Advice of his Cardinals; but he was, on no Account, to prorogue any of them, nor to change the appointed Place without apparent Necessity. Should a Schism happen, and Two Popes be elected, a Council was ordered to meet the very next Year; and all Bishops, as well as the Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, were enjoined, on Pain of Excommunication, to repair to it, or to send their Embassadors, to extinguish, as it were, a general Conflagration. It was further ordained, that if he, who was first elected, should hear of another Election after his, he should, on Pain of an eternal Curse, *maledictionis aeternae*, and of forfeiting all the Right he had, in the Term of a Month, convene the Council in the Place appointed before; that neither he nor his Competitor should preside at it, but should be both actually suspended from the Administration the very Moment the Council met. By the same Decree every Election, not quite free, was

^a Acta Concil. Sess. 37.

declared

John XXIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

199

declared null, nor was it to be deemed valid, should they, with whom Violence had been used, concur freely in it afterwards; and the Cardinals were forbidden to proceed to a new Election till the Affair was determined by a General Council, unless the Elect should in the mean time die or resign ².

Year of
Christ 1417.

In the same Session a Confession of Faith was drawn up to be made by every new Pope before his Election was made public. It was as follows: *In the Year of our Lord One thousand, &c. I. N. elected Pope, do confess and profess with my Heart and my Mouth before Almighty God, who has committed the Government of his Church to me, and before St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, that as long as I live I shall inviolably hold, to the minutest Article, the holy Catholic Faith, according to the Tradition of the Apostles, of the General Councils, and of the other holy Fathers, particularly of the Eight General Councils, namely, of the First Council of Nice, the Second of Constantinople, the Third of Ephesus, the Fourth of Chalcedon, the Fifth and Sixth of Constantinople, the Seventh of Nice, the Eighth of Constantinople, and likewise of the General Councils of the Lateran, of Lions, of Vienne; and that I will preach, maintain, and defend the Faith at the Hazard of my Life and to the Effusion of my Blood. I will likewise unalterably observe the Rite of the Sacraments of the Catholic Church, as it is prescribed. I have signed this Confession, written in compliance with my Order, by a Notary and Register of the Holy Roman Church; and I offer it to thee, Almighty God, with a pure Heart and a devout Conscience, upon such an Altar, in the Presence of such and such Persons &c.*

Confession of
Faith to be
made by
every new
Pope.

The Apostolic See being now vacant by the Deposition of the Two surviving Pretenders to it, the Council decreed, in the Fortieth Session, held on Saturday the 30th of October, that a new Pope should be forthwith elected, notwithstanding the Absence of Peter de Luna's Cardinals, who, nevertheless, should be admitted, if they came before the Election was made, and adhered to the Council. It was at the same time ordained, that, for this time only, Six Prelates, or Ecclesiastical Persons in holy Orders, out of each of the Five Nations then present at the Council, should be added to the Cardinals, and that he, who should be elected by Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals and the Deputies of the Nations, should by all be received for lawful and

Decree con-
cerning the
Manner of
electing a
new Pope.

¹ Acta Concil. Sess. 39.

² Acta Concil. ibid.

Year of
Christ 1417.

undoubted Pope. The Nations were originally only Four, as has been said; viz. the *Italian*, the *German*, the *French*, and the *English*. But the *Spaniards*, upon their joining the Council, were allowed the Privilege of forming a Fifth Nation. By this Regulation each Nation was to have a Share in the Election of the new Pope, which would induce each of them, as was wisely judged by the Fathers, to look upon him as its own Pope, and adhere to him as such.

MA. PALÆOLOGUS,
JOHN PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

MARTIN V.

SIGISMUND,
Emperor of the West.

The Two Hundred and Fifth BISHOP of Rome.

Martin V.
elected and
in throned.

THE Apostolic See having been declared vacant in the Fortieth Session, the Cardinals of the Three Obediences, according to some Twenty-one, or, as others will have it, Twenty-three, and the Thirty Deputies of the Nations, entered the Conclave in the Town-house of *Constance* on Monday Evening the 8th of *November*, after taking the usual Oaths in the Presence of the Emperor, who, on that Occasion, warmly exhorted them to elect One capable and willing to reform the many Abuses that had been introduced, during so long a Schism, and disfigured the whole Face of the Church. As the Electors were of so many different Nations, and it was in the Power of Three out of the Six of each Nation to hinder the Election, it was apprehended that the Conclave would last some Months, and that great Disorders would happen, it being natural for every Nation to give their Suffrages to One of their own Country. But to the great Surprise of all, *Otto*, *Odo*, or *Eudes de Columna*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. George ad Velum Aureum*, was elected in the Evening of the Third Day, having the Suffrages of Seventeen Cardinals, of the Six *English* Electors, and of Four at least out of the Six Electors of the Four other Nations. He was attended the same Evening by the Emperor and the Council to the Cathedral, was there inthroned amidst the loud Acclamations of Men of all Ranks; and on that Occasion he took the Name of *Martin V.* having been elected on that Saint's Day, the 11th of *November*. *Oldoinus* tells us, that the

Year of
Christ 1417.

Family de Columna of Rome, and that of the Burgraves of Nuremberg, which is likewise said to have been originally Roman, are derived from the same Stock: Hence, as we were before well-affected to your Serenity for your eminent Virtues, for your extraordinary Merit, and good Offices to the Christian People, we ought now to be, and shall be, still more ready to favour your Excellence to the utmost of our Power, in Consideration of this new Connexion with your Highness by Affinity. For in honouring the Brandenburg Family with illustrious and royal Nuptials, you have, at the same Time, honoured ours. The *Colonna* Family can, perhaps, boast of more great Men than any Family this Day in Europe. It has produced, in its different Branches, many Princes, Kings, Popes, and even some Emperors. In the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century, Cardinal *John de Columna*, being sent by Pope *Honorius III.* with the Character of his Legate to the Holy Land, distinguished himself in that War, and upon his Return Home brought with him a Column, or Pillar, supposed to be the Pillar at which our Saviour was scourged; and from that Time they have taken the Name *De Columna*, and been authorized, says *Molinet*, to carry a *Column* in their Coat of Arms ^t. But Father *Bonanni*, the Jesuit, has made it undeniably appear, from an ancient Inscription in the Church of *St. Praxedes*, where the Pillar is to be seen to this Day, that the Family bore the Name *De Columna* before the Time of that Cardinal. For in the Inscription it is said, that *the Cardinal by bringing the holy Column consecrated his Name, and added a new Lustre to it.* The same learned Jesuit produces many indisputable Testimonies to shew that the *Colonna* Family bore that Name, and a Column in their Coat of Arms some Ages before the holy Column was brought by the above-mentioned Cardinal to Rome ^u. I have spoken above of the cruel Persecution the *Colonna* Family suffered from *Boniface VIII.* who even caused a Crusade to be preached against them, and of their being restored by *Benedict XI.* at the Intercession of *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, to their former Rank, Honours, and Possessions ^w.

*His Employ-
ments before
his Promo-
tion.*

Martin, come of this ancient and noble Family, studied Canon Law at *Perugia*, and upon his Return to *Rome* he was by *Urban VI.* made Prothonotary and Referendary, by *Boniface IX.* Nuncio to the

^t Longinus Hist. Poloniae, l. 11.

^u Du Molinet. Histoire Metallique ad Martin V.

^w Bonanni nummi Pontif. tom. 1. p. 71.

^v See above, p. 232, Vol. VI.

States.

Martin V. BISHOPS of Rome.

203

States of *Italy*, and by *Innocent VII.* Cardinal Deacon of *St. George ad Vleum Aureum*. He espoused the Cause of *Gregory XII.* and steadily adhered to him, when forsaken by all the other Cardinals, till he was deposed by the Council of *Pisa*. *John* the XXIII^d appointed him Apostolic Legate for the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, and Vicar-General of the Apostolic See in *Umbria*; and in these Employments he is said to have acquitted himself to the entire Satisfaction of all under him, being a Man of a most humane Temper and a peaceable Disposition. *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, who had spent the greatest Part of his Life at the Court of *Rome*, and must have been perfectly well acquainted with the Characters of all the Cardinals, says, that Cardinal *Cohnna* was not commonly reputed a Man of great Penetration, but that *Martin V.* undeceived the World by his extraordinary Sagacity. That Writer adds, that he deserved no great Commendations in any other Respect w. But most other Authors speak of him as a Man not only of Parts, but of Probity equal to his Parts. His Election plainly shews in what Esteem he was held by his Brethren the Cardinals, as well as by the Deputies of the Nations. If *Martin* was not free from Faults, says *M. Lenfant* in his History of the present Council, he was certainly endowed, for those Times, with many good Qualities.

Year of
Christ 1417.

His Cha-
racter.

When *Peter de Luna*, still at *Peniscola*, heard of the Election of *Martin*, he assembled the Four Cardinals, and the few Clerks he had with him, and calling that Assembly a General Council and the Catholic Church, he solemnly excommunicated, as Schismatics, all who had had any Share in the Election of the Antipope *Otho de Columna*, styling himself *Martin V.* and all who should acknowledge or obey him. On this Occasion many of the *Spanish* Bishops, repairing to *Peniscola*, earnestly entreated him to yield at last, seeing the whole Christian World had declared against him. The Bishops were joined even by some of *Peter's* own Cardinals. But to all he returned the same Answer, that *Christ* had entrusted him, as his Vicar upon Earth, with the Care of his Church, and that he never would betray his Trust, nor yield the See of *St. Peter* to an Usurper. The new Pope, soon after his Election, sent first *Bernard* of *Bourdeaux*, and afterwards Cardinal *Alaminus Ademarius*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Pisa*, into *Arragon*, to oblige, with the Censures of the Church, such as

Legates sent
by Martin
into Arragon
against Peter
de Luna.
Year of
Christ 1418.

* Leonard. Aretin. Hist. Flor. 1. 3.

Year of
Christ 1418.

His Obsti-
nacy.

Martin pro-
sides at the
Four remain-
ing Sessions.

The Work of
the Refor-
mation put
off.

in that Kingdom still sided with *Peter de Luna*, to forsake him. He was accordingly forsaken by all, even by all his own Cardinals, except Two, viz. *Julian Dobla*, and *Dominic de Bonnefoy*, a *Carthusian*. *Peter* finding himself thus left almost alone, in order to gain Time, published a Manifesto, declaring that he would treat with none but the Person himself, who held his See, and that he did not at all doubt but they should agree, if he was worthy of the Character which he generally bore. The Cardinal, provoked beyond Measure at his Obstinacy, caused him to be publicly anathematized in all the chief Towns of *Aragon*, and with him his Two Cardinals, and all who acknowledged, obeyed, or assisted him. These Anathemas *Peter* answered with others, in the same Style, against all who acknowledged, obeyed, or assisted the Usurper of his See *.

Martin, elected in the Manner we have seen, presided at the Four remaining Sessions of the Council, the Forty-second, Forty-third, Forty-fourth, and Forty-fifth, held on the 28th of *December* 1417, on the 21st of *March*, the 19th of *April*, and 22d of the same Month 1418. In the First of these Sessions, the Forty-second, the Emperor and Duke of *Bavaria*, to whose Custody *John XXIII.* now *Balthasar Cossa*, had been committed, applied to the Council to know how they were to dispose of him; and it was decreed, that he should be delivered up to the Pope, as soon as it suited his Holiness's Convenience to receive him. The Schism being now extinguished, or confined to the Rock of *Peniscola*, the Council were, in the next Place, for proceeding to the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members, the other great and necessary Work for which they had met. The Articles of the intended Reformation had been drawn up in the Assemblies of the Nations, and were read in the Forty-third Session. They chiefly related to *Simonical Presentations*, *Reservations*, *Annats*, *Expectative Graces*, *Commendams*, *Dispensations*, *Reversions*, to the Number and the Quality of the Cardinals, to Appeals, Alienations, Elections, &c. But the new Pope shewing himself extremely backward with respect to the Work of Reformation; many Things were treated of, says *Gobelinus Persona*, who wrote at this Time, but very few were concluded. The Pope, says Father *Paul*, in his Treatise on Benefices, being unwilling that the Council should meddle with Affairs of that

* Acta Concil. Surita Hist. Aragon, l. 12. c. 66, 67. Raynald. Annal. Eccles. tom. 17. p. 3. Platina in Martin V.

Year of
Christ 1418.

to remain some Time at *Geneva*, situated between both, and there dispatch what Affairs they wanted to be settled by the Authority of the Apostolic See ². He continued at *Constance* till the 16th of *May*, when he set out in great State for *Geneva*. *Reichental*, who was present at this Procession, as he calls it, gives us the following Account of it. First came Twelve led Horses caparisoned with Scarlet, and next to them Four Gentlemen on Horseback, carrying Four Cardinals Hats. They were followed by a Priest with a golden Cross in his Hand, which he presented to the Multitude. After him walked Twelve Cardinals in their proper Attire, and next to them rode a Priest on a white Horse, carrying the Sacrament under a Canopy, in the Midst of a mixed Multitude with burning Tapers in their Hands. After him came another Priest, carrying a Cross of Gold, and surrounded by the Canons, of whom *Reichental* was One, by the Senators, and the Magistrates of the City in their Formalities, all with burning Torches in their Hands. At last his Holiness appeared on a white Horse under a Canopy in all his Pontifical Ornaments, with a Triple Crown on his Head. The Canopy was supported by Four Counts, and his Horse led, on the Right Hand, by the Emperor, and on the Left by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, both on Foot, while the Duke of *Bavaria*, with Four other Princes of the Empire, on the one Side, and the Duke of *Austria*, with as many on the other, held up the rich Cloth that covered his Horse and reached to the Ground. At the Gate of the City the Pope dismounted, gave his Benediction to the numerous Multitude, and, changing his Habit and his Horse, set out for *Gottleben*, attended by the Emperor and all the *German* Princes, and there taking his Leave of the Emperor, he embarked on the *Rhine* for *Schaffhausen*. From thence he went to *Eern*, staid some Days there in the Convent of the *Dominicans*, and then pursuing his Journey to *Geneva*, made his public Entry into that City on the 11th of *June*, being attended by Twelve Cardinals, by the Duke of *Savoy*, and by all Persons of Distinction in that Neighbourhood. At *Geneva* he was met by the Embassadors of the City of *Avignon*, sent to swear Fealty to him in their Name. Of this Pope we have several Bulls dated at *Geneva*, and One among the Rest, granting to *John*, Earl of *Foix*, who had married the eldest Daughter of *Charles*, King of *Navarre*,

Resides some
Time at *Geneva*.

² Platina in Martino V.

deceased,

Martin V. BISHOPS of Rome.

207

deceased, without any Children by him, a Dispensation to marry the other Sister ^a.

Year of
Christ 1418.

As the depriving the Laity of the Cup in the Sacrament, and the Execution of *John Huss* and *Jerom* of *Prague* made a great Noise in *Bobemia*, and on that Account dreadful Disturbances were raised in that Kingdom, *Martin*, being still at *Geneva*, dispatched from thence *John Dominici*, Cardinal of *Ragusa*, with the Character of his Legate, into *Bobemia*, to appease those Troubles by the Authority of the Apostolic See. But the Cardinal soon found, that the Apostolic See had lost all its Authority there, and therefore wrote to the Emperor, that the Sword alone could bring those perverse and obstinate Heretics back to their Duty. But *Sigismund* did not think it adviseable, nor did the King, *Wenceslaus*, to employ the Sword till all other Remedies had proved ineffectual. The Cardinal, not thinking it safe for him to continue in *Bobemia*, where the *Hussites* were become very numerous, retired to *Buda*, and died there ^b.

Disturbances
in Bohemia.

The Pope, having passed about Three Months at *Geneva*, left that City on the 3d. of *September*, and repaired to *Milan*, where he was received by Duke *Philip* with extraordinary Marks of Honour. From *Milan* he set out for *Mantua* on the 25th of *October*; being attended by Eleven Cardinals, and remained there till the 7th of *February* of the following Year 1419, when passing through *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, and *Forli*, but avoiding *Bologna*, then in open Rebellion, he arrived at *Florence* on the 27th of *February*, and was received there with all possible Marks of Distinction by the Clergy, the People, and the Magistrates of that then powerful Republic ^c. As many Cities of the Ecclesiastical State were held by petty Tyrants, and *Rome* itself among the Rest, *Martin* continued at *Florence* for the Space of near Two Years; for no-sooner could the State be cleared from those Tyrants, nor could he return with any Safety till it was.

Martin at
Florence.
Year of
Christ 1419.

Soon after his Arrival at *Florence*, that is, on the 17th of *March*, Four of *Peter de Luna's* Cardinals came to attend him with the other Cardinals as the only lawful Pope. They had withdrawn their Obedience from *Peter* the preceding Year, and *Martin* had thereupon created them anew, and by a Bull, dated at *Geneva* the 1st of *August*,
him.

^a Apud Raynald. num. 34.
c. 11.

^b Ibid. num. 9. et Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7. et tit. 23.

^c Conteloriis ad ann. 1419.

ordered:

Year of
Christ 1419.

And likewise
Balthasar
Cossa.

How received
by Martin.

His Death.

ordered them to be acknowledged by all for Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. He himself received them as such, and confirmed all the Grants the Antipope had made to them. Not long after *Martin* had the far greater, and quite unexpected Satisfaction of seeing *Balthasar Cossa*, heretofore *John XXIII.* prostrate at his Feet, and throwing himself entirely upon his Mercy. Some say that he purchased his Liberty of the Elector *Palatine*, to whose Custody he was committed, with the Sum of Thirty thousand Crowns of Gold, while others tell us, that he found Means to make his Escape out of *Heidelberg*, where he had been kept Prisoner for the Space of near Four Years. Be that as it may, he appeared, to the great Surprize of all, at the Pope's Court in the Beginning of *June* of the present Year, and, throwing himself at his Feet without any previous Stipulations or Conditions whatever, acknowledged him for the lawful Successor of *St. Peter* and Christ's Vicar upon Earth. *Martin*, scarce able to believe what he saw and heard, immediately raised him up, and, tenderly embracing him, congratulated him upon so sudden a Change, that could be owing to Heaven alone, and would prove so beneficial to the Church Universal. On the 14th of *June* *Balthasar* ratified and confirmed all the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* relating to himself, and to the Election of *Martin*, renounced, in a solemn Manner, all Right and Title to the Popedom, and was thereupon created by the Pope Cardinal Bishop of *Tusculum*, was made Dean of the sacred College, and it was ordained, that he should always sit next to the Pope, and his Seat should be somewhat raised above the Seats of the other Cardinals. But he did not long enjoy these Honours much inferior to his Ambition. For he died at *Florence* of Grief, or, as some say, of Poison, on the 20th of *December* of the present Year, and was buried in the Baptistery or Chapel of *St. John the Baptist*, where his most affectionate Friend *Cosmus de Medicis*, a Citizen of *Florence*, procured a most magnificent Tomb to be erected over his Remains with this Epitaph, *Here lies the Body of Balthasar Cossa, heretofore Pope John XXIII.* This, *Cosmus* owed, in Gratitude, to his deceased Friend and Benefactor; for with his Money, says *Platina*, he had so increased his own Wealth, that he was thought to be possessed of greater Riches than any, not only at *Florence*, and in all *Italy*, but perhaps in any other Country ^d. The

^d Platina in Mart. V.

immense

Year of
Christ 1419.

notified to the Queen, advising her by all Means to comply with the Pope's Request, lest he should be prevailed upon by the *French King* to proceed to the Censures of the Church against her. The Queen hearkened to his Advice, and the Pope, upon the First Notice he had of the King's Deliverance, dispatched Cardinal *Mauracenus* with the Character of his Legate to crown the Queen. The King no sooner recovered his Liberty, than, finding that his Countrymen had been all banished the Kingdom, and that the Queen was intirely governed by *Caraccioli*, his mortal Enemy, he left *Naples*, and, returning to *France*, embraced there a religious Life among the *Minorites*. Soon after his Departure the Queen was crowned with great Solemnity by the Legate, and received the Investiture, in the Pope's Name, at his Hands ^e.

Is crowned
by the Pope's
Legate.

Sends an Ar-
my to assist
the Pope.

The Queen, immediately after her Coronation, not only caused all the Places that her Brother had seized and garrisoned in the Ecclesiastical State to be restored, but sent *James Sforza*, a Soldier of Fortune and a renowned Commander, with the Flower of her Troops against *Braccio of Perugia*, another Soldier of Fortune, and no less famous in War than he. *Braccio*, upon the Deposition of Pope *John*, had made himself Master of most of the Cities belonging to the Church, and of *Rome* itself, where he ruled with an absolute Sway, stiling himself *Lord of Rome*; which Title he afterwards laid down at the Desire of the *Roman People*, and took that of *Defender of the City of Rome* in its stead. He did not wait till *Sforza* approached *Rome*, apprehending the Friends of the Pope would join him, but went to meet him in the Neighbourhood of *Viterbo*; and an Engagement ensuing, *Sforza* was, after a most gallant Resistance, driven out of the Field, and *Braccio*, having pursued him with great Slaughter to the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, returned triumphant to *Rome*. Upon the News of this Defeat the Pope, recurring to his Spiritual Weapons, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against *Braccio* by Name, and against all who served under him, or should lend him any Assistance whatever. But of that Sentence *Braccio* made so little Account, that he in his Turn, by way of Contempt and Derision, excommunicated the Pope and all who adhered to him ^f. However, by the Interposition of the *Florentines*, an Agreement was soon after concluded between

Which is de-
feated by
Braccio.

^e Sommont. Hist. Neapol. l. 4. c. 3.

^f Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7.

Year of
Christ 1419.

Is appeased,
and erects
their See in-
to a Metro-
polis.

Martin ar-
rives at
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1420.

Misunder-
standing be-
tween the
Pope and the
King of Ar-
ragon.

Year of
Christ 1421.

of Punishment, and would have punished it with the utmost Severity. *Leonardo* added, that his Holiness would find the *Florentines* on all Occasions ready to employ their good Offices in his Behalf, and not their good Offices alone. *Martin* owned what his Secretary said to be true; and, being thus appeased, sent for the Magistrates at his Departure, and after thanking them for their many good Offices, and the many Proofs they had given of their Attachment both to his Person and the Apostolic See, he erected the Episcopal See of their City into a Metropolis, and subjected to it the Two neighbouring Sees of *Fiescoli* and *Pistoia*; These Two, says *Antonine*, and no other; but to these Two *Platina* adds a Third, the See of *Volterra* ^b.

Martin left *Florence* on the 9th of *September* 1420, and arriving at *Rome* on the 28th of the same Month, rested the next Day, *Sunday*, at the Church of *St. Mary de Populo*, near the Gate of the City, and on *Monday* made his public Entry into *Rome*, attended by the Clergy in a Body, by the Senate, the Nobility, and immense Crowds of People, all crying aloud, *Long live Pope Martin*. He found the City in a most deplorable Condition, most of its stately Edifices lying in Ruins, the Churches quite neglected and ready to fall, the Streets all covered with Rubbish and Filth, and the People reduced to the utmost Poverty, even to want the Necessaries of Life. *Martin* immediately caused Provisions to be brought, in great Plenty, from all Parts, and having ordered the Streets to be cleaned, rebuilt or repaired, at his own Expence, the ruinous Churches, and with them the Houses of such of the Inhabitants as were not able to repair them themselves. Thus was *Rome* by his Means restored, in the Space of less than Two Years, to its antient Splendor and Beauty; which procured him the Name of *Romulus the Second* ⁱ.

In the mean time *Peter de Luna*, confined to *Peniscola*, and acting there as High Pontiff, thundered out anew the Sentence of Excommunication against the Usurper of his See, and all who adhered to him, especially the *Romans*, who, instead of shutting their Gates against him, as it was their Duty to have done, had received him as the true Vicar of *Christ* upon Earth. He was countenanced at this Time underhand and supported by *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*, provoked at *Mar-*

^b Leonard. & Antonin. ubi supra.
Martin V.

ⁱ Contelerius ad ann, 1420. & *Platina* in

Year of
Christ 1421.

would readily join him. *Lewis*, the present Duke of *Anjou*, was the Son of *Lewis*, whom *Ladislaus*, Queen *Joan's* Brother, had driven out, and the Grand-son of *Lewis*, whom Queen *Joan* I. had adopted. Upon that Adoption, as it was confirmed by the Apostolic See, the Dukes of *Anjou* founded their Claim to the Crown of *Naples*, stiling themselves, in all their public Writings, *Kings of Apulia*, or of *Hither Sicily*. *Lewis* accepted with great Joy the Invitation; and *Sforza*, upon the Return of his Secretary, who brought with him a considerable Sum of Money, sent back to the Queen her Standard with his Truncheon, and at the Head of his Army, caused *Lewis* III. of *Anjou* to be proclaimed King of *Apulia*. He was soon joined by many of the discontented Barons and their Vassals; and, his Army being thus reinforced, he reduced most of the strong Holds, that, in the Neighbourhood of *Naples*, held out for the Queen. In the mean time *Lewis*, having with incredible Expedition equipped a Fleet at *Marseilles*, appeared with it unexpectedly off *Naples*, and, landing without Opposition, was received by *Sforza* and his Army with all possible Demonstrations of Joy. As the Queen had no Army to make Head against theirs, she retired, with such of the Barons as she could confide in, to the Castle *Dell'Urvo*, in the City of *Naples*, then thought impregnable. She was there soon besieged by *Lewis* and *Sforza*; and, having no Prospect of Relief, she was for capitulating, and adopting, as she had no Children of her own, *Lewis* for her Son, her Heir, and Successor. But *Caraccioli*, dreading to fall into the Hands of *Sforza*, his avowed Enemy, instead of *Lewis* proposed *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*, a powerful Prince, who, he said, would soon drive out both *Lewis* and *Sforza*, and leave her, as he had many other Kingdoms, to govern her Kingdom, as she pleased, quite undisturbed. With this Proposal the Queen immediately closed, and it was no sooner notified to *Alphonso*, who was then riding off *Sardinia* with a very numerous Fleet and a powerful Army on board to make a Descent upon *Corfica*, than, dropping that Enterprize for the present, he set sail for *Naples*, and landing his Army, vastly superior in Numbers to that of *Lewis*, obliged him not only to raise the Siege of the Castle, but to abandon that Neighbourhood, and retire with his Army into *Calabria*. The Queen, being now delivered out of all Danger, adopted her Deliverer, with great Solemnity, and he was universally acknowledged for lawful Heir to the

The King of
Arragon
adopted by
Queen Joan.

Year of
Christ 1422.

tion was suggested and earnestly recommended to her by her Favourite Minister, as the only Means of engaging the Pope in her Interest, who, he said, would not fail, for the Sake of *Lewis*, to support her, to the utmost of his Power, against *Alphonso*. The Queen therefore, leaving *Naples* immediately, retired to *Aversa*, and being there received by *Sforza*, to whom she had privately notified her Design, she there declared the Adoption of *Alphonso* null, and with great Solemnity adopted *Lewis*, distinguishing him with the Title of *Duke of Calabria*, the Title given in that Kingdom to the apparent Heir to the Crown. *Lewis* was then at *Rome*, whither he had gone to solicit Succours of the Pope; and being, on his Return from thence, received by the Queen as her Son and Heir, a most bloody War was kindled in the Bowels of that unhappy Kingdom, which I shall have Occasion to speak of more than once in the Sequel.

Council of
Pavia.
Year of
Christ 1423.

And now to return to Pope *Martin*; he had in the Forty-fourth Session of the Council of *Constance* appointed another Council to meet at the End of Five Years, agreeably to a Decree issued by that Assembly in the Thirty-ninth Session¹, and had, with the Approbation of the Fathers of the Council, chosen the City of *Pavia* for the Place of their Meeting. In the Beginning therefore of the Year 1422, he wrote circulatory Letters to put the Bishops in Mind of the Determination of the Council of *Constance*, and invite them to that, which would be held the following Year at *Pavia*, the Fifth after the Ending of that of *Constance* in 1418. The Council was opened in the Beginning of *May* 1423; but as very few Bishops were yet come, and a Plague broke out in the City, the Council was adjourned to the City of *Siena*, and all were required to repair thither by the 1st of *November* of the present Year. In that City the First Session was held on the 25th of *November*, when most severe Decrees were thundered out against the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*; and the temporal Princes were not only enjoined to drive them out of their Dominions, but the same Indulgences, that were gained by those, who went in Person to the Holy Land, were granted to all, who should inform against any Heretic whatever, or deliver him into the Hands of the Inquisitors; and it was ordained that the Decree, granting these Indulgences, should be read yearly to the People, with an audible Voice, on the First and

Translated to
Siena.

¹ See above, p. 198.

Year of
Christ 1424.

the 17th of November 1424; that on the 27th of the same Month he created Four Cardinals, of whom *Carrerius* himself was One, though then absent, and that he died on the last Day but One, or on the 29th of that Month ^e. Some *Spanish* Writers, quoted by *Mariana*, ascribe his Death to Poison, administered to him, say they, by a Monk named *Thomas*, at the Instigation of the Cardinal of *Pisa*, whom the Pope had sent with the Character of his Legate to apprehend him. Those Writers add, that the Monk was convicted and executed, and that the Legate, who resided in the Neighbourhood of *Peniscola*, withdrew in great Haste out of *Spain*, to avoid falling into the Hands of the Two Nephews of the Deceased, *Roderic* and *Alvarez de Luna*, determined to revenge upon the Legate, without any Regard to his Character, the Murder of their Uncle ^f. But as no Notice is taken by the contemporary Historians of what we are told by these more modern Writers, we may well conclude with *Bellegarde*, in his *General History of Spain*, that *Peter de Luna* died of no other Poison than that of old Age, being Ninety at the Time of his Death ^g.

Ats the Pope
to his last
Breath.

Of what Death soever he died, certain it is, that he acted the High Pontiff to his last Breath, and was, or pretended to be, so fully persuaded of his being the only true Pope, that at the Point of Death he made the Cardinals, who were then with him, swear upon the Gospels, that after his Decease they would elect another in his Room, nay, the anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, who lived at this Time, tells us, that when he could no longer speak, he wrote down, with great Difficulty, the following Injunction addressed, as his last Will, to his Cardinals; *I injoin you, upon Pain of an eternal Curse, æternæ maledictionis, to chuse another Pope after my Death*. His Body was deposited in the Chapel of the Fortrefs of *Peniscola*, where he died; but it was translated from thence Six Years afterwards by *John de Luna*, One of his Nephews, to *Igluera*, a City of *Arragon*, belonging to the *de Luna* Family. If what we read in some Writers, who lived not at a great Distance from those Times, be true, *viz.* that his Body was found free from all Corruption, and exhaled a sweet Smell, when it had lain Six Years under Ground, that could be only owing to the Drugs, or Spices, with which it must have been imbalmed. *Peter de Luna* is

His Burial,
Character,
and Writings.

^e Thesaur. Novus Anecd. col. 1714. tom. 3. p. 500.

^f Mariana, l. 20. c. 10.

^g Bellegard.

allowed

Year of
Christ 1424.

The Pope
assists to the
utmost of his
Power Lewis
of Anjou
against Al-
phonso of
Arragon.

to wish him many more, he put them in Mind, smiling, of the Saying, *Non videbis annos Petri*. But Cardinal *Ottoboni* quickly replied, that the Saying his Holiness had quoted was to be understood, as including the Twenty-five Years St. *Peter* had sat at *Rome*, and the Seven he had sat before at *Antioch*. But *Clement* died that very Year.

One would have thought that the Death of the last of the Three Antipopes would have put an End to the Schism. But his Cardinals, mindful of his last Will and Injunctions, elected another in his Room, as I shall have Occasion to relate the following Year, when that memorable Election was brought about. To pursue in the mean time the other Events of the present Year 1424; *Martin*, having now recovered out of the Hands of the petty Tyrants all the Places they had seized, and restored the Ecclesiastical State to its former Condition, resolved to employ the whole Power of his See in Favour of *Lewis* against his Rival *Alphonso*, both claiming, as has been said, the Kingdom of *Apulia*, or, as it is now called, of *Naples*, by virtue of the Adoption of Queen *Joan*. *Lewis* had undoubtedly the better Right of the Two, as has been shewn above; nay, *Alphonso* had, in Truth, no Claim at all to that Crown, Queen *Joan* having revoked his Adoption, upon which alone he grounded his Claim. Besides, Reasons of State were not wanting to make the Pope heartily join the *Angevin* Party, and spare no Pains nor Expence to drive out *Alphonso*, and establish *Lewis* on the Throne. As *Lewis* possessed but small Territories in *France*, *Martin* well knew that he could not defend his *Italian* Dominions without his Assistance, and would therefore be obliged to court his Favour, and, in a Manner, to depend upon him and his Successors. But *Alphonso* was One of the most powerful Princes at this Time, in the West, being not only possessed of the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valencia*, but of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica* and *Sicily*. *Martin* therefore, not caring to have so powerful a Neighbour, and apprehending that, were he suffered to add the Kingdom of *Apulia* to his other Dominions, he would, in a very short Time, make himself Master of all *Italy*, formed privately a strong Confederacy against him, at the Head of which was *Philip Visconti*, Lord of *Milan*, then the most powerful and warlike Prince in that Country. To the Troops of the Allies the Pope added his own, and, with the Approbation of the Queen, appointed *Sforza* Commander in Chief of the allied Army, and

Year of
Christ 1424.

being Mistress of the whole Kingdom, except the Island of *Ischia* alone, where *Alphonso* had left a strong Garrison, revoked anew his Adoption, and confirmed that of *Lewis*, but upon Condition that he assumed not the Title of King, nor meddled with public Affairs so long as she lived.

The Two Cardinals, who were with Benedict at the Time of his Death, conceal it, and divide all his Effects between them.

Year of
Christ 1425.

The Antipope *Benedict XIII.* died, as has been said, in his Fortress of *Peniscola*, on the 29th of November 1424; and now let us hear from One of his Cardinals, or, as they are called, Anti-Cardinals, what happened, in this and the following Year, after his Death. He made a Promotion of Four Cardinals Two Days before his Decease, as I have related above; and the Persons, whom he promoted, were *Julian Loba*, and *Eximino Daba*, both *Arragonese*, and *Dominic de Bonnefoi* and *John Carriere*, both *French*. Two Cardinals only, the Two *Arragonese*, were present at his Death, and they carefully concealed it from the other Two, and from every body else, seizing, in the mean time, and conveying away what Money he died possessed of, with the Gold and Silver Crosses, Chalices, Jewels, precious Stones, Reliquiaries, and even the Vestments and Ornaments of his Chapel, and the whole amounting, in Value, to an immense Sum, they divided between them. They published Bulls, and Briefs in his Name, sealed them with his Seal, granted Indulgences, as if he were still living, and when they had secured whatever was valuable and worth carrying off, they privately notified his Death to *Roderic de Luna*, One of his Nephews; and at the same time dispatched a Messenger to acquaint King *Alphonso* with it, and consult him about the Election of his Successor. The King, highly provoked at *Martin's* so warmly espousing the Cause of his Rival *Lewis* of *Anjou*, privately encouraged the Cardinals to proceed to a new Election. The Two *Arragonese* Cardinals, therefore, and the Cardinal *de Bonnefoi*, entering into the Conclave at *Peniscola*, elected *Gilles*, or *Ægidius Munox*, Canon of *Barcelona*, and gave him the Name of *Clement VIII.* At First the Two *Arragonese* Cardinals chose one another. But *Roderic de Luna* recommending *Ægidius*, as is supposed, in the King's Name, and representing to them that he had Twenty-three thousand Florins in Cash, and was able to support them suitably to their Dignity, they sent for him, and upon certain Conditions, evidently Simoniacal, which they made him sign, and swear to, they unanimously concurred in his Election. In the

Ægidius Munox or Magnus elected under the Name of Clement VIII. by Three of his Cardinals.

Year of
Christ 1426.

Alphonso
summoned to
Rome.

Pain of incurring his Displeasure, and forfeiting their Dignities and Revenues. In that Edict *Martin* was taxed, and not undeservedly, with putting off, under frivolous Pretences, the necessary Work of the Reformation, so strictly enjoined by the Council of *Constance*, and with dissolving the Council of *Siena* as soon as they began to attempt it. That Edict the Pope answered with a Summons, requiring *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*, to appear personally at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See, in the Term of One hundred Days from the Date of the said Summons, on Pain of incurring the Sentence of Excommunication, and having all his Dominions put under an Interdict. This Sentence is dated at *Rome* the 15th of *July*, in the Ninth Year of *Martin's* Pontificate, that is, in 1426; and it was, by the Pope's Order, set up at the Gates of the Basilics of *St. John Lateran*, and of *St. Peter at Rome*, and of the Cathedrals of *Narbonne* and *Avignon*, that no Room might be left for the King to plead Ignorance *.

He submits,
and receives
the Legate
with extra-
ordinary
Marks of
Honour.

Year of
Christ 1427.

As *Alphonso's* Conduct in supporting the Antipope, and keeping the Schism still alive, was generally disapproved even by his own Subjects, he thought it adviseable to prevent, by an Agreement with the Pope, the Disturbances, which, he had Reason to believe, would inevitably attend the Excommunication, and Interdict, with which he was threatened. He therefore wrote to the Legate, Cardinal *de Foix*, granting him Leave to enter his Territories, and perform all the Functions of his Office throughout his Dominions. The Cardinal acquainted the Pope therewith, who ordered him to repair, without Delay, to the Kingdom of *Arragon*, but to enter into no Agreement with the King, till the Articles were approved by him, and the College of Cardinals. The Legate, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, or, as it is called, Diploma, went strait to *Valencia*, where the King then resided, and was received by him with most extraordinary Marks of Honour, such as were quite degrading in a King. For he went out in Person with the whole Royal Family to meet him at some Distance from the City, being attended by a great many Bishops, by all the Nobility, by the Clergy in a Body, and the Magistrates of the City, all in their Formalities, and placing him, after the Kiss of Peace and mutual Salutations, on his Right Hand, an Honour which the Legate strove in vain to decline, he insisted on his covering his Head with his Red Hat,

* Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 1. et seq.

while

Year of
Christ 1427.

the Church, or should deliver them up into his Holiness's Hands. II. That he should revoke all the Edicts against the Authority of the High Pontiff, or his Legates. III. That the Collectors of the Holy See should be allowed to collect undisturbed the Dues of the Apostolic Chamber. IV. That the *Roman* Church, and all other Churches, should enjoy unmolested all their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges. V. That the Prelates and other Ecclesiastics, who had been banished, should be all recalled, and full Restitution made to them of all they had lost. VI. That the King should, by no Means, give any further Trouble to the Kingdom of *Apulia*, or of *Naples*, but should submit his Pretensions to the Judgment of impartial Persons, to be named by his Holiness. The King insisted, upon the excepting of some Ecclesiastics, whom he should name in the general Pardon, and declined giving any positive Answer to the Demand concerning the Kingdom of *Apulia*, but to all the other Demands he agreed without any Limitation, or Restriction whatever.

*The Demands
of the King.*

On the other hand, the King demanded, I. That the Body of St. *Lewis*, heretofore Bishop of *Toulouse*, should be granted to him. II. That his Holiness should remit all the Arrears, due to the Apostolic Chamber on Account of vacant Sees and Benefices. III. That he should, in like Manner, remit the Arrears of the yearly Rents due for the Islands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, and for the future accept, in lieu of those Rents, during the King's Life, a Cloke of Cloth of Gold to be presented to his Holiness every Five Years. IV. That in Consideration of the vast Sums his Father and himself had expended, and the indefatigable Pains they had both taken to extinguish the Schism, Fifteen thousand Florins should be paid to him out of the Apostolic Chamber by Way of Indemnity and Recompence. V. That he should be allowed to translate the Order of St. *Mary de Montesia* from the Kingdom of *Valencia* to the Island of *Sicily*, assigning them other Revenues in that Island. VI. That he should have the Disposal of all vacant Benefices and Abbies in his Dominions till the present Agreement was finally concluded. VII. That he should nominate Six Persons, Two of whom should be promoted by his Holiness to the Dignity of Cardinal. VIII. and Lastly, That all Damages and Injuries done, or supposed to have been done by him to the
Apostolic

Apostolic See, should be forgiven, and he be absolved from all the Censures he might have incurred p.

Year of
Christ 1427.

St. Lewis, whose Body the King demanded, was the Second Son of Charles II. King of Sicily. In the Time of Celestine V. he embraced a religious Life among the Minorites, was preferred to the See of Toulouse by Boniface VIII. the Successor of Celestine, died in Provence in 1297, and was canonized in 1317, Twenty Years after his Death, by John XXII. who had been his Preceptor. His Body was translated from the Place, where he died, to Marseilles, and most stupendous Miracles were said to be wrought daily at his Tomb. He could not, however, defend the City, nor indeed himself, against the King of Arragon. For as Marseilles belonged to Lewis, Duke of Anjou, Alphonso, in returning from Naples, on board his Fleet, to Spain, attacked it unexpectedly, plundered it, set Fire to it in many Places, and carried off with him the Body of their wonder-working Saint and Protector. The People of Marseilles complained to the Pope of the sacrilegious Robbery, as they called it, earnestly intreating him to interpose his Authority, and cause the Body of the holy Bishop, who had chosen to die among them, to be restored to them. But Alphonso, loth to part with so invaluable a Treasure, made it One of the Articles of his Agreement with the Pope, and indeed the First, that it should be yielded to him, and the People of Provence and Marseilles be obliged to give up all Claim to it q.

The above Articles being signed both by the Legate and the King on the 17th of October of the present Year, the Legate, repairing to Barcelona, found there Two of the King's Gallies ready to receive him and convey him to Rome, in order to lay the Articles before the Pope, and return with his Holiness's final Answer to them. He embarked on the 20th of October; but the Weather proving very stormy, and the Winds unfavourable, he did not reach Rome till the Beginning of the following Year. As a Pestilence then prevailed in that City, and most of the Cardinals had retired into the Country, the whole Year 1428 passed before the Pope could assemble and consult them concerning the King's Demands. But in the mean time he wrote a most kind and obliging Letter to the King, and even granted to him,

The King's
Demands
carried by
the Legate to
Rome, and
approved by
the Pope.

Year of
Christ 1428.

p Apud Raynald. ann. 22.
num. 48. et seq.

q Wadingus in annalibus minor. ad ann. 1317.

Year of
Christ 1428.

*The Legate
returns to
Spain.*

Year of
Christ 1429.

at his Request, the Fortrefs of *Peniscola*, which, at that Time, belonged to the Knights of *Rhodes*, now of *Malta*, who had fortified it at a very great Expence. The following Year the Cardinals came back to *Rome*, and the Articles being by all approved of, the Legate returned to *Spain* to acquaint the King therewith, and see they were executed on his Part. He fet out from *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, and, travelling by Land, arrived at *Barcelona* on the 12th of *May*, and was there received with extraordinary Marks of Honour by the King, who went out to meet him, as he had done at *Valencia*. But he declined, under various Pretences, entering with the Legate upon the Affairs of his Legation. However, being at *Catabayud*, he was at last, with great Difficulty, prevailed upon by his Brother *John*, King of *Navarre*, to grant the Legate an Audience, when he had waited for it; and followed him changing daily Places, from the 12th of *May* to the 15th of *June*. In that Audience he declared, that he would revoke none of his Decrees against the Authority of the Pope and the Legates of the Apostolic See in his Dominions, till the Legate had publicly cleared him from the Accusation of his having countenanced or promoted the Schism of *Peniscola*. The Legate replied, that he had no Instructions with respect to that Demand, quite unexpected, and therefore could not comply with it. But the King peremptorily insisting upon it, the Negotiation was broken off. The King was to fet out the next Day to invade the Kingdom of *Castile* jointly with his Brother the King of *Navarre*, and the Legate expressing a great Desire to see him once more before he pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against him, and laid his Dominions under an Interdict, he consented, at the pressing Instances of his Brother, to admit him just as he was mounting his Horse to head his Army, and proceed on his March. No one expected that this Interview would be attended with any the least Success, the King appearing absolutely determined to perform none of the Articles till his Demand was complied with. But the Legate had scarce begun to put him in Mind of the indefatigable Pains he had taken, and the many Dangers he had exposed himself to, both by Sea and Land, for his Welfare, and the Welfare of his Kingdom, when, becoming at once quite another Man, to the great Astonishment of all who were present, he thanked him in the kindest Terms for his Zeal and incessant Endeavours to procure his Happiness and

*The King re-
fuses to agree
to the Arti-
cles.*

*But is sud-
denly chang-
ed.*

and that of his Kingdom, adding, that to convince him how sensible he was of the Obligations he owed him, he would, that Moment, sign all the Articles, and perform whatever else he or his Holiness should require of him. The Articles were, accordingly, signed that Moment by the King, who, though in great Haste to set out with his Army for the Borders of *Castile*, would attend the Legate, with the King of *Navarre*, to the Cathedral, and assist there at the *Te Deum*, &c. sung with great Solemnity, to return Thanks for so sudden and so unexpected an Event, that could only be owing to him, *in whose Hand are the Hearts of Kings*. When the Ceremony was over the Legate gave his Benediction to both the Kings; and they immediately began their March.

The Day after the King's Departure all the Edicts he had issued, any ways prejudicial to the Authority of the Apostolic See or its Legates, were publicly revoked, pursuant to the Order he had left, and Two of his chief Counsellors were sent to *Peniscola* to settle all Matters there to the Satisfaction of the Legate. These *Clement* received in the most obliging Manner, and upon their declaring to him, that it was the King's Will and Pleasure that he should resign the Pontificate, and acknowledge *Martin V.* for lawful Pope, he solemnly protested, that he had accepted that Dignity much against his Will, and would, in Obedience to the King, lay it down without Reluctance, nay with Pleasure. However, to act as true Pope to the last, he insisted upon his being allowed to promote one *Francis Rovera*, a Man of great Probability and Learning, to the Dignity of Cardinal before his Resignation, that he might direct, as a Person of known Prudence and Discretion, his other Cardinals in the Election of a new Pope, when the See became vacant by his Abdication. As *Rovera* acknowledged *Martin* for lawful Pope, he, at first, refused to accept of that Dignity at the Hands of the Antipope. But *Clement* declaring, that he was determined not to resign till he had distinguished his Pontificate by the Promotion of a Man of *Rovera's* Merit, the Two Counsellors interposed, and obliged him to accept, for the Good of the Church, the offered Dignity. Having therefore consented, with great Reluctance, to his Promotion, he was created Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church, with all the Pomp and Solemnity, that were used on the like Occasion at *Rome*, and all

Year of
Christ 1429.

Abdication of
Clement.

Some Circum-
stances at-
tending his
Abdication.

Year of
Christ 1429.

were enjoined to respect and honour him as such. *Clement* then, placing himself upon his Throne in the Attire of High Pontiff, with the Triple Crown on his Head, and all the other Badges of the Pontifical Dignity, he revoked, with great Solemnity, and annulled all the Sentences of Excommunication pronounced by his Predecessor *Benedict XII.* or by himself, against all who did not acknowledge and obey them, and, in particular, against *Odo de Columna*, styling himself *Martin V.* restored them to all the Rights and Privileges they ever had enjoyed, and declared each of them, and *Odo de Columna* by Name, thenceforth capable of receiving any Ecclesiastical Dignity whatever, the Papal not excepted. As for himself he solemnly protested, that he had always had the Unity of the Church above all Things at Heart; that he had accepted the Pontificate with no other View or Design but to procure it more effectually; that he had always thought the Way of *Cession* the most effectual as well as expeditious, and would have embraced it as soon as elected, had he not by others been diverted from it (by King *Alphonso*, as is supposed); but, being now at full Liberty to keep his Dignity, or resign it, he resigned it with Joy, for the Glory of God, the Good of the Church, and the Peace of his own Conscience; and now, he added, the See being vacant, the Cardinals may proceed to a new Election. He then came down from his Throne, delivered into the Hands of the King's Commissioners the Act of his Resignation, drawn up in due Form; and, divesting himself of his Pontifical Robes, resumed his former Habit, that of a Canon, and retired into the Crowd. The Act, or, as some call it, the Bull, of *Clement's* Resignation, is dated at *Peniscola* the 26th of July 1429, in the Fifth Year of his Pontificate. He must therefore have been elected, as we may observe by the Way, in 1424, and not in 1423, as is supposed by the learned *Raymund*.

Martin elect-
ed by his Car-
dinals.

As *Clement* had declared the See vacant by his Resignation, his Cardinals, being in all Three, entered the same Day into the Conclave. These were *Ægidius Munax*, his Nephew, Precentor and Canon of *Gironne*, whom he had created Cardinal, *Francis Rovera*, whom he just preferred to that Dignity, and *Julianus Dobla*, One of the Four Cardinals, whom *Benedict* had created a little before his Death. As for the other Three Cardinals of *Benedict's* Creation, *Eximius*

* Apud Raymund. & tom. 12. Concil. col. 406.

Martin V. BISHOPS of Rome.

231

Daba and *Dominic Bonnefoi* were kept Prisoners in *Peniscola*, being charged with a Design of setting up a Third Pope. Of Cardinal *Carriere*, whom I have had Occasion to mention above, no farther Notice is taken by any Historian, and we know not whether he ever abjured the Schism, or what became of him. The Three above-mentioned Cardinals being shut up in a Room in the Fortrefs, which they called the *Conclave*, the Doors of the Room were locked, Guards were placed at all the Avenues to it, the *Veni Creator*, &c. was sung, and every other Order and Ceremony observed at *Rome*, in the Election of a new Pope, was punctually complied with in this mock Election on the Rock of *Peniscola*. The Cardinals had been but a few Minutes in the Conclave, when they elected, with one Consent, *Odo de Columna*, and acknowleged him for lawful Pope under the Name of *Martin V.* The Election being published, the Three Cardinals, attended by the Two Commissioners, and the Clergy, in a Body, went, in solemn Proceffion, to the chief Church of the Place, to sing the *Te Deum*, &c. and thank the Almighty for the Unanimity, with which he had inspired them. Was not all this mere Mockery?

On the 14th of the following *August*, *Ægidius Munox*, and his Three Cardinals, hearing that the Cardinal Legate was at *St. Matthew's*, a small Place, distant but Three Leagues from *Peniscola*, repaired thither in order to submit to him and receive Absolution from the Censures they had incurred. Being introduced to the Cardinal, *Ægidius* addressed him thus: *Most Reverend Father, I and they, who are with me, have heard from Persons worthy of Credit, that you are a Legate a latere of the Apostolic See, and of our most holy Lord Martin V. by Divine Providence Pope: We are therefore come to acknowlege our said Lord Pope Martin V. in you as his Representative, for the true Vicar of Christ upon Earth, and the lawful Successor of St. Peter, and to offer ourselves ever ready to obey his Commands and yours.* When he had done, the Legate, taking him by the Hand, *Do you then promise, said he, and swear, that henceforth you will be faithful and obedient to our most holy Lord Martin V. by Divine Providence Pope, and to his Successors canonically elected? So I promise,* replied *Ægidius*, *and so I swear.* At these Words *Alphonfus Borgia*, One of the Commissioners, interposed in his Behalf, begged that he might be absolved, as well as his Companions, from all the Censures which they had incurred, might be re-admitted

Year of
Christ 1429.

The Anti-
pope and his
Cardinals ab-
solved by the
Pope's Le-
gate.

* Concil. tom. 22. col. 407. & seq.

into

Year of
Christ 1429.

His Cardinals
resign their
Dignity.

into the Bosom of the Church, and restored to all the Rights and Privileges which they had forfeited; he by assuming the Papal Dignity, and they by adhering to him. As they had given the most convincing Proofs of an unfeigned Repentance, and the Two Commissioners took upon them to answer for their future Conduct, the Legate granted them, that Moment, a full and general Absolution from all Censures, and at the same Time revoked all the Sentences till that Day pronounced against them. The next Day, the 15th of *August*, being the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, the Legate celebrated High Mass, at which assisted the Three above-mentioned Cardinals, or rather Anticardinals, in the Habit of private Clergymen, having first renounced that Dignity in a formal Manner, and delivered all the Badges of it into the Hands of the Legate ^u.

All at Peni-
cola submit.

As most of the Inhabitants of *Peniscola* had acknowledged *Benedict*, and his Successor *Clement*, but were now desirous of returning to the Unity of the Church, the Legate repaired thither in Person to receive their Submission. They all abjured the Schism, owned *Martin* for the only true Successor of *St. Peter*, and were by the Legate re-united to the Church. The Two Anticardinals, *Eximius Daba* and *Dominic de Bonnefoi*, whom the Antipope *Clement* had imprisoned, as has been said, were set at Liberty by the Legate; and upon their joining the rest in submitting to *Martin*, and divesting themselves of the Ensigns of their pretended Dignity, they were received again into the Church. The Legate, in leaving *Peniscola*, delivered it up to the King's Commissioners, to be held for ever by *Alphonso* and his Successors. From thence he went to *Tortosa*, and in a Council, which he had appointed to meet in that City, several Regulations, suggested by him to extirpate the Abuses that had crept into those Churches during the Schism, were approved and ordered to be universally observed ^w.

That Place
yielded to
King Al-
phonso.

And now the Schism was confined to the Territories of the Count of *Armagnac* alone, who had adhered to *Peter de Luna*, and after his Death to *Ægidius Munox* his Successor, affording a safe Asylum to all who refused to submit to *Martin*. Being on that Account summoned by *Martin* to *Rome*, and not complying with the Summons, he was, on the 4th of *March* of the present Year, solemnly excommunicated, and his Territories were all put under an Interdict. As all the other

^u Bzovius & Raynald.

^w Idem ibid.

Martin V. BISHOPS of Rome.

233

Princes therefore, and even his own Pope, had submitted to *Martin*, ^{Year of Christ 1429.} he was easily prevailed upon by the Legate to follow their Example; ^{The Great Schism ended.} and he accordingly abjured the Schism in the latter End of the present Year, and owning *Martin* for the lawful Successor of St. *Peter*, was thereupon absolved by the Legate from the Excommunication, and all other Censures, Pains, and Penalties that he had incurred *.——As for *Ægidius*, he was, at the Recommendation of King *Alphonso*, preferred by the Pope to the Bishopric of *Majorca*, his Anticardinals were all rewarded, for their ready Submission, with considerable Benefices, and *Alphonfus Borgia*, One of the Commissioners, was by the Interest of the Legate, who in a great Measure owed the Success of his Legation to his Zeal, nominated by the Pope to the Bishopric of *Valencia*; and we shall see him afterwards raised to the Dignity of High Pontiff under the Name of *Calixtus* III. Thus was an End put at last to the present Schism, known by the Name of *the great Western Schism*. It had lasted from the 20th of *September* 1378, when *Clement* VII. was elected in Opposition to *Urban* VI. to the 26th of *July* 1429, when *Clement* VIII. the last Antipope, resigned that Dignity, as has been said.

Martin, having now no Rival to contend with, made it his chief Business to unite the Princes of *Germany*, and promote Crusades against the *Hussites* of *Bobemia*. We have several Letters of his to the Emperor *Sigismund*, to the King of *Poland*, to the Great Duke of *Lithuania*, ^{Martin stirs up the Emperor and other Princes against the Hussites.} and to other Princes, exhorting them to join their Forces, and either extirpate those Rebels to the Church, or oblige them to return to her Bosom. The *Hussite* War broke out soon after the Council of *Constance*, and was carried on with a dreadful Effusion of Blood, during the whole Time of *Martin's* Pontificate, chiefly at his Instigation. Of that War, one of the most barbarous and bloody we read of in History, of the wonderful, I had almost said the miraculous, Success that attended the *Hussites*, under the celebrated *Ziska*, during the Course of it, and the many signal Victories, gained by that renowned Commander, over the numerous Armies sent against him, we have a full Detail in *Lenfant's History of the Hussites*; and to him, as such an Account is foreign to my Subject, I refer the Reader.

Martin, a little Time before his Death, condemned a Practice that ^{Prohibits the Picture of} had begun to prevail in most Places of *Italy*. Of that Practice and its

* Apud Bzovium et Raynald. ad ann. 1429.

Year of
Christ 1430.
the Name of
JESUS.

Condemnation we have the following Account from St. *Antonine*, Archbishop of *Florence*, who lived at this Time. A *Minorite* of *Siena*, named *Bernardine*, who has since been canonized, having a particular Veneration for the Name of JESUS, a Name, *which is above every Name*, and at which *every Knee should bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth*, he caused that Name to be curiously painted upon a Board, and exposed it thus painted to the Adoration of the People in all the Places where he preached. For he was a famous Preacher, and travelling from Place to Place is said to have awakened, with his Sermons, even the most hardened Sinners to a Sense of Religion and a Reformation of their Lives. That new Kind of Worship was embraced with great Ardour by the People, the rather as it was recommended by One held in the highest Esteem for his Sanctity; and the Word JESUS was every-where painted with many Ornaments around it, was every-where exposed to the Adoration of the People, and even carried by the *Minorites* in their public Processions before the Cross. But that Practice, though promoted and propagated with a pious Intention by its Author, met not, says *Antonine*, with the same Reception from the Learned as it did from the illiterate Multitude. On the contrary, it was censured by them as superstitious, nay and as idolatrous, or, at least, as calculated to lead the People into Idolatry. As the *Minorites* continued to propagate the same Practice, in spite of all the Reasons and Arguments urged against it, their Opposers applied, in the End, to the Pope; and his Holiness, after consulting many Bishops and all the ablest Divines, declared, upon the most mature Deliberation, the Practice in question to be dangerous, *because the People would be apt to direct their Worship to the Name of JESUS more than to JESUS himself*, ordered the *Minorites*, upon that Consideration, thenceforth to forbear it, and, in order to remove all Danger of Superstition or Idolatry, prohibited their Pictures ^v. I shall leave those, who stand up for the Use of the Images of our Saviour and the Saints in Places of Worship, who pray before them, and carry them, exposed to the Worship of the People, in their public Processions, &c. to reconcile such Practices with the present Declaration and Prohibition of their infallible Pope. If it was dangerous to expose Pictures or Images of our Saviour's Name to the Worship of the Peo-

^v Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

ple, it must certainly be more so thus to expose Pictures or Images of our Saviour himself, Objects better calculated to attract the Adoration of the People. Certain it is that the Reason, alleged by the Pope for prohibiting all Pictures of our Saviour's Name, evidently holds good against all Pictures, Images, Figures, and Representations whatever of his divine Person; and, *a fortiori*, of the Saints.

The following Year *Martin* died of an Apoplexy, on the 20th of *February*, after a Pontificate of Thirteen Years Three Months and Ten Days, reckoning from the Day of his Election, the 11th of *November* 1417. He was buried in the *Lateran* near the Heads of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and the following Epitaph, to be seen to this Day, was engraved on his Tomb. *Pope Martin V. sat 13 Years 3 Months and 12 Days. He died on the 20th of February in the Year of our Lord 1431. He was the Happiness of his Times.* But the Blunder in the Epitaph plainly shews it to have been written long after these Times. For if *Martin* was elected on the 11th of *November* 1417, as he certainly was, and died on the 20th of *February* 1431, as we read in the circulatory Letter of Pope *Eugene IV.* his immediate Successor, and in the Epitaph itself, he could not have sat 12 Days, as is evident, over and above the Thirteen Years and Three Months. Great Commendations are bestowed upon *Martin*, by almost all the contemporary Writers. *I have seen Martin V. says Gobelinus in the Preface to the First Book of his Commentaries, have seen Eugene IV. Nicholas V. and Calixtus III. who were all condemned by the People while they lived, but extolled with great Encomiums after their Death.* The Three Popes, mentioned with *Martin*, were his Three immediate Successors; and those *Commentaries* are generally ascribed to *Æneas Sylvius*, who succeeded *Calixtus III.* under the Name of *Pius II.* I find Two Things only laid to the Charge of *Martin* by those, who speak less favourably of him, the Love of Money, and Nepotism. But that he was very undeservedly taxed with Avarice, or the Love of Money, sufficiently appears, as was observed by *Antonine*, from the immense Sums he expended in the *Hussite* War, as well as in repairing or rebuilding the Churches of *Rome*, nay, and, in a Manner, rebuilding the City itself, grudging no Expence to embellish his Capital. As to the other Imputation, he certainly preferred, in the Disposal of all lu-

Year of
Christ 1430.

His Death,
Year of
Christ 1431.

and Charac-
ter.

Whether just-
ly charged
with Avarice
and Nepo-
tism.

* Antonin. chron. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

Year of
Christ 1431.

crative Employments, his Relations and Nephews to all others, however deserving, and by that Means left them, at his Death, possessed of immense Wealth. *Martin* soon after his Arrival at *Rome* caused the House, in the Neighbourhood of the Church of the *Twelve Apostles*, which belonged to his Family, and in which he was born, to be pulled down, and a magnificent Palace to be built in its Room. In that Palace he resided, during the Six last Years of his Life, as appears from his Bulls; and there the *Colonna* Family resides to this Day. *Platina* gives a remarkable Instance of this Pope's Constancy and Fortitude.

Instance of
his Fortitude.

He had Two Brothers, whom he tenderly loved, *Jordan* and *Lawrence*. *Jordan*, the Elder of the Two, whom Queen *Joan* had created Prince of *Salerno*, died of the Plague, the other was burnt alive in a Tower set accidentally on Fire, and the Pope heard, much about the same Time, of the unhappy Fate of the one and the other, without uttering a single Word of Complaint, or betraying the least Symptom of Impatience or Dejection^a. *Angelus Clavafius* writes in his *Summa*, that *Martin*, by a very extraordinary Dispensation, allowed a Man to marry his own Sister; and that he advances upon the Authority of St. *Antonine*. But *Antonine*, in the Place quoted by that Writer, speaks only of a Dispensation, allowing a Man to marry the Sister of a Woman with whom he had had a secret Intrigue, which would have become public, had the Pope refused the Licence, for which the Man had privately applied^b.

The Univer-
sities of Ros-
tock and
Louvain
founded.

In 1419, *John* and *Albert*, the Two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, the one of *Gustrow*, the other of *Schwerin* or *Swerin*, founded an University at *Rostock* in that Dukedom, jointly with the Senate of that City, then, as it still is, a *Hanse Town* or Free City. That Foundation *Martin* not only approved, but, upon the Application of the Two Dukes, granted the same Privileges to their new-founded University as had been granted by his Predecessors to those of *Erfort* and *Leipsick*^c. The present Dukes of *Mecklenburg Schwerin* and *Strelitz* are descended from the Two Dukes mentioned here. In 1688 died the last Duke of *Gustrow*, and upon the Extinction of that Branch ensued a Law-suit between the Two remaining Branches of *Schwerin* and *Strelitz* about the Succession, which lasted till the Year 1701, when it ended in a Treaty

^a Platin. in vit. Martin V.
vissius in chron. ad ann. 1419.

^b Antonin. Summa. parte 3. tit. 1. c. 22.

^c Cal-

Year of MAN. PALÆOLOGUS,
Christ 1431. JOAN. PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperors of the East.

EUGENIUS IV.

SIGISMUND,
ALBERT II.
FRIDERIC III.
Emperors of the West.

The Two Hundred and Sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Election of
Eugenius.

MARTIN dying, as has been said, on the 20th of February 1431, the Cardinals, in all Fourteen, entered into the Conclave on the 1st or the 2d of March. But before they proceeded to the Election, they all agreed and swore to certain Articles, and among the rest to the Three following: I. That in the Apostolic Letter it should no longer be said *by the Advice*, but *with the Consent of the Cardinals*. II. That the Pope should create no new Cardinals without the Consent of the old Ones. III. That One Moiety of the Patrimony of the Church should be divided among the Cardinals. Each of the Cardinals having bound himself by a solemn Oath to observe these Articles, in case he should be raised to the See, they elected, with One Consent, on the 3d of March, according to the most probable Opinion, *Gabriel Condelmerius*, Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Clement*; who, on the 12th of that Month, was crowned with the usual Solemnity in the Basilic of *St. Peter*, and took the Name of *Eugenius IV.* He was the Son of *Angelus Condelmerius*, a Citizen of *Venice*, but come of a very ancient Family, and admitted, upon the Promotion of his Son, to the Rank of a Senator or Nobleman. His Mother's Name was *Bariola Coraria*, who lived to see her Brother, *Gregory XII.* her Son, *Eugenius IV.* and her Grand-son, by her Daughter *Polixena*, *Paul II.* preferred to the Pontifical Dignity. In his Youth he entered into the Order of the Secular Canons of *St. George in Alga*, at *Venice*; was called to *Rome* by his Uncle *Gregory XII.* and by him made First Treasurer of the Holy Roman Church, then preferred to the Bishopric of *Siena*, and lastly created Cardinal in 1408. He was employed by his Predecessor *Martin V.* against the People of the *March* and *Bologna*, who had revolted, but were soon reduced, more by his obliging Behaviour, than by dint of Arms.

His Family,
Employ-
ments, &c.
before his
Promotion.

* Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1431. & Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

In the very First Days of the Pontificate of *Eugenius* a Quarrel, at-
 ended with great Disturbances, broke out between him and the Re-
 lations of the deceased Pope, on the following Occasion. *Eugenius* <sup>Year of
Christ 1431.</sup>
 was informed that *Martin* had left an immense Treasure behind him; <sup>Quarrels
with the Re-
lations of the
deceased
Pope.</sup>
 but that Cardinal *Prosper Colonna*, and his Two Brothers, *Antony* Prince
 of *Salerno*, and *Edward* Count of *Celano*, had embezzled the Whole,
 and kept it concealed. Upon that Intelligence *Eugenius* summoned
 them to give an Account of the Money, and the many valuable Effects,
 which his Predecessor was possessed of at the Time of his Death, since
 the See, and not they, was his Heir. As they took no Notice of that
 Summons, the Pope ordered their Palace to be searched. But they,
 who were employed on that Occasion, exceeding their Commission,
 instead of searching, plundered the Palace of all its rich Furniture, and
 of every Thing else that they thought of any Value. Hereupon the <sup>Great Dis-
turbances in
Rome.</sup>
Colonnas, flying to Arms with their Friends and Dependents, besieged
 the Pope in his Palace, and would have seized him, had not the Ro-
 man People, jealous of the over-grown Power of that Family, joined,
 almost, to a Man against them. Thus was a Civil War kindled with-
 in the Walls of the City. But the *Colonnas* were, in the End, over-
 powered, and obliged to take Shelter in the Strong Holds, which they
 possessed in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and in the mean time the
 Pope thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against the whole
 Family, deprived them of all Honours, Titles, and Dignities, and de-
 clared their Castles, their Lands and Territories all forfeited to the
 Apostolic See. It is observable, that the same Family had met with
 pretty much the same Treatment from another Pope, from *Boniface*
VIII. about 130 Years before, as has been related in the Life of that
 Pope^f. *Eugenius*, finding that he could not, with his own Force <sup>The Emperor
interposes.</sup>
 alone, oppose the *Colonnas*, who had hired a strong Body of Mercena-
 ries, and even threatened *Rome* with a Siege, had Recourse to the Em-
 peror; and *Sigismund*, interposing his Authority, obliged them to dis-
 band their Troops and submit to the Pope; provided his Holiness con-
 sented to absolve them from the Excommunication, to reinstate them
 in all their former Titles, Honours, and Dignities, and receive them
 again into Favour. All this the Pope readily performed &c. And

^f See vol. 6. p. 251. 253.
 Raymund. ad ann. 1431. num. 11.

^g Blondus decad. 2. l. 9. Platin. in Eugen. IV.

thus

Year of
Christ 1431.

thus was an End put to the present Disturbances, and the Pope, to his great Satisfaction, left at full Liberty to attend to Affairs of far greater Importance, which he had then on his Hands.

Council of
Basil opened.

The Council, appointed by the late Pope to meet at *Basil*, was, in the mean time, opened in the Cathedral of that City on the 23d of *July* of the present Year. But, the Number of Prelates being yet very small, no Session was held till the 24th of *December*. However as their Numbers increased, they wrote, by the Advice of their President, *Julian Cesarini*, Cardinal of *St. Angelo*, a most obliging and friendly Letter to the *Bobemians*; that is, to the *Hussites* of *Bobemia*, inviting them to the Council, and offering them a most ample Safe Conduct. The Letter is dated the 15th of *October*, and the Address was, *The holy General Council, lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost at Basil, and representing the Church Universal, to the Ecclesiastics, the Nobles, and the whole People of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Peace and Unity in Christ Jesus our Lord*. To entice the *Bobemians* to the Council the Fathers promised them, in their Letter, a favourable Hearing, as they did not doubt, they said, but they would yield to Reason; and, if convinced of any Errors, would readily renounce them. So much Complaisance to condemned Heretics offended the Pope, pretending that Heretics, whom the Church once had condemned, should no more be heard.

Dissolved by
Eugenius,
and why.

Under Colour therefore of preventing declared Heresies from being again brought into Dispute, by a Letter, dated the 11th of *November*, he empowered his Legate, Cardinal *Cesarini*, to dissolve the Council, assembled at *Basil*, and appoint another to meet, in the Term of Eighteen Months, at *Bologna*, which, he said, he would assist at in Person. To justify this sudden and quite unexpected Dissolution of a Council, summoned by his Predecessor in Obedience to the Decrees of the Council of *Constance*, and approved by himself, *Eugenius* added in his Letter, that very few Prelates were yet come; that the War in those Parts between the Dukes of *Austria* and *Burgundy* would prevent others from coming, and that many of the Citizens of *Basil* professed the Doctrine of the condemned and anathematized *Huss*; which would breed daily Scandals and Quarrels. The Letter was signed by Ten Cardinals, among whom were Two preferred to that Dignity by *Eugenius* on the 19th of the preceding *September*, viz. *Francis Condemmerius*,

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

241

merius, his Nephew, and *Angelotto Foschi*, or *Fusco*, come of an ancient Roman Family, Archpriest of the *Lateran*, and One of the Pope's most intimate Friends ^{h.} Year of
Christ 1431.

So precipitate a Resolution in the Pope surprized, beyond Measure, the Legate. But being a Man of great Discretion and Prudence, he concealed it from the Fathers of the Council, and in his Answer to the Pope's Letter remonstrated, in the strongest Terms, against it, laying before his Holiness the Scandal it would give to Catholics as well as to Heretics; shewing, with great Freedom, the Futility of the Reasons he had alleged for the intended Dissolution, and even telling him, in plain Words, that the Council would not be dissolved, and that he had therefore much better not attempt it, and thus avoid the endless Troubles, in which he would find himself inevitably involved, if he persisted in the Resolution he had taken, perhaps, not upon the most mature Deliberation. But *Eugenius* wanted the Council to meet within his own Dominions, which was the true Reason that induced him to dissolve it, apprehending that were it held any-where else, it might prove as fatal to him as that of *Constance* had been to his Predecessor *John XXIII.* Being therefore deaf to all Remonstrances, he issued a Bull on the 18th of *December*, declaring the Council of *Basil* dissolved, and immediately dispatched a Messenger to acquaint the Emperor therewith, as well as with the Reasons that had moved him to it, the same that he had urged in his Letter to the Legate. *Sigismund* was come into *Italy* to be crowned at *Milan* with the Iron Crown as King of *Lombardy*, and afterwards with the Imperial Crown at *Rome*. The former Ceremony was performed on the 25th of *November*, not at *Modoetia*, as was usual, but at *Milan*, by the Archbishop of that City. From *Milan* the Emperor repaired to *Placentia*; and there he received the Pope's Letter, with a Copy of the Bull of the Dissolution of the Council, which no less surprized him than it had done the Legate. He foresaw the Disturbances that would unavoidably attend such a Resolution, and therefore postponing all other Affairs, he wrote, without Loss of Time, a long Letter in Answer to the Pope's. In that Letter, dated at *Placentia* the 9th of *January* 1432, the Emperor first confuted One by One, and indeed unanswerably, all the Reasons The Conduct
of the Pope
disapproved
by the Car-
dinal Legate.

And by the
Emperor.

His Letter to
the Pope.
Year of
Christ 1432.

^h Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 669. *Æneas Syl. Hist.* p. 50. Edit. Freher. et apud Raynald. num. 21.

Year of
Christ 1432.

*The Pope's
Answer.*

*The Council
of Basil de-
clared a law-
ful Council.*

offered by the Pope to justify the Dissolution of the Council. In the next Place he enlarged upon the many unspeakable Evils, into which his Holiness was, he said, upon the Point of plunging himself, the Catholic Church, and the whole Christian World, by putting off the so much wanted and so long wished for Reformation; when many Bishops were already come from distant Countries to concur with him in bringing so desirable a Work to a happy Issue. He added, that the Bishops would not be disappointed, and that he, as Protector of the Church, could not refuse his Protection to them and the Council. In the last Place he urged, that should the Council be dissolved for inviting the *Bobemians* to it, and promising them a favourable Hearing, they would conclude that the Catholics distrusted their Cause, and thus be confirmed in their Errors. The Emperor closed his Letter with earnestly intreating his Holiness, as he tendered the Welfare, the Peace, the Unity of the Church, and his own Reputation, to revoke his Decree dissolving the Council, and assist at it in Person ⁱ. This Letter *Eugenius* answered by another dated the 27th of *January*, wherein he assured the Emperor, that it was upon the most mature Deliberation, and with the Consent and Approbation of the Cardinals, that he had dissolved One Council, and called another, and was very confident that when his Highness came to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Crown, and gave him an Opportunity of conferring personally with him, he would entirely approve of his Conduct ^k.

As the Pope returned no Answer to the Legate's Letter against the Dissolution of the Council mentioned above, he concluded that his Holiness had acquiesced in the Reasons he had alleged; and on the 7th of *December* he appointed the First Session to be held on the 14th of the same Month. In that Session were read, after the usual Ceremonies; the Decrees of the Councils of *Constance* and *Siena*, with the Letters of Pope *Martin* and the present Pope his Successor, ordering Councils to meet at the Expiration of every Seventh Year, and One in the Course of the current Year at *Basil*. The said Council was then declared a General Council, representing the Church Universal, and lawfully assembled to preserve the Purity of the Faith, to reconcile the Christian Princes, and to reform Abuses.

ⁱ Concil. Labbei, tom. 2. col. 940. 955.

^k In Appendice Concil. col. 943.

In the mean time the Pope's Bull of the 18th of *December*, dissolving the Council, being notified to the Fathers at *Basil*, instead of complying with it, they confirmed, in their Second Session held on the 15th of *February*, the Two following Declarations of the Council of *Constance*; viz. *that a General Council, lawfully assembled, has its Power immediately from Christ, which every one, of what State or Dignity soever, even the Papal, is bound to obey in Things appertaining to the Faith, to the Extirpation of the Schism, and to the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members*: The other, *that whosoever, of whatever Dignity, even the Papal, shall refuse to obey the Decrees, Statutes, and Mandates of a General Council, lawfully assembled, shall be duly punished*. To these Two Declarations or Decrees of the Council of *Constance* the Fathers of *Basil* added Three of their own, arising naturally from them; viz. I. That no Power upon Earth, no, not the Papal, can adjourn, translate, or dissolve the present Council assembled at *Basil* without the Consent of the Council itself. II. Nor can any Power upon Earth compel any to retire from the Council, or hinder any from coming to it. III. That none shall withdraw from the Council, till it is ended, without a just and reasonable Cause, allowed to be so by the Deputies of the Council ¹.

In the Third Session, held on the 29th of *April*, the Bishop of *Lausanne*, and the Dean of *Utrecht*, who had been sent to *Rome* to procure a Repeal of the Decree dissolving the Council, made their Report; and the Fathers being informed by them that his Holiness persisted in his former Resolution, they summoned him to appear personally at the Council in the Term of Three Months, or to send Legates with full Powers, if he could not come himself, to represent him, and act in his Name. At the same time the Cardinals were required to attend the Council within the said Term, on Pain of being prosecuted, if prevented by no lawful Impediment, according to the Rigor of the Canons.—In the Fourth Session, on the 20th of *June*, most ample Safe Conducts were dispatched to the *Bohemians*, who had been prevailed upon to yield to the pressing Instances of the Fathers, inviting them to the Council, and assuring them of a kind and favorable Reception, with free Liberty to return when they pleased. In this Session the Four following Decrees were issued, I. That, should

Year of
Christ 1432.

Establishes
the Superiority of Councils over the Pope.

The Pope and
the Cardinals
summoned to
the Council.

Decrees
issued in the
Fourth Session.

¹ Acta Victorina Concil. apud Spond. num. 7.

Year of
Christ 1432.

the Pope happen to die while the Council is sitting, his Successor shall be elected in the Place where it is held, and no where else. This Decree was calculated to draw the Cardinals to *Basil*. II. That no Promise, no Oath, no Obligation whatever will be admitted as a lawful Excuse for not assisting at the Council; and all such Obligations are declared null. III. The Pope shall create no new Cardinals while the Council is sitting. IV. A leaden Seal shall be made with the Holy Ghost on the One Side, descending in the Shape of a Dove, and these Words on the other, *The Holy General Council of Basil*.

Proposals
made by the
Pope con-
cerning the
transferring
of the Council
and the Fa-
thers An-
swer.

In the mean time arrived at *Basil*, on the 18th of *July*, the Archbishops of *Colossus* and *Taranto*, with the Bishop of *Magalone*, and One of the Auditors of the Apostolic Palace, sent by *Eugenius* to propose to the Fathers, the transferring of the Council, to any Place, subject to the Church in *Italy*, which they should chuse, and where they should enjoy the same Liberty as at *Basil*. They added, that as soon as the Place, which his Holiness left entirely to their Choice, was fixed upon, he would repair to it without Delay, and enter, jointly with them, upon the great Work of the Reformation, beginning with his own Court, nay, and with himself; but that his Health, and many weighty Reasons would not permit him to go out of *Italy*. The Fathers returned Answer, that his Predecessor had appointed the Council to meet at *Basil*; that he himself had approved and confirmed it; that the Reasons, which he had offered for dissolving or transferring it, were mere Pretences; that a General Council has its Authority immediately from *Christ*, which the Popes themselves are bound to submit to, and they therefore begged his Holiness to lay aside all Thoughts of dissolving the Council, and repair to *Basil* ^m.—This passed in a General Congregation, and in the Sixth Session, held on the 6th of *September*, *Eugenius* was accused of Contumacy by the Promoter of the Council, in not revoking the Dissolution of the said Council, nor appearing at it in Compliance with his Summons, either in Person, or by his Deputies.—In the Seventh Session, on the 6th of *November*, it was ordained, that as the Election of a new Pope was to be made at *Basil*, should the See become vacant while the Council was sitting, and some of the Cardinals were absent, they should be elected at a great Distance from that City,

The Pope ac-
cused of Con-
tumacy.

^m Council

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

245

Conclave till Sixty Days after the Decease of the Pope.—In the Eighth Session, held on the 18th of *December*, Sixty Days more were allowed to *Eugenius* to revoke the Dissolution of the Council; and it was decreed that, if he did not revoke it within that Time, they should proceed against him without any further Warning or Citation.—In the Ninth and Tenth Sessions, held on the 19th of *January*, and the 19th of *February* 1433, *Eugenius* was summoned anew, and, upon his not appearing, accused again of Contempt or Contumacy; and the Fathers finally determined to suspend him, at their next Meeting, from the Administration both in Spirituals and Temporal. But he, in the mean time, by a Diploma dated the 14th of *February*, that is, Three Days before the Sixty Days, allowed him in the Eighth Session, were elapsed, confirmed the Council, and appointed Four Cardinals to preside at it in his Name. But the Fathers maintaining that, as it had been lawfully assembled, it wanted not his Confirmation, would not admit the Legates, but insisted upon his first revoking, in express Terms, the pretended Dissolution. This *Eugenius* was, in the End, forced to agree to, and by a Bull, dated the 15th of *December* of the present Year 1433, he acknowledged the Holy General Council of *Basil* to have been lawfully assembled, and lawfully continued, though he had dissolved it *for just and reasonable Causes*; declared void and null whatever had been done by him, or in his Name, to the Prejudice, or in Derogation of the said Holy General Council; nay, and to satisfy the Fathers, he retracted a Letter against the Council, which he solemnly protested not to have been written by him, nor with his Knowledge or Consent ^m.

Year of
Christ 1432.

*He submits,
and retracts
his Bulls dis-
solving the
Council.*
Year of
Christ 1433.

The *Bohemians*, or *Hussites* of *Bohemia*, had been invited to the Council, as has been said above, and in Compliance with that Invitation, they sent Four Deputies, the most learned Men among them, to give an Account of their Doctrine. These made their public Entry into *Basil* on the 4th of *January* of the present Year, were introduced to the Council on the 9th, and the 16th was fixed for the Day, on which they were to lay their Doctrine before the Council, and offer, with all Liberty, what they had to say in Defence of it. They made long Harangues, the one after the other, for several Days together, to explain their Doctrine, and to prove it from the Scripture

*The Deputies
of the Bohe-
mians arrive
at Basil.*

^m Concil. ibid. col. 947.

and

Year of and the Fathers. The chief Articles they undertook to maintain were, Christ 1433. that the Eucharist ought to be administered to all in both Kinds; that Articles they all Crimes, even those of the Ecclesiastics, ought to be punished by maintained. the Civil Magistrates; that the Preaching of the Word of God should be entirely free, and that the Clergy should have no temporal Power nor Dominion. These Articles afforded Matter of Dispute, for the Space of Fifty Days, between them and the Four Divines, chosen by the Council to answer them. But as the Disputants, during that Time, came to no Agreement, nor was there the least Likelihood of their coming to any, the *Bobemians* took their Leave of the Council, and returned Home. With them the Council dispatched Deputies to treat with the leading Men of the Party; and many public Conferences were held at *Prague* and other Places concerning the Articles in Dispute. But the *Bobemians* refusing to hearken to any Terms till the Article of the Communion in both Kinds was settled, the Council was, in the End, prevailed upon by their Députies to grant them their Request. Accordingly, a Bull was drawn up by the Council and sent into *Bobemia*, allowing the Priests of that Kingdom and of *Moravia* to administer the Eucharist in both Kinds to all, who desired it, provided they declared to their Communicants, that *Christ is contained entire under either Species*, and that they ought to believe so. The *Bobemians* having now obtained what they chiefly insisted upon, they agreed, without Difficulty, to the other Articles, as explained and qualified by the Councilⁿ. Thus were the Differences that had subsisted ever since the Council of *Constance*, and had cost many Thousand Lives, amicably composed for the present.

Communion
in both Kinds
granted
them.

Year of
Christ 1434.

Eugenius
obliged to
leave Rome.

In the mean time *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, pretending to be commissioned by the Council to bring the Pope to Reason, sent a numerous Body of Troops to reduce the *March of Ancona*, which they did without Opposition. From thence they advanced into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and there committed such dreadful Ravages, that the *Romans*, to redeem themselves from them, began to think of seizing the Pope, and delivering him up into their Hands. But he, being privately informed of their Machinations, made his Escape, in the Disguise of a Monk, to the *Tyber*, and, imbarcking there in a small Boat, got safe to *Ostia* amidst Showers of Arrows, aimed at him by the

^a Concil. tom. 12. col. 801, et 978.

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

247

Romans from either Side the River. From *Ostia* he sailed to *Pisa*, from thence went to *Florence*, and was received in both Places with extraordinary Marks of Honour. He wrote, on the very Day he arrived at *Florence*, the 23d of *June*, a most obliging Letter to the Fathers of *Basil* to acquaint them with the Revolt of the *Romans*, and his Flight from *Rome*; and at the same time to assure them that he was unalterably determined to live in perfect Harmony with them, to bury in Oblivion what had bred a Misunderstanding between him and them, and thenceforth to love them as his Children, and respect them as his Brethren. On the other hand the Fathers, to shew that they bore his Holiness no Ill-will, immediately dispatched some of their Body to *Rome* to mediate a Reconciliation between him and the *Romans*. Their Mediation was attended with the wished-for Success. For the *Romans* not only submitted, out of their great Regard for the Council, but restored all the Magistrates, whom they had removed, drove the Ring-leaders of the Revolt out of the City, and sent to beg his Holiness's Pardon, in the most submissive Manner, for their past undutiful Behaviour °.

Year of
Christ 1434.

The Council?
interposes in
his Favour.

Thus was a perfect Harmony established between the Council and the Pope; and it subsisted till the Twenty-first Session, held on the 9th of *June* of the following Year, when the Fathers, entering upon the great Work of the Reformation, and beginning with the Pope's Court, undertook to correct several Abuses that prevailed there, and gave, they said, just Cause of Complaint as well as of Scandal to the whole Christian World. These were *Expectatives*, *Reservations*, *Resignations*, *Annates*, &c. unheard of for many Ages in the Church, and introduced without any apparent Necessity. They therefore forbade them, as *oppressive* and *simoniacal*, to be practised for the future, notwithstanding any Statutes, Bulls, or Decrees whatever to the contrary: They forbade, in like Manner, any Thing to be required, or to be given for the confirming of Elections, Collations, for Institutions, Investitures, or even for the Pall. All, who should, on any Occasion, or under any Pretence whatever, act contrary to these Regulations, were to be punished as guilty of Simony; and the Pope, if he transgressed them, was to be accused to, and called to an Account by, a General Council. The suppressing of the Annates, One of the chief

Various
Abuses re-
dressed by the
Council.

Year of:
Christ 1435.

Annates sup-
pressed.

• Ibid. col. 950. Blond. Decad. 3. l. 5. et 6. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

Year of
Christ 1435.

Branches of the Papal Revenue, afforded Matter for many long and learned Debates, some maintaining, and others impugning the Lawfulness of such an Imposition. But it was, in the End, declared, by a great Majority, to involve Simony, and as such strictly forbidden. These Regulations *Eugenius* looked upon as only calculated to make him entirely dependent upon the Council, and oblige him either to submit to them, or beg his Bread, to use his Expression, from Door to Door. However, instead of annulling them, agreeably to the Advice of some of the Cardinals, and dissolving the Council anew, he wisely contented himself with sending *Ambrose*, Prior-General of the *Camaldulense*, and *Antonius de Sancto Vito*, Auditor of the Apostolic Chamber, both held in high Esteem for their Learning and Probity, to remonstrate against the suppressing of the Annates, at least, for the present, as the Patrimony of St. *Peter* was then over-run by Usurpers and Tyrants, and he had no other Means of subsisting. The Council returned Answer, that the Annates were but a novel Invention, that the Popes had, for many Ages, subsisted, and even supported their Dignity without them, and that, if his Holiness consented to their being abolished, they would provide for him by some other more honest and Christian Means. It does not appear that any Thing was so much as offered in Defence of *Resignations*, *Reservations*, or *Expectative Graces*, though they brought yearly immense Sums into the Apostolic Chamber.

Several Regulations relating to the Election of the Pope, to the Number of the Cardinals, their Qualifications, &c. established by the Council.

Year of
Christ 1436.

In the Twenty-third Session, held on the 25th of *March* 1436, the Constitution of *Gregory X.* concerning the Conclave, which had begun to be neglected, was renewed, and to the Regulations contained in that Constitution, the Two following were added by the Council; I. That the Cardinals should promise upon Oath to elect the Person, whom they judged the best qualified for so great a Trust. II. That the Person elected should be obliged to accept of the Dignity. It was further ordained, that on the Anniversary of the Pope's Election or Coronation, the following Profession should be yearly read to him at High Mass by the oldest Cardinal then present: "Remember what
" St. *Peter* and his Successors have done: They thought of nothing,
" had nothing in their View but the Honour of God, the Propagation
" of the Faith, the public Weal of the Church, and the Salvation

* Concil. tom. 12. col. 859. et apud Spondan. ad ann. 1435.

† Ibid. col. 904.

“ and Good of their Children, and at last they laid down their Lives
 “ for their Flock. *Lay not up for yourself, or for yours, Treasures upon*
Earth, &c. but lay up for yourself Treasures in Heaven, &c. Regard
not Blood, nor Country, nor Nation. All are alike the Children of
God, and all committed to your Care.”—In the same Session it was
 decreed, that the Pope should not create any of his Relations, to the
 Third Degree inclusively, Dukes, Marquises, Counts, Feudatories, or
 Vicars, nor should he appoint them Governors of any Province, City,
 Town, Castle, or any other Place whatever subject to the *Roman Church*;
 that in all Affairs of Importance he should advise with the Cardinals;
 that the Cardinals should be in all but Twenty-four, chosen out of all
 the Nations of *Christendom*, Men noted for their Learning, their Pro-
 bity, their Experience in the Management of Affairs, Masters, Doctors,
 or Licentiates, not Nephews to the Pope, nor to any Cardinal still
 living. At the same time was renewed and confirmed the Decree
 suppressing *Reservations, Resignations, Expectative Graces, and Annates*,
 without any the least Regard to the Remonstrances of his Holiness.

Year of
 Christ 1436.

As *John Palæologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, and *Joseph* the
 Patriarch, had formed a Design of uniting the Two Churches, and
 had agreed to the Assembling of a General Council for that Purpose,
 in the West, at which the Prelates of both Nations should assist; a
 new Quarrel broke out, the following Year 1437, between the Fathers
 of *Basil* and the Pope, about the Choice of a Place where they should
 meet. For in the Twenty-fifth Session, held on the 7th of *May*,
Florence, or *Udine* in *Friuli*, was chosen by the Pope's Legates, se-
 conded by a small Number of Bishops; and by the Rest of the Council
Avignon, or some Place in *Savoy*, or the City of *Basil*, where the
 Western Bishops were already assembled. *Eugenius*, however, con-
 firmed the Choice of *Florence*, or *Udine*; which so provoked the Fa-
 thers of *Basil*, that in their Twenty-sixth Session, held on the last
 Day of *July*, they charged him with Mal-Administration, with Simony,
 with a Breach of the Oath he had taken at his Election, and a most
 scandalous Abuse of his Power; and by virtue of the Authority, which
 they had received immediately from Christ, over all Persons of what Rank
 or Dignity soever, the Papal not excepted, they summoned him to ap-
 pear before them in the Term of Sixty Days, and answer the Charges

Final Rup-
 ture between
 the Pope and
 the Council.
 Year of
 Christ 1437.

† Ibid. col. 559.

Year of
Christ 1437.

brought against him.—In the Twenty-seventh Session, held on the 26th of *September*, they declared the Promotion of *John Viteleschi*, Archbishop of *Florence*, to the Dignity of Cardinal to be null, as having been made by the Pope contrary to the Decrees of the Council.—

The Pope de-
clared contu-
macious.

The Sixty Days, allowed to the Pope to appear in, being elapsed, the Twenty-eighth Session was held on the 1st Day of *October*, when, upon his not appearing either in Person, or by Proxies, though Three Times called upon at the Church Door, he was declared contumacious, and it was ordained, that the Council should proceed against him as such, notwithstanding his Absence, since the Summons had been sufficiently notified to him. This Step gave Offence to several Princes, and among the Rest to the Emperor himself, and to the King of *England Henry VI.* who, in the Direction of the Letter, which he is said to have written to the Fathers of *Basil* on this Occasion, stiled them, not the *Council*, but the *Congregation of Basil* s.

Eugenius
transfers the
Council to
Ferrara.

While these Things passed at *Basil*, *Eugenius*, being then at *Bologna*, published a Decree quite unexpected, removing the Council from *Basil* to *Ferrara*, a Place, he said, far more convenient to the *Greeks*, who, ere it was long, would arrive at *Venice*. This Decree is dated at *Bologna* the 1st of *October* of the present Year, that is, the very Day on which he had been declared by the Council guilty of Contumacy. In Opposition to the Pope's Decree, the Fathers of *Basil* published another in their Twenty-ninth Session, held on the 12th of *October*; and by that Decree the Translation of the Council was declared null, and all, whose Duty it was to attend General Councils, were enjoined, on Pain of Excommunication, and the Forfeiture of all their Benefices, to repair to *Basil*. As the Pope had charged them, in his Decree, with sowing the Seeds of Dissention between the Head of the Church and its Members, and thus making Way for a new Schism, they returned to that Charge the following Answer: That the present Holy General Council had been assembled to reform the Church in its Head and its Members; that they had, pursuant to that laudable Design, applied themselves to the redressing of numberless Abuses; but as those Abuses were very advantageous and profitable to the Apostolic See, his Holiness had made it his Business to defeat all their Endeavours, and therefore should he obstinately persist in

That Tran-
slation de-
clared null by
the Council.

s Acta Patritiana ad ann. 1437.

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

251

opposing the necessary Reformation, and thus give Occasion to a new Schism, he would alone be answerable for it. They added, that while he was traducing them, as the Authors of a new Schism, he was himself striving to introduce the most dangerous One, that had ever been known in the Church, that of one General Council in Opposition to another ^t.

Year of
Christ 1437.

In the latter End of the present Year died of the Palsey, in the 70th Year of his Age, the Emperor *Sigismund*, a Prince endowed with many good Qualities, but who sullied them all with his frequent Adulteries. The Empress was not therein behind hand with him; but they forgave one another. He was succeeded in the Empire by his Son-in-Law, *Albert*, Duke of *Austria* ^u.

Death of the
Emperor
Sigismund.

The following Year, 1438, was opened, on the 8th of *January*, the new Council at *Ferrara*, and the First Session held in the Cathedral of that City, at which presided *Nicholas Albergati*, Cardinal Presbyter of the *Holy Cross in Jerusalem*, and were present Five Archbishops, Eighteen Bishops, the Deputies of Two more, and the Superiors of many Religious Orders. In this Session the *Congregation of Basil* was declared an unlawful Assembly, and the Synod of *Ferrara* an Oecumenical Council lawfully assembled. On the 8th of *February* *Eugenius* made his public Entry into *Ferrara*, and in the Second Session, held on the 15th of *February*, at which the Pope presided in Person, and were present Seventy-two Bishops, all, who still remained at *Basil*, were ordered, on Pain of Excommunication and the Forfeiture of all their Dignities and Benefices, to withdraw from that City in the Term of Thirty Days. At the same Time the Governor, Magistrates, Consuls, &c. of *Basil* were enjoined, upon the same Penalties, to drive them out of their City at the Expiration of the said Term, and sell nothing to them, not even the necessary Food ^w.

The Council
opened at
Ferrara.
Year of
Christ 1438.

Proceedings
against those
of Basil.

In the mean time the *Greek* Emperor, *John Palæologus*, being wholly bent upon uniting the Two Churches, and therefore determined to assist, in Person, at the Council, that was to be held for that Purpose in the West, embarked with his Bishops on board Nine Gallies on the 25th of *November* of the preceding Year, and arrived at *Venice* in the Beginning of *February* of the present. The Doge, the

The Greek
Emperor
and Bishops
arrive at
Veni.

^t Concil. tom. 12. col. 716.

^u Æneas Syl. Hist. Bohem. c. 53. Cochläus l. 8.

^w Acta Concil. Horatii Justiniani, part. 1. tom. 13. Concil. col. 896.

Year of
Christ 1438.

Repair to
Ferrara.

The Emperor
and the Pa-
triarch how
received by
the Pope.

Decrees of
the Council
of Basil.

Eugenius
suspended.

Senate, and all the Nobility went out in their *Bucentoro*, a well-known Vessel, to meet him. He brought with him *Joseph*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Deputies of the Three other Patriarchs, Twenty-one Prelates of the First Rank, that is, Archbishops or Patriarchs, and a great Number of Bishops, of the dignified Clergy, of Abbots, of Superiors of Religious Orders, with all the Great Officers of his Court; and among them his Brother *Demetrius*, Despote of *Morea*. On the 28th of *February* they all left *Venice*, except *Joseph* the Patriarch, who was indisposed, and, repairing to *Ferrara*, made their public Entry into that City on the 4th of *March*. The Emperor was met at the Gate by all the Cardinals who were then with the Pope, and the Nobility in a Body, and attended by them under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold to the Pope's Palace. The Pope rose up before he entered the Room, and received him standing. The Emperor offered to kneel, but his Holiness, embracing him, presented his Hand to him to kiss, and making him sit down on his Left Hand, conferred some Time in private with him. From the Pope's Palace he was conducted, in a Kind of Triumph, to another, allotted to him for his Residence, and so magnificently adorned as to deserve the Name of *Paradise*. On the 8th of *March* the Patriarch arrived, and was the next Day attended from the Port to the Pope's Palace by the Two Cardinals, Twenty-five Bishops, and all the Nobility. *Eugenius* received him with all possible Marks of Esteem, gave him his Cheek to kiss, as had been agreed before-hand, and, taking him into his Closet, conversed some time with him there. From the Audience of the Pope the Patriarch was accompanied by the same Bishops and the Nobility, but not by the Two Cardinals, to the Palace prepared for him. While these Things passed at *Ferrara*, the Fathers of *Basil*, wholly intent upon the great and necessary Work of the Reformation, issued the Three following Decrees in their Thirty-first Session, held on the 29th of *January* of the present Year: I. That all Law-Suits, usually carried to *Rome*, shall be finally decreed upon the Spot, if the Places where they arise be distant Four Days Journey from that City. II. That all Resignations, Reservations, and Expectatives shall be suppressed for ever, comprehending those that have been already granted; and all such Grants for the future shall be deemed null. By the III^d Decree they declared *Eugenius* guilty of Contumacy, and as such suspended him from all Pa-
pal

pal Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal, forbidding all Ecclesiastics, on Pain of Excommunication and the Loss of their Benefices, to obey him ^{Year of Christ 1438.} ^{Conferences between the Greeks and the Latins.} These Decrees so offended the President, Cardinal *Cæsarini*, who had hitherto distinguished himself above all the rest by his Zeal for the Council, that, leaving *Basil* abruptly, he repaired to *Ferrara*, to the inexpressible Joy of the Pope. The Fathers chose *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Arles*, so called because Archbishop of that City, President in his Room.

As few Bishops were yet come to *Ferrara*, but more were daily expected, it was proposed by the *Latin* and agreed to by the *Greek* Fathers, that in the mean time they should hold frequent Conferences about the chief Articles of the Disagreement between the Two Churches, to facilitate, by that Means, the wished-for Union. Accordingly Twelve were chosen out of either Church, who met twice a Week in the Church of the *Franciscans*. They began their Conferences, or rather Disputations, with *Purgatory*, and though they only differed in this, that the *Latins* held the Souls of the Just, who had not fully atoned for their Sins in their Life-time, to be purged with real Fire after their Death; while the *Greeks* believed them to be purified, not by real Fire, but by exceeding Grief and Anguish; though they disagreed, I say, in that alone, yet they parted after a Two Months Dispute, just as they met, leaving the Question to be resumed and determined at a more proper Season ^{Conferences between the Greeks and the Latins.} ^{the Latins.} ^{the Latins.}

In the mean time, the Electors of the Empire and the other German Princes, meeting at *Francfort* on the 18th of *March* of the present Year, resolved to observe a strict Neutrality in the Quarrel between the Fathers of *Basil* and the Pope; to show all due Regard to both, and receive no Decrees of either against the other. They met again the following *July* at *Nurenburg* to do Homage to *Albert*, the new King of the *Romans*, and at the same time to reconcile, if by any Means they could, the Pope and the Council. To this Diet or Assembly both the Pope and the Council sent their Deputies to plead their Cause before them. But the King and the Princes, declaring that they had the highest Veneration and Esteem for both, would hearken to nothing alleged by the One against the other: They only represented to them the many Evils, arising from their Disagreement; exhorting them to

* Ubi supra, col. 601, & seq.

† Concil. tom. 13. col. 26.

Year of
Christ 1438.

Their Propo-
sal for a Re-
conciliation.

Rejected by
the Fathers
of Basil.

The Pragmatic Sanction
established in
France.

lay aside all Strife and Contention ; and, in order to that, proposed the removing of the Council both from *Basil* and *Ferrara*, and chusing a Third Place, where they all should meet, and treat jointly with the *Greeks* ; who, they said, would not be very forward in uniting with them, while they continued thus disunited among themselves. This Proposal was immediately communicated to the Fathers of *Basil* by the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, who was at the Head of their Deputies. But they rejected it with One Accord, alleging that the City of *Basil* had been chosen by Pope *Martin* and the General Council of *Siena* ; that *Eugenius* had confirmed their Choice, and no rational Cause had yet been assigned, why so many Prelates should be put to the Inconvenience of removing to any other Place ².

The Fathers of *Basil* took Care to send the Decrees they had made for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members to all the Christian Princes, to be published by them in their respective Dominions. In *France*, the King, *Charles VII.* caused them to be examined in a General Assembly of the whole Clergy, convened for that Purpose at *Bourges* ; and at that Assembly he assisted in Person with all the great Lords of the Kingdom. The Decrees were there examined, and being, upon the strictest Examination, approved by all, who were present, they were received, with One Consent, some of them without the least Alteration, and others with certain Modifications, suited to the Usages of the *Gallican* Church. Of these Regulations or Decrees was composed what was afterwards called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, so odious to the Court of *Rome*. For by the *Pragmatic* the Council of *Basil* was owned for a lawful Council, and General Councils were declared superior to the Pope ; all *Reservations*, *Resignations*, *Expectatives*, *Commendams*, and *Annates* were suppressed ; Elections were restored to the Chapters, and Collations to the Ordinaries ; Appeals, Excommunications, and Interdicts were regulated ; the receiving or giving any Thing whatever, besides the usual Fees to the Clerks and Notaries, was strictly forbidden as inexcusable Simony. These and many other Practices, calculated to draw the Wealth of all other Nations to *Rome*, were abolished by the *Pragmatic*. That *Sanction* was received in the General Assembly of the *Gallican* Clergy at *Bourges* on the 7th of *July* of the present Year, and the following Year it was enacted into a Law by the

* Acta Patritiana Concil. Basil, apud Pagi, tom. 4. p. 594.

Parliament of *Paris* on the 13th of the same Month. The Popes left nothing unattempted to get it repealed: But it continued in Force till the Year 1516, when *Francis I.* by an Agreement with Pope *Leo X.* substituted the *Concordat* in its Room. Year of Christ 1438.

The Pope and the Fathers of *Ferrara* had agreed to wait Four Months for those of *Basil*, and that Time they employed, with how little Success we have seen, in Conferences about some of the less important Articles, in which the *Greeks* and the *Latins* disagreed. As the Four Months expired on the 8th of *October* of the present Year, and not a single Bishop was yet come from *Basil*, the Pope declaring, that where he was with the Emperor, meaning the *Greek* Emperor, with the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Cardinals, and the other Patriarchs, there was the Church Universal, the First Session, at which the *Greeks* were present, was held by his Order on that very Day. But that very few Bishops assisted at this Session, sufficiently appears from its being held in the Chapel of the Pope's Palace; and no Notice is taken of the Arrival of any more either at *Ferrara* or at *Florence*, whither we shall see the Council removed in the Beginning of the following Year. In this Session Six Persons were appointed by the *Greeks*, and as many by the *Latins*, to maintain their own and combat the opposite Opinions. By the *Greeks* were chosen, *Mark*, Archbishop of *Ephesus*, *Isidore*, Great Metropolitan of *Russia*, *Bessarion*, Archbishop of *Nice*, *Theodorus Xanthipulus*, great Sacristan or Vestry-keeper of the Church of *Constantinople*, *Michael Balsamon*, great Bibliothecarian, and the famous Philosopher *Gemistus*. The Champions on the Side of the *Latins* were, the Two Cardinals *Albergati* and *Cesarini*, *Andrew*, Archbishop of *Colossus*, *John*, Bishop of *Forli*, and Two Monks, Masters in Divinity. The Points to be argued were, the *Procession of the Holy Ghost*, the *Punishments of Purgatory*, the *Primacy of the Roman Church*, and whether leaven or unleavened Bread should be used in the *Eucharist*. But with respect to the First Article, it was in the First Place disputed, whether it was lawful to add any Thing to a Symbol, proposed by a General Council for a Rule of Faith. For that the Words, *and from the Son*, were not to be found in the original *Nicene Creed*, but had been added to it by the *Latins*, was notorious and owned by the *Latins* themselves. This preliminary Question afforded Matter of Dispute from the Third Session, held on the 14th of *October*, to the Fifteenth, held The First Session at which the Greeks were present.
Disputants appointed and the Points settled that were to be disputed.
Disputes about adding to the

Year of
Christ 1438.

Symbol the
Words and
from the
Son.

held on the 8th of *December*. The original *Nicene* Creed being read, where the Holy Ghost was only said to proceed from the Father, *Mark of Ephesus* quoted a Decree of the Council of *Ephesus*, forbidding any Addition to be made to that Symbol; and by the other *Greeks* Passages were quoted, without Number, to the same Purpose, out of the other Councils, as well as the Fathers both *Greek* and *Latin*. The *Latins* could not question the Authenticity of those Passages, but, in order to elude them, they pretended the Words, *and from the Son*, to be no Addition to, but only an Explication of the Symbol, or of the Words, *who proceeds from the Father*. For as all, said they, that is natural and essential to the Father is likewise natural and essential to the Son, when it is affirmed, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, it must necessarily be understood, that he proceeds, in like Manner, from the Son. Call it by what Name you please, replied *Bessarion* of *Nice*, the Words in question have been certainly added to the Symbol, and are, therefore, in Truth, an *Addition*. He added, that it was not, indeed, contrary to the Prohibition of the Council of *Ephesus* to explain the Symbol, but it evidently was to insert any Explanations into it, and thus make them a Part of it, and Articles of our Belief. *Andrew of Colossus* answered, that the Prohibition of the Council must be understood of such Additions only, as were contrary to the Doctrines contained in the Symbol. But that Answer *Bessarion* treated with no small Contempt, since it could not be supposed, as he observed, that any would presume to insert such Doctrines into a Creed as were repugnant to those that were defined by it.

The Council
transferred
to Florence.
Year of
Christ 1439.

While they were engaged in this Dispute, and not likely to come to any Agreement, Cardinal *Cesarini* proposed their leaving the Point in Debate undecided for the present, in order to proceed to the main Question. For if we agree in this, said the Cardinal, that the Holy Ghost verily proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father, we shall not quarrel about allowing a Place to that Article in the Symbol. To this they all agreed, and Twelve were chosen on each Side to discuss that Point. But a contagious Distemper breaking out in the mean time at *Ferrara*, the Pope resolved to translate the Council to *Florence*. That Translation was at first strongly opposed by the *Greeks*. But they agreed to it, in the End, upon the Pope's promising to defray all their Expences, and to send, without Delay, 1900 Florins of Gold to *Constantinople*.

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

257

Constantinople to put that City in a State of Defence against the victorious *Turks*. To make good his Word *Eugenius* borrowed 40,000 Florins of the *Florentines*, for which he pawned his Triple Crown; and the Republic promised to make him a free Gift of 40,000 more, provided the Council were transferred to their City. The Pope having thus obtained the Consent of the *Greeks*, the Decree, transferring the Council from *Ferrara* to *Florence*, was published, by his Order, in the Sixteenth Session, held on the 10th of *January* of the following Year 1439; and before the End of that Month they all arrived in that City, to the great Joy of the *Florentines*, who received the Pope, the Emperor, and the Patriarch with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, and presented his Holiness, soon after his Arrival, with the Sum they had promised.

Year of
Christ 1439.

On the 6th of *February* was held the First Session at *Florence*, being the Seventeenth of the Council; and in that Session, as well as in the Six following, *the Procession of the Holy Ghost* was the only Subject of Debate. They argued only from Authority; and by the opposite Parties innumerable Passages were produced, out of the Councils and the Fathers, in support of their opposite Opinions. But as the more they disputed the farther they were from agreeing, the Emperor, who was for an Union upon any Terms, assembling all his Metropolitans in the House of the Patriarch, then greatly indisposed, desired they would deliberate among themselves, and find out some other Means of concluding the wished-for Union than by Way of Disputation, which they knew by Experience to be ineffectual. All Disputes being therefore set aside, and the Doctrine of both Churches, concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, coolly examined, it was found that, in Effect, both held the same Doctrine, and only differed in the Terms, with which they expressed it. For, according to the *Greeks*, the Father was the Origin of the Son, and from the Father by the Son, or through the Son, proceeded the Holy Ghost, and to proceed from the Father by the Son, or through the Son, was owned by the Patriarch, by *Basilius* of *Nice*, by *Isidore*, Great Metropolitan of *Russia*, to be the same Thing as to proceed from the Father and the Son. Accordingly, they publicly declared, that they approved and received the Doctrine of the *Latins*, seeing it was, as they had explained it, the same with their own. Their Example was soon followed by all the rest, except

The Procession of the Holy Ghost debated in several Sessions.

They agree with respect to that Article.

Year of
Christ 1439.

The other
Articles set-
tled, and the
Union con-
cluded.

Mark of Ephesus, who maintained, to the last, the Doctrine of the *Latins* to be very different from that of the *Greeks*, and could never be brought to receive it.

The Union being thus concluded with respect to the chief Article, the others were soon settled to the Satisfaction of both Parties, the *Greeks* allowing in the several Conferences they had with the *Latins*, that leavened or unleavened Bread might be indifferently used in the Eucharist; that they who had sinned and repented, but had not brought forth Fruits worthy of Repentance, in their Life-time, underwent, after Death, a temporary Punishment; but as to the Nature of that Punishment, or in what it consisted, it mattered little to know; and both Churches might safely hold the Opinion which they had hitherto held. Thus what had afforded them, as we have seen, Matter of Dispute for Two whole Months, is now declared an indifferent Point. As for the Primacy of the *Roman* See, they owned the Pope to be the Successor of *St. Peter*, the Vicar of *Christ* upon Earth, the Head of the Church and the Father of the Faithful, and full Power to have been given, in *St. Peter*, to him of feeding, ruling, and governing the Church Universal. They would not however allow him to receive Appeals from the other Patriarchal Sees, nor to convene General Councils without the Consent of the other Patriarchs. These Articles being all agreed to both by the *Greeks* and the *Latins*, the Decree, containing them, was drawn up in both Languages, and, being read in full Council, in *Latin* by Cardinal *Cesarini*, in *Greek* by *Bessarion*, it was signed on the 6th of *July* by all who were present; *Mark of Ephesus*, who had always opposed the Union, having withdrawn from *Florence* some Days before*. It was not, as is commonly supposed, out of any Motive of Religion that the *Greek* Emperor, *John Palæologus*, put himself to such an infinite Deal of Trouble on this Occasion, but chiefly to recommend himself to the Pope, and procure, by his Interest, powerful Succours from the Western Princes against the *Turks*, who had already reduced the far greater Part of his Empire. As for his Bishops, it appears plain enough from the Acts of the Council, that their Consent was, in a Manner, extorted by him. Some, perhaps, chose to enslave themselves to the Pope rather than to the *Turk*; and others were convinced by more powerful Arguments than any *Mark of Ephesus* could allege.

* Acta Concil. Labbei, tom. 13. p. 510. & Acta Patriciani.

Bessarion

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

259

Bessarion, Archbishop of *Nice*, and *Isidore*, Archbishop of *Kiovia* or *Kiow*, Year of
and Great Metropolitan of *Russia*, the chief Promoters of the Union, Christ 1439.
were both created Cardinals. The Patriarch had been always for the
Union; but he died before it was concluded, having written, a few
Minutes before his Death, and signed with his own Hand, a Confession *Death of the*
of Faith, declaring that he received and held all the Doctrines, that were *Patriarch.*
received and taught by the Catholic and Apostolic Church of *Old Rome*,
and owned the Pope of the said *Old Rome* to be the Father of Fathers,
and the Vicar of our Lord *Jesus Christ* upon Earth. He died on the
9th of *June* of the present Year, and his Confession bears that Date.
The Union being concluded in the Manner we have seen, the *Greeks*
took their Leave of the Pope, and repairing to *Venice*, embarked there
on the 11th of *October*, and arrived at *Constantinople*, on the 1st of
February of the following Year. They carried with them the Decree *The Union*
of the supposed Union; but not a *Greek* of any Note, Ecclesiastic or *how received*
Layman, would receive it; nay, many, and they Prelates of the First *at Constantinople.*
Rank, who had signed that Decree at *Florence*, retracted at *Constanti-*
nople, and even wrote against it. The Emperor did all in his Power to
maintain his own Work; but he dying, in 1445, the ancient Doctrine
of the *Greek Church* was again universally received, and that of the
Council of *Florence* condemned and rejected; and so it is to this
Day.

And now to return to the Council of *Basil*. In the Thirty-third Ses- *The Superi-*
sion, held on the 16th of *May* of the present Year, they laid down the *ority of Coun-*
Three following Propositions as *Truths of the Catholic Faith*. I. *That a* *cils over the*
General Council, representing the Church Universal, is above the Pope and *Pope declared*
every other Person, as has been declared by the Council of Constance and this *an Article of*
of Basil, is a Truth of the Catholic Faith. II. *That the Pope cannot dis-* *Faith.*
solve, nor prorogue, nor transfer from one Place to another a General
Council lawfully assembled, without the Consent of the said Council, is a
Truth of the Catholic Faith. III. *That he is to be reputed a Heretic, who*
obstinately opposes the Two foresaid Truths. As *Eugenius* had not ap-
peared, in Compliance with his Summons, within the Time prescribed
by the Council, he was, in the Thirty-fourth Session, held on the 25th
of *June*, declared guilty of Contumacy, disobedient to the Commands
of the Church Universal, a Contemner of the Canons, a Disturber of
the Unity of the Church, a perjured seditious Schismatic, and ob-

Year of
Christ 1439.
Eugenius
deposed by the
Council.

stinate Heretic; and as such they pronounced him deposed from the Pontificate, and unworthy of any Degree, Title, Honour, and Dignity; absolved all from the Obedience they owed him, and declared all Ecclesiastics, by what Dignity soever distinguished, who should thenceforth own or obey him, deprived, *ipso facto*, of all their Benefices, Honours, and Dignities. *Eugenius* being thus deposed, some of the Fathers were for immediately proceeding to the Election of a new Pope, on Account of the Plague that had broke out in *Basil*, and raging, with great Fury, swept off daily great Numbers of the Inhabitants; and had even the Boldness, says *Aeneas Sylvius*, who was present, to attack the Fathers of the Council themselves, *Ausa est etiam aggredi Patres Conciliares*. But it was carried by a great Majority, with their President, the Cardinal of *Arles*, at their Head, that, as by a Decree of the present Council, the Electors were not to enter into the Conclave till Sixty Days after the Decease of the Pope, the same Regulation should be observed in the Case of his Deposition. In the mean time they dispatched Nuncios to the different Courts of the Christian Princes, to acquaint them with the Deposition of *Gabriel Condemerius*, meaning *Eugenius*, and exhort them to comply with their Decree, and cause it to be complied with in their respective Dominions.

They are
excommunicated, and
their Acts
annulled by
the Pope.

Eugenius was not behind hand with the Fathers of *Basil*. For in his Twenty-seventh Session, held at *Florence* on the 4th of *September*, he condemned, by a Constitution beginning with the Words, *Moses vir Dei*, the Three above-mentioned *Truths of the Catholic Faith*, renewed all the Decrees he had hitherto published against the *Schismatic Assembly at Basil*, declared all excommunicated, who had remained at *Basil* after the Dissolution of the Council, whether Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, &c. and, in the Plenitude of his Power, annulled all the Constitutions, Acts, and Decrees they had published ever since the Council was transferred to *Ferrara*.

Regulations
made by the
Council concerning
the Election of a
new Pope.

In the mean time the Fathers of *Basil* were employed in making Regulations concerning the Election of the new Pope; and the following were agreed to and published in their Thirty-seventh Session, held on the 20th of *October*. I. That all previous Conventions, Oaths, Promises, Obligations relating to the Election, should be no-ways binding, but reputed in themselves null. II. That the Electors should
all

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

261

all receive the Sacrament before they entered into the Conclave, and swear to observe what the Council had prescribed in their Twenty-third Session b. . III. That the Elect should, in the Term of One Day after his Election was notified to him, acquiesce in it in the Presence of a Notary and Ten Witnesses, and, if he did not, the Election should be null. IV. That the Elect should be consecrated and crowned in the Council, that he should promise to observe the Decrees of the General Councils, and, in particular, of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and use his utmost Endeavours to have the Decrees of these Two Councils carried into Execution. In the same Session it was decreed, that besides the Cardinal of *Arles*, and other Cardinals, if any others should come before the Election, Thirty-two Persons, Bishops, or other Ecclesiastics, should be admitted, for this Time only, to elect the new Pope together with the Cardinals; that of the Thirty-two, Three should be chosen by the Council; and they should chuse all the Rest. The Council accordingly nominated Three, a *Frenchman*, a *Scotchman*, and a *Spaniard*; and to them was afterwards added, at the Request of the *Germans*, One of that Nation. By these Four Twenty-eight were chosen out of different Nations; so that, besides the Cardinal of *Arles*, the only Cardinal that was present at the Election, the Electors were, in all Thirty-two, viz. Eleven Bishops, Seven Abbots, and Fourteen other Ecclesiastics, all Members of the Council c.

Year of
Christ 1439.

On the 30th of *October* the Council condemned, in their Thirty-eighth Session, the Constitution of *Eugenius Moyses vir Dei*, as a *scandalous Libel*, confirmed the Choice of the Thirty-two Persons who were to elect the Pope, and ordered them to proceed, without Delay, to the Election. They entered, accordingly, the same Day into the Conclave, the Town-House of *Basil*, and on the 7th Day, that is, on the 5th of *November*, *Amedeus*, Duke of *Savoy*, being found to have Twenty-six Votes out of the Thirty-three, his Election was thereupon declared canonical, and confirmed by the Council in their Thirty-ninth Session on the 17th of *November*, no Regard being had to what was by some few objected against it, viz. that he was yet a Layman, that he had been married, that he had Children, that he was Doctor in no Faculty, and could be but very little acquainted with Ecclesiastical Matters d. *Amedeus*, thus elected, was the Last Count and the First

Amedeus,
Duke of *Savoy*,
elected.

^b See above, p. 248.

^c *Acta Concil.* tom. 12. col. 616.

^d *Acta Concil.* *ibid.*

Year of
Christ 1439.

His Cha-
racter.

Duke of Savoy. He had succeeded to his Father, Count *Amedeus*, surnamed *The Green*, in the Year 1384, and had given such Proofs of his Abilities, Knowledge, and Wisdom, in the Government of his own Dominions, as had made most other Princes apply to him as an Oracle in all Affairs of Importance, relating to the Government of theirs. But as his Wisdom was not of this World only, he looked upon all human Grandeur as mere Vanity, and renouncing his Title, in the Year 1414, when at the Height of his Glory, he put his Two Sons *Lewis* and *Philip* in Possession of his Dominions, and retired, with some Lords of the same Disposition and Age with himself, to a Place called *Ripaglia*, pleasantly situated on the Borders of the Lake of *Geneva*. There they took the Eremitical Habit, retaining no other Mark of Distinction but a golden Cross, which they wore on their Breasts; and, laying aside all Thoughts of State or worldly Affairs, led an Eremitical Life, without denying themselves any innocent Pleasures, *Amedeus* having built for himself, and his Companions, a most magnificent Habitation, and inclosed a very large Tract of Ground, well stocked with all Sorts of Game for their Diversion. — Some more modern Writers will have *Amedeus* to have embraced a retired and solitary Life, not out of any Motive of Religion, but to abandon himself, unobserved and more freely, to all Manner of Debaucheries, leading the same Life at *Ripaglia* as was formerly led by the Emperor *Tiberius* in the Island of *Caprea*; and from thence they pretend the French Proverb, *Faire Ripaille*, that is, to banquet, to feast, and to make merry, to have taken its Rise. But of his pretended Debaucheries not the least Notice is taken by any of the contemporary Historians. On the contrary *Aeneas Sylvius*, who lived at this very Time, bestows in sundry Places of his Works the highest Commendations upon him for his Piety, his Religion, his Abstinence, and his Contempt of all the Pleasures of this World. Indeed no Man can suppose, that the Fathers of *Basil* would have chosen One for their Pope, at so critical a Juncture, whose Character was not, in every Respect, irreproachable.

The Election of *Amedeus* being confirmed by the Council, a solemn Embassy, consisting of Twenty-five of their chief Members, was

* Desmarets Tableau des Papes.
Basil. l. 2. p. 167.

f Aeneas Syl. Hist. Europ. c. 43. et Concil.

dispatched

Eugenius IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

263

dispatched with the Cardinal of *Arles* at their Head, to acquaint him therewith, and obtain his Consent. He received them with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, thanked them for the Honour they had done him; but pleading his Want of Experience in what concerned the Government of the Church, he begged they would excuse him from taking upon him a Charge, to which he knew himself to be altogether unequal. However, upon the Cardinal's representing to him the many Evils, that would inevitably attend a longer Vacancy, and would be all set down to his Account, he acquiesced in the End; and all the Badges of his new Dignity being delivered to him upon the Spot by the Deputies, he walked, in solemn Procession, with them, attired as High Pontiff, to the Church of the Monastery of *St. Mauritius*, which he had built in his Solitude. There the *Te Deum* was sung with all the Solemnity the Place would allow of; and on that Occasion *Amedeus*, quitting his own Name according to Custom, took that of *Felix V.* From *Ripaglia* he removed a few Days afterwards to *Tonon*, a small Town in that Neighbourhood; and there he continued acting as Pope the remaining Part of this, and the greater Part of the following Year g.

Year of
Christ 1439.

Amedeus
prevailed
upon to ac-
cept the Pa-
pal Dignity.

The Cardinal, and the other Deputies, took care to notify immediately to the Council the Consent of *Felix*; and the Fathers, transported with Joy at their having now at their Head a Man of his high Rank, Character, and Connexions, for he was allied to most of the Princes in *Europe*, declared him, in the Fortieth Session, held on the 26th of *February* 1440, to be the only true Pope, and ordered him to be acknowledged by all, as such, on Pain of Excommunication, and other Penalties to be inflicted by the Council. As the Cardinals had all left the Council, except the Cardinal of *Arles*, and sided with *Eugenius*, the Fathers allowed *Felix*, lest he should be a Pope without Cardinals, to create some new Ones, notwithstanding their Decree, forbidding any to be promoted to that Dignity while the Council was sitting. He nominated, accordingly, Five; but Two of the Five declined accepting the Red Hat at his Hands ^b.

All ordered
by the Coun-
cil to acknow-
lege him upon
Pain of Ex-
communica-
tion.

Year of
Christ 1440.

In the mean time *Eugenius* having strengthened his Party with the Addition of Seventeen new Cardinals, among whom was *John Kemp*, at this Time Archbishop of *York*, and afterwards of *Canterbury*, he

Is excommu-
nicated by
Eugenius.

^a Augustin. Patricius Hist. Concil. tom. 13. p. 1580.

^b Acta Patriciana ibid.

held

Year of
Christ 1440.

Whose Sen-
tence is de-
clared by the
Council a
scandalous
Libel.

Felix, how
provided for
by the Coun-
cil.

Assembly of
Bourges.

held his Twenty-eighth Session at *Florence* on the 23d of *March*, when *Amedeus* of *Savoy* was declared an Usurper of the Apostolic See, a Schismatic and Heretic, and all, who adhered to him, who supported or countenanced him, were ordered to forsake him in the Term of Forty Days on Pain of incurring, without further Notice, the Sentence of Excommunication, and forfeiting all their Benefices, Titles, and Honours. The Cardinal of *Arles* was excommunicated in particular, was divested of his Dignity, and deposed from his Bishopric, as the chief Author of the Schism ⁱ. On the other hand the Fathers of *Basil*, in their next Session, held on the 23d of *July*, declared the Sentence of *Gabriel Condemerius*, meaning *Eugenius*, a schismatical scandalous, and heretical Libel, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against all, by what Dignity soever distinguished, who received it, and forbad, upon the severest Penalties, any Injury or Violence whatever to be offered either to his Holiness Pope *Felix V.* or to any who adhered to him.—The next Day, the 24th of *July*, *Felix* made his public Entry into *Basil*, attended by the chief Members of the Council, by the Magistrates of the City in a Body, by all the neighbouring Nobility, and an immense Crowd of People. The Ceremony of his Coronation was performed the same Day with extraordinary Pomp, as appears from the Account *Aeneas Sylvius* has given us of it as an Eye-Witness ^k.—As *Felix* could yet receive nothing out of the Revenues of *St. Peter's* Patrimony, the Council, in their Forty-second Session held on the 4th of *August*, ordered the Fifth Penny for the ensuing Five Years, and the Tenth for the next following Five Years, to be paid to him yearly out of all Benefices, whether secular or regular, whether with or without Cure of Souls.

Felix being thus crowned, and, for the present, sufficiently enabled to support his Dignity, the next Care of the Council was to get him acknowledged by the Christian Princes. As *Charles VII.* King of *France*, had appointed the Prelates and Lords of the Kingdom to meet at *Bourges*, in order to concert, jointly with him, the most effectual Means of restoring Peace to the Church, the Council sent a solemn Embassy to that Assembly, and so did *Eugenius*; both with a View to gain them over to their Party. The Embassadors of both were heard, in a full Assembly, for several Days together; and when they had done, the

ⁱ Raynald. ad ann. 1440.

^k Aeneas Syl. l. 7.

King, after deliberating Six Days with the Members of the Assembly, ordered *Antony Gouch*, Bishop of *Clermont*, to return them the following Answer in his Name; that the most Christian King had always had the highest Regard for General Councils, and for that of *Basil* in particular, and had therefore been greatly concerned to hear of any Misunderstanding between them and his Holiness the Pope; that he had most earnestly entreated them, both by Letters and Embassies, to suspend their Proceedings against his Holiness; but they, far from paying any the least Regard to his Interposition, had even deposed him, and elected another in his Room; that the King nevertheless had forbore coming to any Resolution, in an Affair of so much Importance, till he had heard the Prelates and Lords of his Kingdom, and that, having convened them for that Purpose, he had, with their Advice, and upon the most mature Deliberation, resolved to continue in the Obedience of *Eugenius*, and acknowledge no other Pope, but begged, that in order to put an End to the present Divisions, his Holiness would assemble, within a Twelvemonth, a General Council in *France*. As for *Amedeus*, the King, added the Bishop, desires the Legates of the Council will inform him, that his Majesty wishes, as being nearly related to him, that he could favour him with a safe Conscience; but as many, and they Men of great Learning and Probity, question the Validity of his Election, he dares not renounce the Obedience of *Eugenius* till the Affair is decided by a General Council, but hopes, that his Kinsman, the Lord of *Savoy*, *Dominus Sabaudia*, will act on this Occasion with his usual Prudence. The Legates of *Eugenius*, encouraged by this Answer, begged that the King would condemn the Council of *Basil*, as an unlawful Assembly, from the Time it had been transferred to *Ferrara*, and would revoke the *Pragmatic Sanction*, consisting of Decrees issued by that Assembly after its Translation. To these Demands the following Answer was returned, on the 9th of *September*, by the same Bishop of *Clermont* in the King's Name: That his most Christian Majesty had always held the Council of *Basil* for a lawful General Council; that they had made many excellent Regulations for the Reformation of the Church, which he and the States of the Kingdom had approved and received; that he had never acknowledged the Assembly at *Ferrara* for a lawful Council; and that as to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, he insisted upon its being inviolably ob-

Year of
Christ 1440.

The Answer
of the King
and that As-
sembly to the
Legates of
both Popes.

They con-
tinue in the
Obedience of
Eugenius.

Year of
Christ 1440.

served; but if it was found to contain any real Hardships, he would consent to their being softened in the next General Council¹. Thus did the Assembly of *Bourges* acknowledge the Council of *Basil* for a lawful Council, though dissolved by the Pope, and at the same time own *Eugenius* for lawful Pope, though deposed by the Council. They did not question, as we may observe by the Way, the Superiority of the Council over the Pope, or a Power in the Council of deposing him, but continued in his Obedience, because they were not sufficiently informed of the Circumstances, attending his Deposition, to renounce it.

By whom
Eugenius
acknowledged,
and, by whom
Felix.

Eugenius was not only acknowledged in *France*, but in *Italy*, in most of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, in *Portugal*, in *Hungary*, and in *England*. On the other hand *Felix* was owned by the People of *Savoy*, by the *Swiss*, by the Cities of *Basil*, of *Straßbourg*, of *Cammin*, by *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, Brother to *Frideric III.* elected this Year King of the *Romans*. Several Universities, without declaring for *Felix*, maintained the Pope to be subject to a General Council, and bound to obey their Decrees, viz. the Universities of *Paris*, of *Vienna*, of *Erford*, of *Cologne*, and *Cracow*^m. We read of no University, besides that of *Salamanca*, offering to ascertain the Superiority of the Pope over the Council; so that the contrary Opinion may be said to have universally prevailed at this Time, though many, who held it, continued nevertheless to adhere to *Eugenius*, not being satisfied that he had been canonically deposed.

Several
Eastern Na-
tions conform
in the Council
of Florence
to the Church
of Rome.

Year of
Christ 1441.

Eugenius, after concluding an Union with the *Greeks*, as has been related above, had sent Nuncios to invite to his Council the other Eastern Nations, that differed in their Belief both from the *Greeks* and the *Latins*. In Compliance with that Invitation *Constantine*, Patriarch of the *Armenians*, sent Four Deputies to assist at the Council in his Name; and these, after several Conferences with the Three Cardinals, *Antony*, Bishop of *Ostia*, *Branda*, Bishop of *Porto*, and *Nicolas Alber-*
gati, Bishop of *Bologna*, whom the Pope had appointed, with other learned Divines to instruct them, made in the Name of the Patriarch of their Nation and their own, a public Profession of the Faith held and taught by the Holy and Apostolic Church of *Rome*ⁿ. Their Ex-

¹ Pagî Brev. Roman. Pont. l. 4. p. 622. et Clemangius apud eund.
Raymund. ad hunc ann. num. 6, 7.

^a Concil. tom. 13. col. 1198.

^m Apud

Year of
Christ 1441.

have been evidently uncanonical ; since by the Canons, Twelve Bishops, at least, ought to concur in the Deposition of any Bishop whatever, and Seven only, said they, were present at the Deposition of the First Bishop of the Catholic Church. The Princes, after hearing both Sides, concluded, that by no other Means could Peace be restored, but by assembling a General Council in a Third Place, either in *France*, or in *Germany*, and leaving to them the Decision of so important a Controversy p. This Resolution was no-ways pleasing either to the Pope or the Council. However, the Council, unwilling to disoblige the *German* Nation, consented at last to the convening of another Council in some other City of the same Nation, that is, of *Germany*, and left the naming of the Place to the King and the Princes.

The Council
removed from
Florence to
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1442.

As for *Eugenius*, he had, by a Decree, published in his Thirtieth Session, held on the 26th of *April*, removed his Council from *Florence* to *Rome*, to be continued there in the *Lateran* Basilic, his First and Chief See, and therefore would not consent to the assembling of a Council any-where else. However, being pressed anew by the King of the *Romans* and the Electors assembled at *Francfort*, he promised to consult the Fathers of the Council, as soon as they met at the *Lateran*, and act as directed by them ; though he could not see either the Necessity, or the Expediency of convoking another Council, while one was still sitting, that had performed such wonderful Things ; meaning the short-lived Union of the oriental Churches with that of *Rome*.

Ignominious
Peace con-
cluded by
Eugenius
with the
King of Ar-
ragon.

Year of
Christ 1443.

The following Year 1443 a Peace was concluded, to the great Satisfaction, and the no less Dishonour of *Eugenius*, between him and *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*. They had quarrelled on the following Occasion. *Joan* II. Queen of *Naples*, having no Children of her own, had adopted *Alphonso*, and declared him her Heir and Successor. But that Adoption she afterwards revoked, and to *Alphonso* substituted *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whose Adoption was approved and confirmed by *Martin* V. as has been related in the Life of that Pope r. *Joan* died in 1435, and *Lewis* dying before her, she, by her Will, appointed his Brother *René* of *Anjou* her universal Heir and Successor. That Will *Eugenius* not only confirmed, as Lord Paramount of the Kingdom, but upon

p Acta Patritiana apud Pagi, Vol. IV. p. 628, 629.
r See above, p. 215.

s Idem ibid. p. 633.

Alphonso's

Year of
Christ 1443.

Bull; but the Pope desired, that both the Bull and separate Article might be kept inviolably secret so long as he lived: A plain Proof, as *Spondan* observes, that he was conscious to himself of his acting a most unjust and iniquitous Part, and cared not with what Ignominy his Memory might be branded after his Death, provided he escaped it in his Life-time*. This Treaty was concluded on the 12th of June of the present Year, and ratified by the Pope on the 6th of July. Thus ended the Reign of the Family of *Anjou* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, when, from the Coronation of King *Charles I.* in 1266, to the Flight of *René* in 1443, they had governed it One hundred and Seventy-seven Years; and thus was it conveyed to the Family of *Aragon*, who held it Seventy-two Years. But the Right *René* claimed to the Crown devolving, upon his Death, to the Royal Family of *France*, as both his Sons died before him, that unhappy Country became the Theatre of a new and more bloody War between those Princes, and *Alphonso's* Posterity, as we shall see in the Sequel. *Alphonso* no sooner heard, that the Pope had agreed to all the Articles of the Treaty, and signed the Bull legitimating *Ferdinand*, than he notified, by a circulatory Letter, to all his Subjects, that he had been long in Suspence with respect to the Affairs of the Church, and quite at a Loss what Side to take in the present unhappy Divisions, but had learnt at last, by Divine Revelation, that *Eugenius* was the only true and lawful Pope; and he therefore required all his Subjects to obey him as such, and to pay thenceforth no Regard to the Decrees of the Assembly of *Basil*, as being in themselves absolutely null. He had applied to *Felix*, offering to acknowledge him for lawful Pope, provided he confirmed his Adoption, granted him the Investiture of the Kingdom, and furnished him with One hundred thousand Florins to conquer it†; and it is not to be doubted but he would have learnt by Divine Revelation, that *Felix* was the only lawful Pope, had he hearkened to his Proposal. But he, more conscientious than *Eugenius*, rejected it, alleging that the Kingdom of *Naples* had been granted by his Predecessors to the Family of *Anjou*; that they had conquered it at their own Expence, and possessed it undisturbed for many Years; that *Lewis I.* of *Anjou* had been adopted by Queen *Joan I.* and his Grandson *Lewis III.* by Queen *Joan II.* both which Adoptions had

* Spondan. ad ann. 1443. num. 3.

† Surita Rer. Arragon. l. 15.

been

Year of
Christ 1443.

Years, or rather that the Council of *Basil* should be adjourned to, and continued in that City, and all Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarchs, and Cardinals were ordered to attend it, in order to compleat the great and necessary Work of the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members so happily begun. That the Council might not be thought to be dissolved, some of the Bishops remained at *Basil*, and afterwards removed from thence with *Felix* to *Lausanne*, keeping up, in both Places, the Appearance of a Council till the Year 1449, when *Felix* resigned the Pontifical Dignity, as I shall have Occasion to relate in the Sequel.

Other Eastern
Nations receive the
Doctrines of
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1444.

In the mean time *Eugenius*, opening his Council in the *Lateran*, received there Deputies, sent, at his Invitation, by the other Eastern Nations, to be instructed in the Doctrines, Rites, and Practices of the *Roman* Church; viz. by the Nations inhabiting *Mesopotamia* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, by the *Caldeans* and *Maronites*, some of whom held the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and some that of *Nestorius*; but they are all said to have abjured those Errors in the present Council, and embraced the Doctrines as well as the Practices of *Rome* w.

Eugenius
declines assembling a
new Council.

Year of
Christ 1445.

The following Year the Emperor, *Frideric* III. persuaded that the present Schism could by no other Means be more effectually extinguished, than by assembling another General Council in a Third Place, sent *Aeneas Sylvius*, with the Character of his Ambassador to *Rome*, to obtain of the Pope the Assembling of One in *Germany*. But *Eugenius*, alleging that a new Council, instead of healing, would rather increase the present Divisions, begged that his beloved Son, the King of the *Romans*, would, in his great Wisdom, think of some other Method more likely to be attended with the wished-for Success *. *Aeneas*, whom the Emperor sent on this Embassy, and we shall see raised, in the Course of a few Years, to the Papacy, had been One of the most zealous Sticklers for the Council of *Basil*, and the Authority of General Councils over the Pope. But, finding that the Affairs of *Eugenius* began to take a favourable Turn, he thought it advisable to change Sides; and, accordingly, on his Arrival at *Rome*, he acknowledged *Eugenius*, though deposed by the Council, for lawful Pope, and, condemning his past Conduct, most humbly begged his Holiness to forgive it. The Pope, glad to gain a Man of his Learning and Abilities, not only for-

* Concil. tom. 13. col. 1222.

* *Aeneas Syl.* Comment. l. 1.

Year of
Christ 1446.

*The Pope
promises to
restore them,
and upon
what Condi-
tions.*

consented to their Removal; and *Thomas of Sarzana*, Bishop of *Bologna*, and *John de Carvajal*, Bishop of *Placentia*, were thereupon immediately dispatched into *Germany*, to notify to the Princes, still assembled at *Francfort*, that his Holiness had it now in his Power to restore the deposed Bishops, and was ready to gratify his beloved Sons, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, in that as well as in their other Demands, provided they, on their Side, departed from their Neutrality, and, acknowledging the only true Vicar of *Christ* upon Earth, returned to the Unity of the Church. The Princes renewed their Three former Demands, adding a Fourth to them, *viz.* that in Ten Months Time another General Council should be assembled in some Town of *Germany*, to complete the necessary Work of the Reformation, begun by the Council of *Basil*. With these Demands *Aeneas Sylvius* was sent a Third Time to *Rome*, and on his Return brought a Letter from the Pope, addressed to the Princes of the Empire, the Purport of which was, that he should assemble another General Council in *Germany* within the limited Time, provided the other Christian Princes approved of it; should revoke his Sentence against the Two Archbishops, upon their begging Pardon for their past Conduct, and acknowledging him for the only true and lawful Pope, and should leave the *German* Nation no Room to complain of the Burthens laid upon them by him, or his Predecessors. As to his owning the Authority of General Councils, agreeably to the Definition of the Council of *Constance*, he artfully avoided giving a direct and positive Answer to that Demand, saying, that he never questioned the Authority of a Council, that was *truly Oecumenical*, taking no Notice of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, nor of their Definitions, establishing the Superiority of General Councils over the Pope. However, as he promised to redress their Grievances, and restore the Two Bishops, the *German* Princes, after warin Debates in a Diet, held at *Francfort* the following Year 1447, agreed in the End to quit their Neutrality, and acknowledge *Eugenius*. Embassadors were, accordingly, sent to *Rome* to notify this their Resolution to his Holiness, and at the same Time to own him, in the Name of the whole *German* Nation, for the only true Vicar of *Christ* upon Earth. *Eugenius* received the Embassadors in Bed, being greatly indisposed, but ordered the Cardinals to terminate the Affair to their Satisfaction; and by them a Bull was drawn up, and

*The Germans
quit their
Neutrality
and acknow-
lege Euge-
nius.*

Year of
Christ 1447.

Year of
Christ 1447.

CONS. PALÆOLOGUS,
Emperor of the East.

NICHOLAS V.

FRIDERIC III.
Emperor of the West.

The Two Hundred and Sixth BISHOP of Rome.

Nicholas V.
elected.

His Birth,
Employ-
ments, &c.

EUGENIUS dying on the 23d of *February*, the Cardinals then at *Rome*, in all Seventeen or Eighteen, entering into the Conclave, as soon as they had performed the Exequies of the deceased Pope, chose, with One Consent, on the 6th of *March*, *Thomas of Sarzana*, Cardinal Priest of *St. Susanna* and Bishop of *Bologna*. He was the Son of a poor Physician of *Sarzana*, a small Town on the Borders of *Tuscany* and the State of *Genoa*, and thence called *Thomas of Sarzana*. He studied at *Bologna*, being maintained at that Univerſity by Cardinal *Nicholas Albergati*, who, looking upon him as a very promising Youth, took him into his Protection. In Proceſs of Time he proved One of the moſt learned Divines of the Age he lived in, and was employed by *Eugenius* in all the Diſputes between the *Latins* and the *Greeks* in the Councils of *Ferrara* and of *Florence*. In 1446 he was ſent, as has been ſaid above, with *John de Carvajal*, to aſſiſt at the Diet, held at *Francfort* on the 30th of *Auguſt* of that Year; and the Pope, fully ſatiſfied with their Conduct on that Occaſion, created them both Cardinals on their Return to *Rome*; and that they might make their Entry into the City as Cardinals, their Red Hats were delivered to them at the Gate. Thus *Platina* ^b. But that Writer was certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Thomas of Sarzana* to have been preferred, in one and the ſame Year, to the Biſhopric of *Bologna*, to the Dignity of Cardinal, and to the Pontificate. For he was made Biſhop of *Bologna* on the 27th of *Novembꝛ* 1445, as appears from a Letter of *Eugenius* quoted by *Sigonius* ^c, was created Cardinal on the 16th of *December* 1446 ^d, and was raiſed to the Pontificate on the 6th of *March* 1447. The new Pope was enthroned the Day after his Election, taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Nicholas*, out of Gratitude to his generous Benefactor Cardinal *Nicholas Albergati*, and was crowned on the 19th of *March*, with the uſual Solemnity, in the Church of *St. Peter*.

^a In vit. Nich. V.
l. 1.

^c Sigonius de epiſ. Bonon. l. 4.

^d Æneas Sylv. Comment.

Year of
Christ 1448.

And upon
what Terms.

to doubt of his Sincerity, and he took care to demand nothing that was inconsistent with the Dignity of his Rival to comply with, the King notified them, by a most solemn Embassy, to *Nicholas*, who, finding them, as he declared, not only just and reasonable, but equally advantageous to both Parties, agreed to them at once. The Terms were, I. That *Felix* should hold the First Place in the College of Cardinals, and be perpetual Legate of the Apostolic See in *Germany*. II. That so long as he lived he should be allowed to wear the Pontifical Habit with all the Badges of the Pontifical Dignity, except the Fisher's Ring, and the Cross upon the Slipper. III. That, if at any Time he should appear before the Pope, his Holiness should rise from his Seat to receive him, should kiss his Mouth, and require of him no particular Mark of Respect and Submission. IV. That all Excommunications, Suspensions, Interdicts, and other Penalties, inflicted by either Party, should be revoked. V. That all of both Obediences, who were possessed of any Benefices, Ecclesiastical Offices or Dignities, should enjoy them undisturbed. VI. That the Cardinals of both Parties should retain their Dignities, and be deemed true Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. VII. That all Collations and Elections, all Indulgences, Dispensations, and other Graces, granted in either Obedience, should be confirmed. VIII. That if Two happened to be possessed of the same Office or Benefice, he, who should be required to resign, should be provided with another of equal Value. Lastly, That in the Term of Seven Months *Nicholas* should assemble a General Council within the Dominions of the King of *France*.

Three Bulls
published by
Felix before
his Resignation.

Year of
Christ 1449.

These Conditions being all agreed to by *Nicholas*, *Felix*, who still continued the Council of *Basil*, with a small Number of Bishops, at *Lausanne*, published, with their Consent and Approbation, Three Bulls, acting, till the Time of his Resignation, as true and lawful Pope. By the First he revoked all Excommunications and other Censures against *Eugenius*, *Nicholas*, and those who had adhered to them, or to their Councils. By the Second he restored all, who had been deprived, by either of these Popes, of their Benefices, Offices, or Dignities, for taking Part with him or with the Council of *Basil*. By the Third he confirmed all the Acts of his Pontificate, except those that related to the Controversy between him and his Two Competitors, which he desired might for ever be buried in Oblivion. These Bulls

were

Year of
Christ 1450.

The Emperor
crowned by
Nicholas.

Year of
Christ 1452.

great Solemnity, ordered a Chapel to be built upon the Bridge, and Divine Service to be yearly performed in it for the Rest of their Souls ^b.

The Emperor *Frideric*, having settled, for the present, his Affairs in *Germany*, resolved to delay no longer his Journey into *Italy*, in order to receive the Imperial Crown at the Hands of the Pope. He set out attended by the Flower of the *German* Nobility, and a good Body of Troops, was received, with loud Acclamations, in all the Cities of *Italy* through which he passed, and met at *Florence* by Two Cardinals, sent by the Pope to congratulate him, in his Name, on his Arrival in *Italy*, and conduct him to *Rome*. He made his public Entry into that City with his Consort the Empress *Eleonora* on the 9th of *March*, amidst the joyful Acclamations of the *Roman* People, was received by the Pope, on the Top of the Steps of *St. Peter's*, with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem, and conducted, with the Empress, to the Tomb of *St. Peter*. The following Days they had several private Conferences; and on the 19th of the same Month of *March*, the Day of the Pope's Coronation, both the Emperor and Empress were crowned with the usual Solemnity. His Holiness chose that Day, that he might celebrate, he said, at the same Time, the Anniversary of his own Coronation, and that of the Emperor's ⁱ.

Constanti-
nople taken
by Maho-
met II.

Year of
Christ 1453.

The following Year 1453 proved of all, since the Foundation of the Christian Religion, the most fatal to it. For in that Year, on the 29th of *May*, and in the Fifth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Constantine Palæologus Dracofes*, was taken the Imperial City of *Constantinople* by *Mahomet II.* and forced to submit, with the whole Empire, to the cruel Yoke which it groans under to this Day. I shall not dwell here on the melancholy Circumstances attending that Event, as being foreign to my Subject, but only observe, that the Loss of *Constantinople* has by some been charged upon the Pope ^k. The Truth is, *Nicholas* had got ready both a Fleet and Land Forces to be sent to the Relief of the besieged City; but flattering himself, that the *Greeks*, when reduced to the utmost Extremity, in order to engage his Protection more effectually, would receive the Decree of the Union, concluded at *Florence* between the Two Churches, he delayed to send the wanted Succours; and in the mean time *Constantinople* was taken ^l.

^b Æneas Syl. Europa, c. 32.
Hist. Papal. Ætat. 5. p. 254.

ⁱ Idem in vit. Frideric III. p. 133.
^l Platina in vit. Nicol. V.

^k Hydegger,

However

Year of
Christ 1455.

decayed Families, whom Shame restrained from owning their Poverty, and to have provided their Daughters with Fortunes suitable to their Rank. He repaired or rebuilt many of the Churches of *Rome*, and other public Edifices gone to Decay, and, to render the City more august, assisted the Nobility with very considerable Sums in rebuilding and adorning their own Palaces. Thus did *Nicholas* dispose of the Revenues of his See, instead of heaping up Wealth, as most of his Predecessors had done, to enrich his Relations ⁿ. He was an Enemy even to the Appearance of Simony, employed none, and preferred none but Men of Merit, or Men who were recommended to him as such; observed the Canons himself with the utmost Strictness, and exacted the same strict Observance of others; abolished many Abuses, that his Predecessors had either encouraged or connived at, and was only prevented by Death from pursuing the Plan of a general Reformation, which he had formed, and begun with his own Court ^o.—With all his good Qualities he was, says *Platina*, a little too hasty, and, though never guilty of the least Injustice, did sometimes, in the Transport of Passion, what he afterwards repented; and would not have done had Good-nature had Time to take Place ^p.—He created Eleven Cardinals at Three different Promotions, all Men of great Merit, and not One of his own Relations among them.—As to his Writings he left none, that we know of, besides some Letters, and Bulls, and amongst these the Bull of the Canonization of *Bernardine* of *Siena*, of whom I have spoken above ^q.

FRIDERIC III.
Emperor of the West.

CALIXTUS III.

The Two Hundred and Seventh BISHOP of Rome.

NICHOLAS died, as has been said, on the 24th of *March* of the present Year 1455, and on the 8th of *April* the Cardinals, in all Fourteen, unanimously elected Cardinal *Alphonso Borgia* in his Room. He was come of an ancient and noble Family in the

Calixtus III.
elected.

^a Platina et Onuphrius in vit. Nicol. V.
Script. rerum Italic. ^p Platina in vit.

^o Vit. Nicol. V. apud Muratori in
^q See above, p. 234.

Diocese

Year of
Christ 1456.

The Turks
defeated at
Belgrade.

notwithstanding the vigorous Resistance they met with. But the Christian Army, encouraged by *Capistrano*, carrying at their Head a Cross, in lieu of a Standard, and promising them certain Victory, fell upon them with such Resolution and Intrepidity, as obliged them to raise the Siege, and betake themselves to a precipitate Flight with the Loss of Six thousand Men, *Onupbrius* says Sixty thousand killed upon the Spot, and of all their military Stores and Ammunition. This Victory was gained on the 6th of *August*, the Day of the Transfiguration of our Lord, which the Pope ordered to be thenceforth observed as a grand Festival ^t.

Calixtus
stirs up some
Mahometan
Princes a-
gainst the
Turks.

For this Victory the Pope caused the *Te Deum* to be sung with great Solemnity in *Rome*, acquainted all the Christian Princes with it, and failed not, on that Occasion, to entreat and exhort them anew, as they tendered the Welfare of the Christian Religion and their own Safety, to join their Forces, and fall jointly upon the Enemy, before they had Time to recover from their present Fright and Consternation. But of them he could obtain nothing besides fair Words, and Promises which they never intended to perform. Thus the Christian Army, instead of improving the Advantage they had gained, which might have proved fatal to the Enemy, were obliged, for Want of Supplies both in Men and Money, to disband, and leave the Conquered to pursue their Conquests quite unmolested ^u.—*Calixtus*, finding the Christian Princes all so backward to engage in a holy War, resolved to recur to the *Mahometan* Princes, who, as he was informed by his Missionaries, looked with a jealous Eye on the late Conquests of the *Turks*. He sent, accordingly, *Lewis* of *Bologna*, a *Franciscan* Friar, with many rich Presents to *Usumcassanus*, Lord of *Persia* and *Armenia*, and to the *Cham* of the *Tartars*, to apprize them of the Conquests *Mahomet* had made, and was daily making in the more Western Parts of the World; to represent to them the Danger they themselves were in of becoming a Prey to so potent and so ambitious a Neighbour, if they stopt not, in Time, the Career of his Victories, and to offer them therein all the Assistance the High Priest of the Christians could afford them. Those Princes, adds *Platina*, hearkened to the Friar, and, at his Persuasion, brought great Calamities upon the *Turks* ^w. But it does not appear that the *Turks* were diverted, by those Calamities,

^t *Platina in vita Calixti.*

^u *Idem ibid.*

^w *Idem ibid.*

Year of
Christ 1456.

had resolved to oblige *Calixtus* to confirm that Bull, as he had obliged *Eugenius* to grant it, and to invade with that View the Ecclesiastical State, and either drive the Pope from *Rome*, or besiege him in it. He had made the necessary Preparations for that Expedition, but died before he could carry it into Execution, leaving by his last Will, as he had no Children lawfully begotten, the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, and the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, with his other Dominions, to his Brother *John*, King of *Navarre*.

*Calixtus re-
vokes the Bull
legitimizing
Ferdinand.*

Calixtus had formed a Design of placing his Nephew, *Peter Borgia*, whom he had already created Duke of *Spoleti*, upon the Throne of *Naples*; and it was with that View he had refused to confirm the Bull of *Eugenius* legitimating *Ferdinand*. He therefore no sooner heard of the Death of *Alphonso*, than he revoked the Bull of *Eugenius*, as having been obtained by Force and Menaces, and consequently in itself null; declared the Throne vacant, and devolved, as a Fief of the Church, to the Apostolic See; thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against all, who should acknowledge him for King, or obey him as such, and absolved those from their Oaths, who might already have sworn Allegiance to him. *Ferdinand* took care to acquaint the Pope

*His Intrigues
to place his
Nephew on
the Throne of
Naples.*

with the Death of his Father by a most submissive and friendly Letter, to assure him of his inviolable Attachment both to his Person and his See, and implore his Protection; and it was upon the Receipt of his Letter that the Pope issued the Bull I have just mentioned. As most of the Lords of the Kingdom acknowledged him, notwithstanding that Bull, out of the great Regard they had for the deceased King his Father, the Pope caused Papers to be posted up in several Places of the Kingdom, notifying to the Clergy, to the Nobility, and the People, that *Ferdinand* was not the Son, no, not even the natural Son of *Alphonso*. What Foundation this had in Truth, or whether it had any, we know not; but coming from One, who had spent the greatest Part of his Life at the King's Court, and must have been acquainted with what was said, or done there, it startled many; and some of the Nobility, as well as the Clergy, openly declared against the new King. Thus would a Civil War have been kindled in the Bowels of the Kingdom, had not the Death of the Pope very seasonably prevented it.

Year of
Christ 1458.

His Birth,
Education,
Employ-
ments, &c.
before his
Promotion.

born in a small Village of that Diocese, and he there learnt the First Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue. His Father's Circumstances did not allow him to send his Son to the University, his Estate having been confiscated by the prevailing Faction, and he himself reduced to earn his Bread with the Sweat of his Brow. But his Friends and Relations generously contributing towards the Education of so promising a Youth, he was sent by them to the University of *Siena*, and maintained there at their Expence. As he gave many Proofs, during the Course of his Studies, of a very extraordinary Genius, and even published, while yet a Student, several Poems, some in *Latin*, some in *Italian*, that were received with great Applause, Cardinal *Capranica*, hearing of him as he passed through *Siena* in his Way to the Council of *Basil*, took him with him in the Character of his Secretary. He espoused with great Zeal the Cause of the Council against Pope *Eugenius*, made many learned and elegant Speeches in that august Assembly to prove the Superiority of a General Council over the Pope, and was, in Consideration of his Zeal as well as his Parts, appointed their Secretary, and employed in all Affairs of Moment, as One upon whom they could safely rely. *Felix* upon his Election, and the Deposition of *Eugenius*, chose *Æneas* for his Secretary. He was afterwards honoured with the same Employment in the Court of the Emperor *Frideric*, who, being taken with his Parts, presented him with a Poetical Crown, that is, I suppose, made him his Poet Laureat, distinguished him with the Dignity of Senator, admitted him to his Intimacy, and undertook nothing without previously consulting him. He, on his Side, took Care to cultivate by all Means the Friendship of so powerful a Friend, flattering himself that it might raise him One Day to the Pinnacle of Grandeur. When the Emperor embraced a Neutrality, he embraced it with him; and when the Emperor shewed himself inclined to favour *Eugenius* against the Council and *Felix*, he openly declared against both; and being sent by *Frideric* with some Proposals to *Rome*, he laid hold of that Opportunity to condemn his past Conduct, and beg his Holiness to forgive it, and receive him into Favour. *Eugenius* readily granted him his Request, but died soon after, and the See of *Trieſte* in *Iſtria* becoming at the same Time vacant, *Æneas* was preferred to it by his Successor *Nicholas V.* and in 1453 translated from thence by the same Pope to the vacant See of *Siena*,

Year of
Christ 1459.

Amalfi and the County of *Celano* for her Portion ^b. The Pope, not satisfied with confirming all the Bulls of his Predecessor *Eugenius* in favour of *Ferdinand*, and revoking those of *Calixtus* against him, ordered the Clergy and the Barons, on Pain of Excommunication, to acknowledge him, and no other, for their lawful Sovereign, absolved such of them, as had sworn Allegiance to *René* of *Anjou*, from that Oath, and the following Year, when *John* of *Anjou*, the Son of *René*, invaded the Kingdom, his Holiness sent a Body of a Thousand Horse and Five hundred Foot, under the Command of his Nephew *Antonio Piccolomini*, to the Assistance of *Ferdinand*. The Pope's Partiality for that Prince, and his concurring with him to drive the *French* quite out of *Italy*, so provoked their King, *Charles VII.* and the whole Nation, that they could never be prevailed upon any-ways to contribute towards carrying on the War against the *Turks*, which they knew the Pope to have above all Things at Heart.

And supports
him in the
Possession of
that King-
dom.

Forbids Ap-
peals from
the Apostolic
See.

Year of
Christ 1460.

The following Year the Pope thought fit to condemn the Maxim, for which he had been many Years so warm a Stickler, the Superiority of a General Council over the Pope. The Bull, condemning that once his favourite Maxim, is dated the 18th of *January* of the present Year 1460, and begins with the following Words, *Execrabilis et pristinis temporibus inauditus*, &c. "An execrable and unheard-of Abuse in all ancient Times, has lately crept in, being countenanced by some through a Spirit of Rebellion, and in order to avoid the Punishment due to their Crimes, I mean the Abuse of appealing from the *Roman Pontiff*, *Christ's* Vicar upon Earth, to whom it was said in the Person of *St. Peter*, *Feed my Sheep, Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon Earth*, &c. to a future Council. This all, who are in the least acquainted with the Canons, must look upon as contrary to the established Laws of the Church. By these Appeals the Apostolic See is restrained from doing Justice to those, who recur to it, all are at Liberty to commit, with Impunity, what Crimes they list, the Discipline of the Church is trampled under Foot, the Hierarchy overset, and every Thing must fall into Disorder and Confusion. Besides, how absurd is it to appeal to what does not exist, and, perhaps, never will? We therefore condemn, upon the most mature Deliberation, all such Appeals; pronounce, declare, and define

^b Summont. l. 5. p. 243. et Caman. vita Pii II.

" them

Pius II. BISHOPS of Rome

“ them to be contrary to the Canons, and in the
“ order, that, for the future, no One shall presume
“ tence whatsoever, to appeal from our Judgment
“ our Successors. If any One shall act contrary to
“ after Two Months from the Day of its Publication
“ he shall, by what Dignity soever distinguished, th
“ and Pontifical not excepted, incur, *ipso facto*, th
“ communication, from which none but the Pope
“ Power to absolve him, except at the Point of De
“ sities, Colleges, Notaries, Witnesses, and every
“ shall assist at such Appeals, or be any-ways conce
“ be liable to the same Penalty.” No Man can be
Ecclesiastical History as not to know this Bull, to us
Continuator of *Fleury*, to be repugnant to the Canon
the ancient and universal Practice of the Church.

Pius had, from the Beginning of the Pontificate
Endeavours with repeated Applications to *Charles VI*
to get the *Pragmatic Sanction*, of which I have sp
voked, as highly derogatory to the Honour and th
Apostolic See. But the only Answer he could obtai
that the *Pragmatic* consisted of the very Decrees
Basil, which he himself had approved, had penned,
gested when Secretary to that great Assembly, and
ceived with One Consent, and observed, for the Spa
Years, by the whole *French Nation*. In 1461 *Ch*
starved himself to Death, which *Pius* no sooner he
patched a Nuncio into *France* to condole with his
Lewis XI. for so melancholy an Event, and, at th
gratulate him upon his Accession to the Crown. But
of the Nuncio was to procure, upon any Terms, the
Pragmatic Sanction; and he had several Conferenc
Ministers and the King himself upon that Subject.
mand was rejected, by all to a Man, in the King's Co
theless the King was, in the End, either soothed or
Compliance with it, and a solemn Embassy was sent

* Concil. tom. 13. p. 1801.

† See above, p

Year of
Christ 1461.

Strives in
vain to unite
the Christian
Princes
against the
Turks.

Publishes his
Bull of Re-
tractation.

Year of
Christ 1464.

the *Pragmatic* in his Name^e. However, as both the University and the Parliament protested against its Revocation, it continued to be observed throughout the Kingdom as before till the Year 1516, when the Concordat between *Leo X.* and *Francis I.* took place.

The Two following Years were wholly employed by the Pope in striving to unite the *Christian* Princes against the *Turks*, who had already made themselves Masters of almost all *Greece*; and we have a great many Letters of his to the different Kings and States of *Christendom*, representing to them, with great Eloquence, the Danger that threatened them of being enslaved by the worst of Tyrants, and painting, in the most affecting Manner, the deplorable Condition, which they were reduced to, who had been obliged to submit to so galling a Yoke, and which, he said, would soon be their own, if they joined not in time to avert it. But his Endeavours proving all unsuccessful, he ordered a Fleet to be equipped at *Ancona*, with a Design to embark on it in Person, flattering himself that the *Christian* Princes, though deaf to his Exhortations, would be ashamed to remain quiet and inactive at Home, while the Vicar of *Christ*, notwithstanding his Age and Infirmities, thus exposed himself, for their Safety, to all the Dangers and Inconveniences of a War. While he was busied, beyond what his Strength could bear, in making the necessary Preparations for his intended Naval Expedition, he was taken ill, and being advised by his Physicians to repair to *Siena* for the Benefit of his native Air, he published, before he left *Rome*, his famous Bull of *Retraction*. In that Bull, addressed to the University of *Cologn*, the Pope condemns and retracts all he had said, writ, or done, at the Council of *Basil*, any-ways prejudicial to the Authority of the Apostolic See, as intirely owing to Ignorance or his Want of Discernment; exhorts all to reject, as erroneous, what they meet with in his Works in the least repugnant to the Power, which *Christ* himself has lodged in the Hands of his Vicar upon Earth, and requires them, if they prefer Truth to Error, to reject the Sentiments of *Aeneas Sylvius*, and adopt those of *Pius II*^f.

The Pope returned, after a short Stay at *Siena*, to *Rome*, and being there informed that the *Turks* were upon the Point of laying Siege to *Ragusa* in *Dalmatia*, he immediately set out for *Ancona*, though so indisposed as to be obliged to travel in a Litter. He left *Rome* on the

^e Mathieu vie de Louis XI.

^f Concil. tom. 13. p 1407.

Year of
Christ 1464

in Opposition to the Canons as well as to Reason ^h. *Platina* himself tells us, that *Pius* took no Notice of Lampoons levelled at his Person, but was inexorable if they reflected, in the least, upon his Authority, that he made it his Study to enhance the Majesty of his See, and that he spared neither Kings, Dukes, nor People, invading the Rights of the Church or the Clergy, but never ceased to prosecute them with War, Censures, Interdicts, Anathemas, and Curses, till they gave the required Satisfaction. But, not to rob him of the Praise that is due to him, he was no Lover of Money, was never guilty of Simony, or any simoniacal Practices, was a warm Friend to the Poor, a generous Encourager of Learning, a most zealous Promoter of a War against the Infidels, and would, notwithstanding the very bad State of his Health, have exposed himself, for the Good of Christianity, to all the Hardships of a most dangerous War. He was of an amorous Disposition, and seems to have indulged it, in his youthful Days, without Restraint. He had a natural Son, and from the ludicrous Account he gives of him and his own Amours, one would conclude, that he looked upon Transgressions of that Nature only as venial Sins, or no Sins at all ⁱ. The Poems and Epigrams, which he writ in his Youth, were for the most Part calculated to kindle in the Breasts of his Readers the impure Desires that burnt in his own.

His Writings.

Pius was a most elegant *Latin* Writer, and left a great Number of Works behind him, most of them written before his Promotion. Of these the following have reached our Times ; Two Books of Memoirs of what passed at the Council of *Basil* from the Deposition of *Eugenius* to the Election of *Felix* ; the History of the *Bobemians* from their Origin to the Year 1458 ; an Abridgment of the Decads of *Blondus Flavius*, who flourished in 1440 ; Two Books of Cosmography ; Two Discourses in Praise of *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, and Notes upon the History of that Prince written by one *Antonio*, a Poet of *Palermo* ; a Poem upon the Passion of our Saviour ; Treatises upon the Education of Children, upon Grammar and Rhetoric, and a Topography of *Germany* ; a Treatise on the *Roman* Empire, and another upon bad Women or Prostitutes ; Two Answers to the *French* Embassadors, charging the Pope in the Council of *Mantua* with Partiality and Injustice in siding with *Ferdinand*, and granting him the Investiture of the Kingdom of

^h Mezerai abreg. chron. tom. 3. p. 456.

ⁱ *Æneas Sylvius*, ep. 15.

Year of
Christ 1464.

did not swear to observe them in case the Election fell upon him. The chief of these Articles were, That he should reform the Abuses that prevailed in the Court, and the corrupt Manners of the Courtiers: That in the Term of Three Years he should hold a Council to unite the *Christian* Princes against the *Turk*, and effectually remove the Disorders, that reigned uncontrouled in the Church: That he should not increase the Number of Cardinals beyond Twenty-four, should create none who were not above Thirty Years of Age, not thoroughly acquainted with the Civil and Canon Law as well as the Scriptures, and of all his Relations he should prefer One only to that Dignity: That he should condemn no Cardinal, nor confiscate his Goods, without the Approbation and Consent of the other Cardinals: That he should not alienate any Part of the Patrimony of St. *Peter* without the Concurrence of the Cardinals: That he should engage in no War, should make no Treaties, should grant the Tenths to no Princes, should impose no new Taxes, nor increase the old Ones, without consulting the Cardinals: That he should trust none but Ecclesiastics, and such of them as were no-ways related to him, with the Government of the most important Places: That he should not give the Government of a Town and its Castle to the same Person, nor the Command of the Army of the Church to any of his own Family. Lastly, that he should cause these Resolutions to be read monthly in a full Consistory, and allow the Cardinals to meet yearly by themselves, in order to enquire whether they have been punctually complied with, and, if it appeared that they have been neglected, to remind his Holiness of his Oath^m.

Paul II.
elected.

The Cardinals, having all taken, in the most solemn Manner, the required Oath, proceeded to the Election; and on the 30th of *August* was elected, by a great Majority, *Peter Barbo*, Cardinal of *St. Mark*. He was come of an ancient Family in *Venice*, was the Son of *Nicholas Barbo* and *Polyxena*, the Sister of Pope *Eugenius IV.* and had from his early Years been brought up for Mercature, which at *Venice* was not, as *Platina* observes, incompatible with Gentility: He had already put all his Things on board in order to proceed on a Voyage; but hearing, before he embarked, that his Uncle was raised to the Papacy, he changed his Mind, and thinking he should thrive better in the Ecclesiastic State than in the Mercantile, he resolved to quit the latter and

^m Bzovius ad ann. 1464, et Quirini in vita Paul. II.

Year of
Christ 1465.

Platina im-
prisoned,
and why.

stored to him the City of *Benevento*, and all the other Places, that were held by the Church within the Limits of the Kingdom, and consequently belonged to the Crown. The Pope threatened the King with Excommunication, and the Kingdom with a general Interdict. But *Ferdinand* having in the mean time sent a Body of Troops to lay Siege to *Benevento*, the Pope, not able to repel Force by Force, sent Cardinal *Rovarella* to accommodate Matters. The Cardinal had several Conferences with the King, but was in the End obliged to acquiesce in his promising to pay what was, *in Justice*, due to the Apostolic Chamber, when he conveniently could p.

Paul, looking upon the Abbreviators, that is, those whose Business it was to abbreviate the Bulls and Letters of the Popes, as useless, discharged them all soon after his Election, though most of them Men of great Learning and known Abilities. As they had purchased their Place, *Platina*, who was One of them, having with great Difficulty obtained an Audience of the Pope, represented to his Holiness how ungenerous it was to dismiss them, though guilty of no Neglect in their Office, without returning to them the Purchase-Money, and begged that the Affair might be referred to the Auditors of the *Rota*. To the Auditors of the *Rota*! replied the Pope with great Wrath, *doest thou summon us before Judges! Doest thou not know that all Laws are lodged in our Breast, in scrinio pectoris nostri: Sentence is given, and all shall obey it: I am Pope, and have a Power to approve or condemn at my Pleasure the Actions of all other Men.* *Platina* applied for another Audience, but not being able to obtain it, when he had waited several Nights (for the Pope, he says, transacted no Business in the Day-time) and despaired of ever getting Admittance, he wrote and sent in to the Pope the following Letter. "If you have thought it lawful to
"deprive us of what we had lawfully purchased, it must be law-
"ful for us to complain of the Injury and Injustice you have done us.
"As you, therefore, will not hear us, we shall apply for Redress to
"the different Kings and Princes, and exhort them to convene a
"Council, in order to call you to an Account for treating us, in De-
"fiance of all the Laws of Justice and Equity, in the Manner you
"have done." This Letter was construed by the Pope into High Treason, and *Platina*, being immediately seized and loaded with Irons,

^p Platina & Summont. tom. 3. p. 474.

Year of
Christ 1467.

City. This Information so alarmed the Pope, that, not allowing himself Time to enquire what Foundation it had in Truth, he ordered all, whom he suspected of Disaffection to his Person or his Government, to be immediately secured, and the unhappy *Platina* among the Rest. His House was, accordingly, surrounded in the Night by a Troop of armed Men, who, breaking open the Door, rushed in, and not finding *Platina* himself, seized One of his Domesticks, *Demetrius of Lucca*, who informed them, being compelled to it by dreadful Menaces, that his Master supped that Night at Cardinal *Gonzaga's*. Upon that Intelligence they flew to the Cardinal's Palace, and entering the very Room where *Platina* sat with the Cardinal, dragged him from thence, and carried him to be examined by the Pope himself, who waited for him. He knew not yet what Crime he had been arraigned of, but when the Pope charged him with being concerned in a Conspiracy, that *Callimachus* had formed against him, he not only vindicated his own Innocence without betraying the least Symptom of Fear or Guilt, but that of *Callimachus* too, shewing him to be of all Men the most unfit to plan a Conspiracy, and much more to head one. When he had done, the Pope, turning to one *Vanefius*, who belonged, it seems, to his Court, *Nothing*, he said, *but the Rack, will make this Man speak the Truth*. He was therefore immediately carried by *Vanefius* to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and the following Night tortured with the utmost Barbarity. While he was groaning on the Rack, and ready to expire amidst the most exquisite Torments, the merciless Priest, for *Vanefius* was of that Order, diverted himself in talking of Love-Affairs with a young Man, named *Sanga*, who was present, asking him what young Lady had presented him with the fine Collar he wore. He now and then interrupted his Discourse with the young Man about his Amours, and such-like Subjects, to interrogate the unhappy Wretch, almost at the last Gasps on the Rack, concerning the Conspiracy and his Accomplices, threatening to double his Torments, if he spoke not the Truth. But as he continued to protest that he knew nothing of a Conspiracy, and verily believed that the pretended Plot was a mere Fiction, he was at last taken off the Rack, and carried to a Room in the Castle, where he would have died of Pain and Hunger, had not a *Roman Knight*, who, being charged with Murder, had been confined in the same Room, generously assisted him both with Food and Medicines. Many others

Year of
Christ 1467.

excelled in any Branch of Literature, in order to excite themselves to an Imitation of those whose Names they bore. But *Pomponius*, when examined in relation to this Custom, contented himself with telling his Examiners, that it neither concerned them nor the Pope by what Name he called himself, so long as there appeared therein no evil Design or Intention. *Platina*, upon his Examination, declared, that he firmly believed all the Articles of the Christian Faith, that no Word had ever dropt out of his Mouth contrary to the Apostles Creed, or that savoured of Heresy, and that he had constantly gone to Confession, and received the Sacrament once a Year. He owned that the Mysteries of the Christian Religion had been sometimes the Subject of their Disputes, but added, that they ought no more to be arraigned or suspected of Heresy on that Account, than the Divines, urging in their Disputes the Objections of the Unbelievers, in order to elucidate the Truth by solving them: The Charge of Heresy was found in the End to be no less groundless than that of Treason. But the Prisoners were, by the Pope's Order, nevertheless detained a whole Twelve-month, to persuade the World that they were not quite innocent of the Charge brought against them; and thus palliate his Holiness's Injustice and Cruelty^s.

Some parti-
cular Actions
of this Pope.

Nothing occurs worthy of Notice in the Four remaining Years of *Paul's* Pontificate, besides his receiving and treating with the utmost Magnificence the Emperor *Frideric*, come to fulfil a Vow he had made to visit the Tombs of the Apostles; his making up the Differences of the *Italian* States and Princes, and thus restoring Peace to that Country; his quarrelling with *Robert Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*, and laying Siege to that City without being able to reduce it; his ordering the Jubilee to be celebrated every Twenty-fifth Year; his striving, but in vain, to unite the Christian Princes against the victorious Infidels, and his endeavouring, with no better Success, to get the Revocation of the *Pragmatic* confirmed in *France*. He died suddenly of an Apoplexy in the Night of the 25th of *July* 1471, no one being present to afford him any Assistance. He had held a Consistory that Day, had supped late at Night, according to his Custom, and eat at Supper Two very large Melons, *Duos prægrandes pepones*, a Fruit, which he was extremely fond of. He held the See Six Years, Ten Months,

His Death.
Year of
Christ 1471.

^s *Platina in vit.*

and

Year of
Christ 1471.

no better the other Articles he had sworn to, pretending all Promises, Oaths, and Conventions, calculated to limit the unlimited Power vested by *Christ* himself in his Vicar upon Earth, to be void and in themselves null.

FRIDERIC III.
Emperor of the West.

SIXTUS IV.

The Two Hundred and Tenth BISHOP of Rome.

Sixtus IV.
elected.

His Birth
and Employ-
ments before
his Election.

IN the Room of *Paul II.* was unanimously elected by the Seventeen Cardinals then in *Rome Francis della Rovere*, a *Franciscan* Friar, or *Minorite*. His Election happened on the 9th of *August* of the present Year 1471, when the See had been vacant Fourteen Days. At his Election he took the Name of *Sixtus IV.* and was crowned under that Name on the 25th of the same Month of *August*. He was descended, according to the most probable Opinion, from the very ancient and noble Family *Della Rovere* of *Savona* in the State of *Genoa*, but was born in a Village named *Cella*, about Five Miles distant from *Savona*, whither his Parents had retired to avoid the Plague then raging in that City. He embraced, when yet very young, a religious Life among the *Franciscans*, and being endowed with very uncommon Parts, he soon became, by constant Application, one of the most learned Men of the Order, was chosen, when not yet Thirty Years of Age, to teach Philosophy and Divinity in the most renowned Universities of *Italy*, and so acquitted himself in these Employments as to be universally looked upon as a Kind of Prodigy. When he had done teaching, he was raised by his Superiors to the chief Employments of the Order, and having discharged them all with uncommon Applause, was at last created General of the whole Order. Being known in that Office to the famous Cardinal *Bessarion*, and to *Francis Gonzaga*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, he was, upon their Recommendation, preferred by *Paul II.* to the Dignity of Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* on the 18th of *October* 1467, and, upon the Death of *Paul*, raised to the Pontificate, in the Fifty-third Year of his Age, by the Interest of the same Cardinals, and that of the Cardinals *Latinus Urfini* and *Roderic Borgia*, both

both leading Men in the Conclave w. From the *Vatican* the new Pope went to the *Lateran*, to be crowned there, not on Horseback, as was usual, but in a Sedan, which had nigh cost him his Life. For the Horsemen, who attended the Pope, having trampled upon some of the Populace in clearing the Way, a furious Battle thereupon ensued between them and the Multitude; and they, who carried the Sedan, setting it down in the Height of the Fray to shelter themselves in the Crowd from the Showers of Stones, discharged at the Guards by the enraged Mob, his Holiness was left in imminent Danger of being knocked on the Head, or stifled in the Crowd. But Cardinal *Ursini*, a *Roman*, and a great Favourite of the *Roman* People, interposing, they were appeased, and prevailed upon to disperse *.

Year of
Christ 1471.

As the *Turks* had made themselves Masters of *Bosnia*, *Istria*, and great Part of *Dalmatia*, and threatened *Italy* itself with an Invasion, *Sixtus*, in the Letter he wrote to the Christian Princes to acquaint them with his Promotion, took care to represent to them their common Danger, and at the same time invite them to assist at the Council, which he intended to assemble very soon in the *Lateran*, in order to provide, jointly with them, for their common Safety. But the Pope and the Emperor disagreeing about the Place where the Council should be held, and neither yielding to the other, *Sixtus*, laying aside all Thoughts of a Council, resolved, with the Advice of the Cardinals, to send Legates into all the Christian Kingdoms to reconcile the Princes then at War, and promote a general League against the inveterate Enemies of the Christian Name. Pursuant to this Resolution Cardinal *Beffarion* was sent into *France*, Cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, at this Time Chancellor of the Apostolic See, and afterwards Pope under the Name of *Alexander VI.* was sent into *Spain*, and Cardinal *Barbo*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, into *Germany* and *Hungary*. To each of these Legates were assigned Five hundred Florins of Gold a Month out of the Apostolic Chamber; which obliged the Pope, as he was at the same time daily importuned by the Creditors of the Four preceding Popes, to dispose of the Jewels and precious Stones, which his Predecessor had purchased at an immense Expence, and had only left Five thousand Florins in the Treasury. The Legates spared no Pains to compose

Strives to
unite the
Christian
Princes a-
gainst the
Turks.

* Onuph. in Sixto IV.

* Idem ibid.

Year of the Differences of the Princes, to whom they were sent; but their
Christ 1471. Endeavours were no-where attended with the least Success ⁷.

What Success The Pope, now despairing of being able to arm the *French*, the
attended the *Spaniards*, or the *Germans* against the common Enemy, had Recourse
Fleet sent to those, whom it more nearly concerned to oppose them, to the
against them. *Venetians*, and to *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*. The *Venetians* supplied
Year of him with Fifty Gallies, and the King of *Naples* with Twenty-four.
Christ 1472.

To these *Sixtus* added Twenty-four of his own. But the only Ex-
ploits, performed by this mighty Fleet of Ninety-eight Gallies in the
Space of Two Years, were the recovering of *Smyrna*, and the break-
ing of an Iron Chain, which the *Turks* had laid cross the Mouth of
another Harbour. They attacked the Place, but being repulsed by
the *Turks* they soon raised the Siege, contenting themselves with the
Glory of having broken the Chain, which they carried with them in
Triumph to *Rome*; and it was still to be seen in the Time of *Omu-*
phrius, hanging before the Door of *St. Peter's Church*, as a Trophy,
or Token of so signal a Victory ².

Sixtus clears The Pope, discouraged with the little Success his Fleet had met
the Ecclesi- with in the Expedition against the *Turks*, though it had cost him One
astical State hundred Sixty-five thousand Florins, resolved to turn his Arms against
of the petty the petty Tyrants, who held several Cities with their Territories, that
Tyrants. belonged to the Church, and governed them as independent Sove-
Year of reigns. With that View he raised a numerous Army, and being
Christ 1474. powerfully assisted by *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, with whom he had
entered into an offensive and defensive Alliance, he soon cleared the
State of those Usurpers, and, re-uniting the Places they possessed to
the Apostolic See, doubled, almost, by that Means, his yearly In-
come ².

He celebrates As *Paul II.* had reduced the Jubile to every Twenty-fifth Year, that
the Jubile. Solemnity was kept by *Sixtus* in 1475, that being the Twenty-fifth
Year of Year since the Celebration of the last under *Nicholas V.* in 1450.
Christ 1475. *Rome* was not so crowded with Pilgrims at this as it had been at most
other Jubiles, on Account of the War, that most Christian States and
Kingdoms were, at this Time, engaged in with one another. But
to no other Jubile came so many sovereign Princes, as are said to have

⁷ Idem ibid. et Bzovius ad ann. 1472.
Claconius.

² Onuph. ibid.

² Idem ibid. et

come to this. These were *Christiernus*, King of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, the King of *Bosnia*, and *Walachia*, *Charlot*, Queen of *Cyprus*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, with his eldest Son *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*. *Ferdinand* had quarrelled, as we have seen, with the late Pope about the Arrears of the Sum, which he was to pay yearly into the Apostolic Chamber, as Feudatory of the Apostolic See; and it was, as most Authors suppose, chiefly to accommodate that Difference with *Sixtus* himself, that he came to *Rome*. The Pope received and entertained both him and his Son, with the utmost Magnificence, in the Apostolic Palace, during their Stay in *Rome*, and not only remitted all the Arrears of the Tribute, but, by a special Bull, absolved the King from the Obligation of paying any for the future, only requiring him to send yearly in lieu of the stipulated Sum, a white *Spanish* Genet, as an Acknowledgement of his holding his Crown of the Apostolic See ^b. This Custom is still observed; and on *St. Peter's* Festival a white Genet is yearly presented to his Holiness by the Ambassador of the King of *Naples* in his Master's Name.

Year of
Christ 1475.

Sixtus had long borne a secret Grudge to the Two Brothers *Lawrence* ^{Occasion of} and *Julian de Medicis*, who at this Time governed in the Republic of *Florence*. His Holiness had refused to confer the Dignity of Cardinal ^{of the Quarrel} upon *Julian*; which so provoked both him and his Brother *Lawrence*, ^{between Sixtus and the} *De Medicis*, that when the Pope undertook to extirpate the petty Tyrants throughout the Ecclesiastical State, they supported them under-hand both with Men and Money; and, besides, being informed that the Lord of *Imola*, in *Romagna*, was forced by his Necessities to dispose of that Lordship, and that the Pope was about purchasing it for One of his Nephews, they, to prevent its falling into his Hands, as he was already become One of the most powerful Princes of *Italy*, supplied the Owner with all the Money he wanted, and thus disappointed the Pope of the intended Purchase. This Conduct *Sixtus* highly resented, and being a Man of a most violent and vindictive Temper, and One, who stuck at nothing to aggrandize the very numerous Tribe of his Nephews and Relations, he concluded a secret Treaty with *Francis de Pazzi*, a wealthy and powerful Citizen of *Florence*, who was at the Head of the Party against the *De Medicis*. The chief Articles of that

^b Onuph. in Sixto IV. et Summont. Hist. Neap. tom. 3. p. 474.

Year of
Christ 1476.

Sixtus enters
into a Con-
spiracy a-
gainst them.

Treaty were, That the Two Brothers should be assassinated, and that upon their Death the Pope should dispose of the Republic as he thought proper. But that his Holiness might not be thought to have been privy to so wicked an Attempt, or, as an Historian expresses it, to have opened his *sacred and holy Ears* to so horrible a Plot, the managing of it was committed to *Jerome Riario*, the Son of One of the Pope's Sisters, upon whom, it is supposed, that he intended to bestow the City and Republic of *Florence*, should the Conspiracy take Effect. *Jerome* in the First Place engaged *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, to send an Army into *Tuscany* under the Command of his Son *Alphonso*, to protect the Conspirators, whether their Attempt was, or was not, attended with Success. In the next Place he communicated the whole Affair to One *John Baptist Montesecco*, a bold enterprising Man, and an avowed Enemy to the *De Medicis*; and by him the Time and Place were settled with the other Conspirators for carrying their Design into Execution. As they knew that the Two Brothers would assist at Mass in the Church of *St. Reparata* on *Sunday* the 26th of *April*, that Day and Place were pitched upon, and the Elevation of the Host was to be the Signal for the Conspirators to fall upon them. Accordingly at that Signal *Bernard Bandini*, falling upon *Julian*, mortally wounded him with a Stiletto, and *Francis de Pazzi* dispatched him with repeated Blows as he lay on the Ground. *Lawrence*, being but slightly wounded by *Montesecco*, fled into the Vestry, and the Sextons shutting immediately the Door, he was saved, by that Means, from the Fury of the other Conspirators.

Julian De
Medicis mur-
dered, but
Lawrence
escapes.

Year of
Christ 1477.

Most of the
Conspirators
taken and
executed.

The Report of so black an Attempt spread in a Moment all over the City; and the Friends of the *De Medicis*, hearing that *Julian* was killed, but *Lawrence* had escaped, flew to Arms, and, in the Height of their Rage, hanged, on the Spot, such of the Conspirators as fell into their Hands. Among these were *Francis de Pazzi*, *James Poggi*, Son of the famous Historian of that Name, *Bernard Bandini*, a Priest named *Stephen*, and *Bartholomew Salviati*, Archbishop of *Pisa*, but a Native of *Florence*, and an Enemy to the Family *De Medicis*.—That Prelate, to encourage the Conspirators with his Presence, had assisted with them at Mass in his Pontificals on the Day appointed for the Execution of their Design; and with them he was hanged in his Pontificals by the enraged Multitude. The Pope had ordered *Raphael Riario*,

Riario, Nephew to *Jerome*, a Youth but already a Cardinal, to repair from *Pisa*, where he was pursuing his Studies, to *Florence*, that he might be at hand to take the Conspirators, when they had executed their Design, into his Protection, and the Protection of the Apostolic See. But the Cardinal, finding that *Lawrence* had escaped, and the Conspirators were all executed as soon as taken, instead of protecting others flew himself for Protection to the High Altar. But he was dragged from thence by the incensed Populace, and would have undergone the same Fate as the other Conspirators, had not *Lawrence* generously interposed in his Behalf. He was however committed to Prison. But *Lawrence* interposing again in his Favour, he was, after a few Days Confinement, set at Liberty. *Montesecco* was likewise executed, but being first put to the Torture, it appeared from his Confession upon the Rack, that the Pope was the chief Author and Promoter of so execrable a Plot.

Year of
Christ 1477.

Most Authors are of Opinion, that it was not so much to wreak his Vengeance upon the Family *De Medicis*, that the Pope countenanced that Conspiracy, as to make himself Master of the Republic of *Florence*, and grant it to his Nephew *Jerome Riario*, as a Fief of the Apostolic See; and *Onuphrius* tells us in express Terms, that *Sixtus* entered into the Conspiracy upon Condition that, if it succeeded, he should be allowed to dispose of the Republic to whom he pleased. However that be, the Pope no sooner heard that the Conspiracy had not been attended with the wished-for Success, that *Lawrence de Medicis* was still alive, and that the Archbishop had been put to Death, and the Cardinal imprisoned, than he thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against *Lawrence*, though the Cardinal owed to him both his Life and his Liberty, and it did not appear that he had been any-ways accessory to the Death of the Archbishop. At the same time he put the whole City under an Interdict, declaring that he would not take it off, till they had driven out of their Republic the Tyrant *Lawrence de Medicis*. But no Regard being paid by the *Florentines* to the Interdict, he resolved to employ against them his temporal as well as his spiritual Weapons. And thus was a War kindled by the Pope in *Italy*, at the very Time that the *Turkish Fleet* was hovering on the Coast, and threatening a Descent. The King of *Naples*, siding

Lawrence de Medicis excommunicated, and the City interdicted.
Year of
Christ 1478.

The Pope declares War against the Florentines.

† Machiavel. Hist. Floren. l. 8. Comines Memoir. l. 6. Paulus Æmil. in Ludov. XI.

Year of
Christ 1478.

with the Pope, sent a considerable Body of Troops to his Assistance under the Command of his Son *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*. On the other hand the *Venetians*, the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Ferrara*, and *Lewis Sforza*, who at this Time governed the State of *Milan* as Guardian to his Nephew *John Galeazzo*, declared for the *Florentines*, being all alike jealous of the Power and Designs of the Pope, who seemed to have nothing less in his View than to subject to his See the many small Principalities, into which *Italy* was divided. At the same time *Lawrence de Medicis* dispatched, in the Name of the Republic, some of the chief Citizens into *France* to acquaint the King, *Lewis XI.* with the Subject of the Quarrel between him and the Pope, and to crave his Protection. *Lewis*, shocked at the Account the Embassadors gave him of the Proceedings of the Pope against the *De Medicis* and the *Florentines*, espoused their Cause very readily, assured them of his Protection, and sent immediately *Philip de Comines* with a Body of Three hundred Horse to their Assistance.

But is forced
to conclude a
Peace, and
upon what
Terms.

Year of
Christ 1479.

Lewis, having thus taken *Lawrence de Medicis* and the *Florentines* into his Protection, sent the following Year a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, at the Head of which was *Gui d'Arpajon*, Viscount de *Lautrec*. Their Instructions were to require the Pope, in the King's Name, to revoke the Sentence of Excommunication, to take off the Interdict, and forbear all further Hostilities against the *Florentines*. If he complied not with these Demands, they were to notify to him, that the King would appeal to a General Council, and insist upon his assembling one; that he would cause the Pragmatic Sanction to be strictly observed throughout his Dominions, and would suffer no Money to be conveyed from thence to *Rome*. The Embassadors met with a more favourable Reception from the Pope than they had Reason to expect, but found him unalterably determined, in spite of the King's Menaces, to pursue the War against the *Florentines*, till they gave him due Satisfaction for the Death of the Archbishop, and the Imprisonment of the Cardinal. But *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, being, in the mean time, prevailed upon by *Lawrence de Medicis* to conclude a separate Peace with the Republic, the Pope, unable to withstand alone the united Forces of the *Florentines* and their Allies, was glad to come to an Agreement with them; and, by the Interposition of the Emperor, of the King

* Ouph. in Sixto, et Comin. ubi supra.

Sixtus IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

311

of *France*, and the other Christian Princes, an Agreement was accordingly concluded upon the following Terms; that all Places, taken by either Party, during the War, should be restored; that the *Florentines* should, by a solemn Embassy, ask his Holiness's Pardon for having put to Death an Archbishop, and imprisoned a Cardinal; that, to atone, in some Degree, for so enormous a Crime, they should furnish and maintain Fifteen Gallies against the *Turks*, and that the Pope, on his Side, should absolve them from the Interdict, and all other Censures, and receive them again into Favour d. These Articles were all executed before the End of the present Year.

Year of
Christ 1479.

Thus was Peace restored to *Italy*, but it was soon succeeded by a far more dangerous War. For the *Turks* having laid Siege to the City of *Rhodes*, but been obliged to raise it by the vigorous Resistance they met with from the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, then Lords of that City and Island, they unexpectedly appeared with a formidable Fleet before *Otranto* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Some Writers tell us that they were encouraged by the *Venetians*, jealous of the too great Power of King *Ferdinand*, to invade his Dominions e. Be that as it may, the *Turks*, having landed a numerous Body of Foot, and Five thousand Horse, laid close Siege to the Place, and, having taken it by Storm after a Two Months Siege, plundered it, and, enraged at the Resistance they had met with, put the whole Garrison, and Eight hundred Citizens, to the Sword. Their having thus got Footing in *Italy* so alarmed the *Italian* Princes, that some of them, instead of defending the Country, thought of abandoning it. *Sixtus*, among the Rest, had resolved to leave *Rome*, and retire to *France*. But being somewhat recovered from his Fear, he immediately dispatched Legates and Nuncios to the Courts of all the Christian Princes to apprize them of his Danger, and implore their Assistance. At the same time *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, returning with the Army under his Command from *Tuscany*, and being joined by all the Barons of the Kingdom and their Vassals, the *Turks*, instead of laying Siege, as they intended, to *Brindisi*, thought it advisable to fortify themselves in *Otranto*, and there wait for a Body of Twenty-five thousand Men, that was in full March to join them. *Alphonso* besieged the Place with a supe-

Otranto
taken by the
Turks.
Year of
Christ 1480.

d Volaterran. l. 5. Brutus Hist. Florent. l. 7. Onuph. in Sixto. Ezovius ad ann. 1480.

e Galat. de Situ Japigia, et Amorat. Miscell. Dif. 8.

Year of
Christ 1480.

rior Force both by Sea and Land; and he daily received new Succours from the Christian Princes, especially from the Pope, and the Kings of *Hungary, Portugal, and Spain*. On the other hand the Besieged made a most obstinate Defence, killed, in their frequent Sallies, great Numbers of the Besiegers, and, expecting daily the promised Reinforcement, would hearken to no Terms, though reduced to the utmost Extremity. But, fortunately for *Italy*, *Mabomet* died in the mean

And retaken
by the Chri-
stians.

Year of
Christ 1481.

time, viz. on the 3d of *May* 1481, and the *Turks* in *Otranto*, apprehending that, upon his Death, the Reinforcement they expected might be countermanded, and otherwise employed, thought it adviseable to surrender the Place, which they could no longer hold; and, accordingly, honourable Terms being granted to them, it was on the 10th of *August* of the present Year delivered up to *Alphonso* by the commanding Bashaw, who, to the inexpressible Joy of all *Italy*, immediately embarked his Troops, and set Sail for *Constantinople* &c.

New Distur-
bances in
Italy foment-
ed by the
Pope.

Year of
Christ 1483.

The Fear of the *Turk* being thus removed for the present, the *Italian* Princes, jealous of each other's Power, began anew to quarrel among themselves; and the Pope, instead of interposing to accommodate their Differences, took Part sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other, not scrupling to change Sides, and abandon his Allies, when it suited his Interest so to do. Thus a War breaking out, upon the Retreat of the *Turk*, between the *Venetians*, the *Genoeses*, and some other free States of *Italy* on the one Side, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, the King of *Naples*, the *Florentines*, and *Lewis Sforza*, Regent of the State of *Milan*, on the other; *Sixtus* sided with the former: And thus was all *Italy* involved in a new and most bloody War. In this War *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, highly provoked at the Pope's inviting *René*, Duke of *Anjou*, into *Italy*, to make good his Claim to that Kingdom, sent his Son *Alphonso* into the Dominions of the Church at the Head of a numerous Army to lay Siege to *Rome*, and take his Holiness himself Prisoner. But *Alphonso* being met, in the Neighbourhood of *Veletri*, by the Pope's Army under the Command of *Robert Malatesta*, and a Battle thereupon ensuing at a Place called *Campo Morto*, the King's Army received a total Overthrow, most of his Officers were either killed or made Prisoners, and carried in Tri-

* Bonfinius, Decad 4. Brutus Hist. Florent. l. 7. Onuph. in Sixto.

Sixtus IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

313

umph into *Rome*, *Alphonso* himself having narrowly escaped falling into the Enemy's Hands &c. Year of
Christ 1483.

When this War had been carried on Two Years without any considerable Advantage on either Side, a Peace was concluded to the entire Satisfaction of both Parties. But *Sixtus* was too fond of War to live long in Peace. As the *Venetians*, therefore, had seized on some Territories claimed by the Duke of *Ferrara*, he took that Pretence to declare War against them; and entering into an Alliance with the King of *Naples*, with the *Florentines*, and *Lewis Sforza* of *Milan*, threw all *Italy* again into the utmost Confusion, when they had scarce begun to taste the Sweets of Peace and Tranquillity. The *Venetians* suffered greatly in this War. But when the Pope thought he had them at his Mercy, his Allies, growing as jealous of his Power as he was of the Power of that Republic, concluded a Peace with them quite unknown to him, being well apprized that he would leave nothing in his Power unattempted to obstruct it. As he had promised himself great Advantages from this War, he was so affected with the News of a Peace being concluded without his Consent or Knowledge, that it brought upon him a most violent Fit of the Gout, a Distemper to which he had been long subject; and it put an End to his Life in Five Days Time, when he had held the See Thirteen Years and Four Days, and had lived Seventy Years and Twenty-two Days. The Circumstances of his Death gave Occasion to several ingenious Compositions, and among the Rest we read the Three following: Sixtus makes
War upon the
Venetians.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 1484.

To what
owing.

*Non potuit sævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum :
Audito tandem nomine pacis, obit.*

*Dic unde, Aleſto, pax iſta refulſit, et unde
Tam ſubito reticent prælia? Sixtus obit.*

Pacis ut hoſtis eras, pace peremptus obis.

Sixtus carried Nepotiſm to the moſt ſcandalous Height, all the Oppreſſions, Rapines, Murders, and Violences, of which he was guilty, being wholly owing to his immoderate Affection for his Ne-

His Cha-
raſter.

ſ Brutus in Hiſt. Florent. Onuph. in Sixto. Ezovius ad ann. 1481.

Year of
Christ 1484.

His Nepo-
tism.

phews and Relations, and his Desire of enriching and aggrandizing them. He was scarce warm in the Chair, when he created Two of them Cardinals, *Julian della Rovere*, his Brother's Son, and *Peter Riario*, the Son of his Sister, though the former was but Twenty-eight Years of Age at the Time of his Promotion, and the latter only Twenty-six. Of *Julian* I shall have Occasion to speak in the Sequel under the Name of Pope *Julius II.* As for the other, he enjoyed his new Dignity Two Years only: But affecting all the Grandeur of a great Prince in his Equipage, in his Entertainments, and in public Sports, he spent, in so short a Time, Two hundred thousand Florins of Gold, and left a Debt of Seventy thousand. His Brother *Jerome Riario* was created by the Pope Prince of *Imola* and *Forli*, and married to *Catherine*, the natural Daughter of the Duke of *Milan*, whose younger Son *Ascanius* was, on that Account, preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal. *Leonard della Rovere*, another of the Pope's Nephews, was married to the natural Daughter of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, and made upon that Marriage Governor of *Rome*. But he dying soon after, that Government was given to *John della Rovere*, the Brother of Cardinal *Julian*, and with it the Principalities of *Sora* and *Sinigalia*. *John*, being thus become a Prince, married *Joan*, the Daughter of *Frideric* of *Montefeltro*, Duke of *Urbino*, and had by her a Son, named *Francis Mary*, who by the Death of *Frideric*, as he had no other Child, and of his Brother *Guidobaldi*, who had none, succeeded to the Dukedom. And thus did the Pope's Family become Lords of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, which, upon the Extinction of that Family, reverted, as a Fief of the *Roman* Church, to the Apostolic See. *Sixtus* took care to provide for all his other Nephews and Relations; and that, indeed, seems to have been his first and chief Care. His other Nephews *Christopher*, *Dominic*, *Jerome Bassus*, *Raphael*, were all created Cardinals in the Course of his Pontificate, though *Raphael* was but Seventeen Years of Age when preferred to that Dignity. In short, he left not one of his very numerous Relations, how distant soever, unprovided for, though most of them had no other Merit to recommend them, but their being related to him, which was, indeed, of all other Recommendations by far the most powerful.

As the several Wars that *Sixtus* was engaged in (for he is said to have made War upon the whole World) the many stately Edifices he erected,

erected, the Pomp and Grandeur in which he lived, and above all the Extravagance of his Nephews, had quite drained his Coffers, he stuck at nothing to replenish them, exacting, under various Pretences, such Sums of the Clergy, as scarce left them enough for their own Subsistence. He was not even ashamed to expose all the Employments and Offices at Court to public Sale, nay and to establish a great many new Ones, which were all sold to the highest Bidder. Thus all Bulls and Patents, that had before been dispatched by few Persons, passed now through the Hands of many, and, as all had purchased their Places, all were to be paid for their *unnecessary* Trouble by those, in whose Favour the said Bulls and Patents had been granted.—But, after all, to give this Pope his Due, no Man was more generous in relieving the Distressed than he. The Prince of *Morea*, the Despot of *Albania*, the Queens of *Cyprus* and *Bosnia*, being forced by the *Turk* to abandon their Dominions, were kindly received by him, and maintained, at a great Expence, suitably to their Rank. He rebuilt from the Foundation the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, placed the Foundlings in it, maintained them at his own Expence, and gave proper Fortunes to such of the Girls as chose to marry. This, if I mistake not, is the first Instance that occurs in History of such a truly charitable Foundation, and the Hospital of *S. Spirito* in *Rome*, is to this Day the most famous, and, perhaps, the best endowed in all *Christianity*. He took particular Care of the decayed Nobility, allotted them a proper Habitation, where they lived together by themselves, and supplied them with all the Comforts as well as the Necessaries of Life. He repaired many, I may say, most of the chief Churches in *Rome*, erected a great Number of stately Edifices, restored the decayed Aqueducts, rebuilt the *Pons Janicularis* over the *Tyber*, known to this Day, as some of its Arches still remain, by the Name of *Ponte Sisto*, and, in short, he left, at his Death, the City so improved, that One would have thought he had made it the whole Business of his Pontificate to beautify and adorn it. But what most of all redounds to his Glory, and must render immortal the Name of *Sixtus IV.* was his founding the *Vatican Library*, that inestimable Collection of all the most useful and valuable Books in the different Branches of Literature. For by him such Books were purchased, and at any Rate, in all Parts of the then known World, and placed in his new Library; Men well versed

Year of
Christ 1484.

In his Time
all Offices
venal.

His Charities
and public
Works.

Founds the
Vatican Li-
brary.

Year of
Christ 1484.

in the *Hebrew, Greek, and Latin* Languages, were appointed, with considerable Salaries, to take Care of them, and Funds were assigned for adding such others to them, as should be judged by the Library-keepers worthy of a Place in so valuable a Collection ^h. *Platina*, who had suffered so much under *Paul II.* was appointed One of the Library-keepers, and in that Office he died in 1481, being at the Time of his Death in the 60th Year of his Age.—*Sixtus* created, during the Thirteen Years of his Pontificate, no fewer than Thirty-four Cardinals, and among them *John Baptist Cibo*, who succeeded him under the Name of *Innocent VIII.* and *John*, the Third Son of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Arragon*.

His Writings.

That *Sixtus* was a learned Writer is allowed by all who speak of him; and indeed the Writings he left behind him sufficiently show it, viz. a Treatise on the Blood of *Christ*, another on the Power of God, a Third *De futuris contingentibus*, and a Fourth upon Indulgences granted for the Relief of the Souls in Purgatory. But what gained him most Credit was the Piece he writ to reconcile the *Thomists* and *Scotists*, or the Followers, in School Divinity, of *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*, shewing, that in Substance they agreed, and only differed in the Mode of Expression. Of this Pope we have 135 Letters upon different Subjects, and several Bulls, by One of which he forbade the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *Mary* to be thenceforth disputed, and by another he confirmed that of his Predecessor, appointing the Jubilee to be celebrated every Twenty-fifth Year ⁱ.——As for the Charge, brought against him by some Protestant Writers, viz. his having granted a Permission to the Family of the Cardinal of *St. Lucia* to indulge themselves in the Sin against Nature, during the Three hot Months of the Year, *June, July, and August*, it has been unanswerably confuted by the learned *Bayle* ^k. *Sixtus* was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, before the High Altar, with an Epitaph, recording all the chief Actions of his Life, the Time of his Death, and the Years, Days, and Hours he had lived. For he is said there to have died on the 13th of *August* 1484, Five Hours after Sun-set, when he had lived Seventy Years Twenty-two Days and Twelve Hours.

^h Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1481. Bonfinius Decad. 6. Bibliothec. Ord. Minor.

^k Bayle Crit. Dict. art. Sixto IV. rem. C.

ⁱ Wadding.

FRIDERIC III.
Emperor of the West.

INNOCENT VIII.

The Two Hundred and Eleventh BISHOP of Rome.

S*XI***TUS** was succeeded, after a Vacancy of Sixteen Days, by *John Baptist Cibo*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Melfi*, from ^{Year of Christ 1484.} his having been preferred from that Bishopric to the Dignity of ^{Innocent VIII. elected.} Cardinal. He was raised to the See on the 29th of *August* by the Suffrages of Twenty-four Cardinals out of Twenty-eight, was crowned on the 12th of the following *September*, and on that Occasion took the Name of *Innocent VIII.* in Memory of his Countryman *Innocent IV.* a Native of *Genoa* as well as himself. For the present Pope's Family, ^{Birth, Employment, &c. before his Promotion.} said to have come originally from *Greece*, had, for several Ages, made a shining Figure in that Republic. His Father, *Aaron Cibo*, had served with great Reputation, in the Wars of *Naples*, first under *René*, of *Anjou*, and, upon his Retreat, under his Competitor *Alphonso* of *Aragon*, and had been honoured by both with a considerable Command in the Army. His Son, born in 1432, was greatly favoured both by *Alphonso*, and *Ferdinand*, *Alphonso's* Son and Successor. However he left that Court, to try his Fortune at *Rome*; and he had not been long in that City, when *Philip*, Cardinal of *Bologna*, Brother to Pope *Nicholas V.* taken with his Parts and Address, received him into his Family; and so pleased was the Cardinal with his whole Behaviour, that at his Death he left him his stately Palace of *St. Lawrence in Lucina*. At the Recommendation of the same Cardinal he was preferred by *Paul II.* to the Bishopric of *Savona*, was soon afterwards translated by *Sixtus IV.* to that of *Melfi*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and on the 7th of *May* 1473 was by the same Pope created Cardinal. That Dignity he chiefly owed to *Julian della Rovere*, Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, and Nephew to *Sixtus*; and it was by the Interest which *Julian*, and Cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, then Chancellor, had in the Conclave, that, upon the Death of *Sixtus*, he was raised to the See in his Room¹.

Innocent's first Care, after his Coronation, was to promote Peace and ^{Strives to unite the Christian} Union among the Christian Princes, and apprise them of the Danger

¹ Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

which

Year of
Christ 1484.

Princes
against the
Turks.

which they were all alike threatened with; the Enemy, whom they suffered thus to pursue his Conquests unmolested, aiming at nothing less than to establish upon the Ruins of their States, Kingdoms, and Dominions, an universal Monarchy, and with it the most detestable of all Superstitions. But his Endeavours to reconcile the *Christian* Princes, and unite them against the common Enemy, were attended with no better Success than those of his Predecessors; and indeed no Wonder, *Innocent* himself quarrelling with *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, and putting all *Italy* in a Flame, at the very Time he was exhorting the *Christian* Princes to Concord and Unity.

Quarrels
with the
King of
Naples.

Year of
Christ 1485.

Sixtus had remitted to *Ferdinand*, as has been said above, the Arrears of the Tribute due to the Apostolic Chamber, and contented himself with the King's presenting him thenceforth yearly on *St. Peter's Day* with a White *Spanish* Genet. The King therefore, upon the First Notice he had of *Innocent's* Promotion, applied to him for the same Favour, alleging the great Expence he had been at in driving the *Turks* out of *Otranto*, and the necessary Charge of keeping constantly on foot a numerous Army for the Defence of his Kingdom, the Bulwark of *Italy*. But by no Reasons, no Remonstrances, could his Holiness be prevailed upon either to remit the Arrears of the Tribute, or to content himself, for the future, with the Genet in lieu of the usual Sum. On the other Hand, the King refusing to pay a Debt and Tribute, from the Payment of which the late Pope had been pleased to absolve him, several smart Letters passed between him and the Pope; and it was apprehended that an open Rupture soon would ensue. This encouraged the discontented Barons of the Kingdom, who had formed a Design of deposing *Ferdinand*, and excluding his Son *Alphonso* from the Succession, to impart that their Design to the Pope, and engage his Holiness in the Plot. As this good Pope had several natural Children, and flattered himself, that these public Disturbances would afford him the Means of providing for them all, he very readily took Part with the Rebels, promising them all the Assistance in his Power to carry their Design into Execution, and a safe Asylum in his Dominions, should it not be attended with the wished-for Success. To procure the Assistance of *France*, and thus secure the Success of the Undertaking, he resolved to restore the Kingdom to the Family of *Anjou*. As none of that Family were now remaining but *René*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the Son

Joins the Re-
bel Barons
against him.

Innocent VIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

319

of *Violante*, Daughter to *René* the Elder, the Pope sent to invite him to come with all Expedition, and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, promising to assist him with his Spiritual as well as his Temporal Arms, and grant him the Investiture, provided the Duke, in his Turn, promised to bestow certain Lordships and Honours upon his Son *Francis*, commonly called *Franciscetto*. But *René*, mindful of the bad Success, which his Ancestors had all met with in their Wars for that Kingdom, thanked the Pope for his kind Offer, but declined it ^m.

Year of
Christ 1485.

In the mean time *Ferdinand*, receiving private Intelligence of the Designs of the Barons, ordered One of them, the Count of *Nola*, to be arrested. The Count had the good Luck to make his Escape; but his Wife and Children were taken, and carried Prisoners to *Castel Nuovo* in *Naples*. The Barons, alarmed at their Imprisonment, flew to Arms, and, openly shaking off the Yoke, invited all true Lovers of their Country to join them, and redeem themselves, their Wives, and their Children from the slavish Condition which they had been reduced to by Two lawless Tyrants. As both *Ferdinand*, and his Son *Alphonso*, to whom *Ferdinand* had yielded the Reins of the Government on Account of his Age and Infirmities, were universally hated for their Cruelties and Oppressions, People flocked from all Parts to join the Barons; insomuch that *Ferdinand*, instead of marching against them, chose to treat with them, in order to gain Time; and grant them what Terms soever they should demand, being determined to observe them no longer than he could break them with Safety. *Antonetto Sansverino*, Prince of *Salerno* and High Admiral of the Kingdom, was appointed by the Barons to treat, in their Name, with the King; and though the Terms he demanded were such as no Man could expect the King would ever agree to, yet he very readily agreed to them all, pretending a great Desire to leave the Kingdom in Peace at his Death. The Prince, pretending to believe him sincere, desired that *Frideric*, his Second Son, might be sent to *Salerno*, where the chief Barons were assembled, in order to put the last Hand to the Treaty. *Frideric* was sent accordingly, and received by the Barons with the greatest Marks of Respect and Esteem. He was a Prince endowed with every princely Virtue, of a mild Disposition, humane, beneficent, and had, by his obliging Behaviour to all, gained the Hearts of the whole Nation. The

The Conspiracy of the Barons discovered by the King.

^m Mich. Ric. de reg. Sic. & Neap. l. 4. p. 36.

Year of
Christ 1485.
They offer the
Crown to his
Second Son.

Barons therefore, hearing that *René* of *Anjou* had refused the Crown when offered to him by the Pope, had resolved to dispose of it to *Frideric*, and it was with that View, under Colour of having the Treaty with the King signed by him, that they desired he might be sent to *Salerno*. The Barons had several Conferences with him before they discovered to him their real Design. But the Prince of *Salerno*, having One Day invited him to meet the Barons in his Palace, and placed him in an eminent and stately Seat in the Middle of the Assembly, addressed him in the following Terms: “ You are no Stranger
“ to the cruel, oppressive, and tyrannical Government of your Father
“ *Ferdinand*, and your Brother *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*. Their
“ illegal and arbitrary Proceedings have obliged us to take up Arms in
“ our own Defence, and shake off the Yoke, which we could no
“ longer bear. However the Regard we have for your Family will
“ not allow us to recur to any other; and we, therefore, now offer to
“ you the Crown, which your Father and your Brother have justly for-
“ feited by an open Violation of the established Laws of the Kingdom.
“ Your mild, compassionate, and humane Disposition, the Desire you
“ have shown on many Occasions of obliging all, and your strict Ob-
“ servance of the Laws trampled upon by those, who, at present, go-
“ vern us, have won to you the Affections of all Ranks of People, and
“ we are all, to a Man, ready to stand by you to the last Drop of our
“ Blood. Our Happiness depends upon you. If you accept of our
“ present Offer, you will make us a happy People, and fix the Crown
“ in your Family. If you decline it, the World will excuse our seek-
“ ing a Remedy, for the many Evils we groan under, where we can
“ find it.”

Who refuses
it.

Frideric heard the Prince of *Salerno* without ever offering to interrupt him, or betraying the least Aversion to the Proposal; insomuch that the whole Assembly believed that the Offer was not displeasing to him, and he would accept of it. But, rising up when the Prince had done, he thanked the noble Assembly for the good Opinion they entertained of him, and the Honour they had done him; but added, to their great Surprise and Disappointment, that he would with Joy accept of the Crown at their Hands, could he persuade himself, that they had a Power to dispose of it; but as he was convinced, that his Father,

Innocent VIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

321

and after him his elder Brother, had an undoubted Right to it, he could not deprive them of their Inheritance without a more notorious Breach of the Laws than any they complained of. He added, that from his Conduct, while a private Man, they could not judge of that, which he might pursue, when raised to the Throne; that many had been thought worthy of a Crown before they wore it, and most unworthy when they wore it; that he himself should, in many Instances, be obliged to tread in the Footsteps of his Father and his Brother, and do the same Things that had drawn the Hatred of the Nation upon them. He closed his Speech with exhorting them to continue steady in their Allegiance, pawning his Word and Honour for the religious Observance of the Terms which the King his Father had agreed to °.

The Barons, provoked beyond Measure at their Disappointment, *They pro-* would not allow *Frideric* to return to his Father, but kept him closely confined, under a strong Guard, in *Salerno*, and, setting up the Pope's Standard, declared him their only lawful Lord and Sovereign. Here-
upon *Innocent*, who had nothing less in his View, as most Authors suppose, than to conquer the Kingdom, and bestow it upon his Son *Franciscetto*, not only approved of what the Barons had done, but, openly espousing their Cause, left nothing unattempted to stir up the other States of *Italy* against *Ferdinand*, especially the *Venetians*, promising them a large Share of the Kingdom, provided they assisted him to conquer it. But that wise Republic, unwilling to provoke *Ferdinand* at the present Juncture, when he had a numerous Army on foot to defend his Kingdom against the *Turk*, with his Son *Alphonso*, a most valiant and experienced Commander at their Head, declined entering into an Alliance against him; but, being jealous of the King's Power, they promised to assist his Holiness underhand. As no Room was left to doubt of the Barons being encouraged in their Rebellion by the Pope, nor of his Holiness's ambitious Views, *Ferdinand* ordered the Duke of *Calabria* to march, without Delay, to the Borders of the Ecclesiastical State, and at the same time assembling, on the 12th of November of the present Year, the Heads of the People, of the Nobility and the Clergy, he laid before them the unjust and unwarrantable Proceedings of the Pope in joining his Rebel Subjects against him, and attempting, by encouraging their Rebellion, to deprive him and his Pos-

Year of
Christ 1485.

*claim the
Pope their
Lord and
Sovereign.*

*Who openly
espouses their
Cause.*

*His Conduct
how resented
by the King.*

¶ Idem Ibid. p. 40.

Year of
Christ 1485.

terity of a Kingdom which his Predecessors had all confirmed to him; and that, in order to raise from the Dust, to ennoble and aggrandize his base-born Children, and at a Time when he himself was exhorting all *Christian* Princes to sacrifice their Feuds and Animosities to the public Good, and join against the common Enemy. When he had spoken thus, he caused a Manifesto to be read, declaring that it was not his Intention to make War upon the Holy See, but only to maintain the just Rights of his Crown against the Encroachments of the Rebel Barons, and of his Holiness, their Accomplice and Ally. At the same time the King issued a Proclamation, ordering Ecclesiastics of all Ranks, possessed of any Benefice or Benefices in the Kingdom, and then residing at the Court of *Rome*, to present themselves before him in the Term of Fifteen Days, and then to go and reside at their Benefices, on Pain of having their Revenues sequestered. With this Order all complied but the Archbishop of *Salerno*, and the Bishops of *Melito* and *Teana*, whose Rents were sequestered accordingly, and Collectors were appointed by the King to receive them p.

Rome besieged by the King's Troops.

In the mean while the Duke of *Calabria*, entering with his Army the Territories of the Church, defeated, in several Encounters, the Troops sent by the Pope to oppose him, and, advancing to the very Gates of *Rome*, laid close Siege at the same time to the City and the Castle of *St. Angela*, whither the Pope had retired. As the Army of the Barons was not in a Condition to face *Alphonso's*, and the *Roman* People begun to mutiny for Want of Provisions, all the Avenues to the City being strictly guarded by the Enemy, the Pope, despairing of Relief, and dreading to fall into the Hands of *Alphonso*, thought it advisable to come to an Agreement with the King. Accordingly, a Treaty was set on foot, and soon concluded, upon the following Terms: I. That the Pope should absolve the King from the Censures he might have incurred. II. That he should oblige the Barons to lay down their Arms, or abandon their Protection. III. That the King should, on his Side, pay the usual Tribute. IV. That he should forgive the Barons upon their submitting, should receive them into Favour, and bury in Oblivion all past Offences. Lastly, That he should oblige *Virginus Ursini*, who had joined him against the Holy See, to come bare-headed and bare-footed, with a Rope about his Neck, to ask his

The Pope obliged to conclude a Peace, and upon what Terms.

Year of
Christ 1486.

Innocent VIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

323

Holinefs's Pardon on his Knees. The Barons knew by Experience that *Ferdinand's* Word was not at all to be relied on, that no Treaties could bind him, and therefore refused to sign the present Treaty, unless *John*, King of *Arragon*, *Ferdinand's* Uncle, and his Son *Ferdinand*, afterwards surnamed *the Catholic*, and then King of *Sicily*, took upon them, as Guarantees, to see the Articles of it performed. To this both Kings readily agreed, and the Treaty was thereupon signed by the Barons, on the 12th of *August* 1486, in the Presence of the Embassadors of both¹. However, it was not long ere *Ferdinand*, paying no Regard to a Treaty so solemnly concluded, caused, under various Pretences, the leading Men among the Barons to be imprisoned, and put to Death. We shall see in the Sequel *Ferdinand* of *Sicily*, when become King of *Arragon* and *Castile*, alleging the Breach of this Treaty as One of the Motives that induced him to drive the Family of King *Ferdinand* from the Throne of *Naples*, and annex that Kingdom to his own Crown.

Year of
Christ 1486.

As for the Pope, he no sooner heard of the Imprisonment of the Barons, than he ordered the Bishop of *Cesena*, his Nuncio at the Court of *Naples*, to remonstrate against so manifest a Breach of so solemn a Treaty, and threaten the King with Excommunication and Deposition, if he did not immediately set the Prisoners at Liberty. But *Ferdinand*, who had already caused many of them to be put to Death, not intimidated in the least by the Pope's Menaces, ordered the rest to be strangled privately in Prison, and their Bodies to be conveyed away by Night, in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, lest the Pope should take Occasion from the Execution of so many Persons of the first Rank, were it known, to stir up the People, and raise a new Rebellion against him. Thus were these Executions kept some Time concealed. But a Gold Chain, which One of the Prisoners, *Jerom Sanseverino*, Prince of *Bisignano*, used to wear about his Neck, being found in the Custody of the Executioner, it was concluded from thence that he, and with him all the rest, had been dispatched in Prison. Hereupon *Innocent*, provoked beyond all Measure at the Cruelty and Treachery of the King, not only pronounced, with great Solemnity, the Sentence of Excommunication and Deposition against him, but declared the Kingdom of *Naples* to belong of Right to the Royal Family of *France*, and invited the King, *Charles VIII.* to come and conquer it. But *Charles* being

The Barons
put to Death,
contrary to
the Articles
of the Peace,

and the King
excommuni-
cated by the
Pope.

Year of
Christ 1487.

¹ Constanzo, l. 20. apud Giannoni, l. 28. c. 1.

Year of
Christ 1487.

then otherwise employed, and the States of *Italy* refusing to take Part in this Quarrel, *Ferdinand* continued to reign undisturbed either by the *French* or his own Subjects, in spite of the repeated Excommunications thundered out by his Holiness against him^r.

Some parti-
cular Actions
of Innocent.

Year of
Christ 1488.

Innocent spent the Four remaining Years of his Pontificate in striving, but with very little Success, to recover the several Cities, belonging to the Church, that private Persons had made themselves Masters of, and governed as their own; in clearing the Ecclesiastical State from Thieves, Robbers, Assassins, and other Malefactors, who had fled thither, from the neighbouring States, as to a safe Asylum; and in erecting several stately Buildings, and, among the rest, a magnificent Villa, or House of Pleasure, for the Use of his Successors, which from its pleasant and extensive View was stiled *Belvedere*. We are told, that, in repairing the Church, called of the Holy Cross in *Jerusalem*, Part of the Title of our Saviour's Cross in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* was found in the old Wall, having been placed there, as is said, about One thousand Years before, by the Emperor *Valentinian*, the Founder of that Church.—The most remarkable Event of the Four last Years of

Zizini, Brother
to *Bajazet*, deliver-
ed up to In-
nocent.

Year of
Christ 1489.

Innocent's Pontificate was, his receiving at *Rome*, and keeping there as his Prisoner *Zizini*, or, as others call him, *Zizim*, Brother to Sultan *Bajazet*, the Son and Successor of *Mabomet II.* *Zizini* had, upon the Death of his Father, set up for himself; but his Brother having gained a compleat Victory over him near *Prusia* in *Bitbinia*, he fled for Refuge to the Island of *Rhodes*, then possessed by the Knights of that Name. *Peter Daubuffon*, at that Time Grand Master of the Order, sent him to the King of *France*, by whom he was soon afterwards delivered up to the Pope, to be employed by his Holiness in the War, which he was then exhorting the *Christian* Princes to undertake against his Brother *Bajazet*. He was received at *Rome* with all the Marks of Honour due to a Sovereign Prince; was attended to the Pope's Palace by several Cardinals, and presented to his Holiness, in a full Consistory, by the Grand Prior of *Rhodes* and the *French* Embassador^s. *Spondanus* tells us, that he kneeled before the Pope, and kissed his Foot, uttering some Words, in his own Language with great Indignation^t. But *Matthew Bossi*, Canon of *Verona*, who was present, assures us, that he could by no

^r *Surita Annal.* l. 20. c. 66. *Constanzo*, l. 20. c. 17. *Camillo Porzio Congiura de Baroni.*

^t *Onuph.* in *Innocent VIII.*

^s *Spondanus ad ann.* 1489.

Means, not even by Menaces, be brought to submit to such Acts of Humiliation^u. However that be, he was kept Prisoner at large, in the Vatican Palace, so long as *Innocent* lived; and lest the Pope, grudging the Expence necessary to maintain him, should grant him his Liberty, *Bajazet* remitted yearly to *Rome* the Sum of Forty thousand Crowns of Gold for his Subsistence; nay, and, to court the Favour of the Pope, he sent him the Head or Iron of the Spear, believed to be that which our Saviour's Side was pierced with on the Cross^w; and as such it is worshipped to this Day in *St. Peter's Church* at *Rome*. Year of Christ 1490. How treated.

As great Preparations were carrying on, at this Time, in *France* by *Charles VIII.* with a Design to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, claimed by him, as lawful Heir to the Family of *Anjou*, *Ferdinand*, who had hitherto made no Account of the Sentence of the Pope, excommunicating and deposing him, resolved to accommodate Matters with his Holiness upon the best Terms he could get, and have his Title to the Kingdom confirmed by the Apostolic See. *Innocent*, now wholly bent upon a *Turkish War*, was not averse to an Accommodation, and an Agreement was concluded, on the 28th of *January 1491*, upon the following Terms: That the King should pay yearly the usual Tribute; should dispose of no Benefices nor Bishopsrics without his Holiness's Knowledge and Consent; and should indemnify the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics, whose Revenues had been sequestered on Account of their not complying with the King's Ordinance, requiring them to withdraw from the Court of *Rome*. On the other hand, the Pope was to revoke all the Censures that the King had incurred, and confirm the Bull of his Predecessor, *Eugenius IV.* in Favour of his Family against the Pretensions of the House of *Anjou*. Pursuant to this Agreement, *Innocent*, who had issued a Bull but Four Years before, declaring the Right of the Family of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, published another on the 4th of *June* of the present Year, acknowledging *Ferdinand* for lawful King of *Naples*, and ordaining that he should be succeeded by his Son *Alphonso*, and, in case *Alphonso* died before his Father, by *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Capua*, *Alphonso's* eldest Son. Upon the Publication of this Bull, the Duke of *Capua* went to *Rome* to do Homage, and take the usual Oath of Fidelity to his Holiness, in his Father's Name The Pope and King Ferdinand reconciled. Year of Christ 1491.

^u Bossi, ep. 30.

^w Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

Year of
Christ 1491.

Death and
Character of
Innocent.

Year of
Christ 1492.

His natural
Children.

and his own, and was received by *Innocent* and the College of Cardinals with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem *.

Innocent died soon after the Conclusion of this Treaty, that is, on the 25th of *July* of the present Year 1492, when he had held the See Seven Years Ten Months and Twenty-seven Days, and was buried in the Chapel, which he had erected in the Church of *St. Peter*, for the holy Spear. On his Tomb were engraved the following Words, alluding to the Name of *Innocent*, *Ego autem INNOCENTIA mea ingressus sum; redime me, Domine, et miserere mei*. His Manners did not answer that Name, it being agreed on all hands, that he led a most profligate Life, at least, before his Promotion. *Onuphrius* allows him to have had several natural Children; no fewer, says *Marullus* in his famous Epigram, than Sixteen, Eight Sons, and as many Daughters. The Epigram runs thus :

*Quid quæris testes sit mas an fœmina Cibo ?
Respice natorum, pignora certa, gregem.
Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.*

I need not tell the Reader, that the Poet here alludes to the Use, that was said to have been made of the perforated Chair after the supposed Election of Pope *Joan 7*. *Joly*, in his Remarks upon *Bayle's* Dictionary under the Article *Innocent*, maintains him to have had only Two illegitimate Children. However that be, only Two of them survived, as *Onuphrius* informs us, his Promotion to the Pontifical Chair, viz. *Francis* and *Theodorina*. *Francis* he married to *Magdalen*, the Daughter of *Lawrence de Medicis*, One of the most beautiful Women of her Time, and *Theodorina* to *Gerard Usumari*, a wealthy Nobleman of *Genoa*: To *Francis* he granted, on Occasion of his Marriage, several Castles and Lordships in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and is said to have heaped immense Wealth upon *Gerard*.—As he was a great Lover of Money, he established, after the Example of *Sixtus*, his immediate Predecessor, a vast Number of new Offices, and, exposing them to public Sale, replenished, by that Means, his Coffers

* Constanz. l. 20. c. 17. Raynald. ad ann. 1491. et Surita, l. 20. c. 13.
of the Popes, Vol. IV. p. 258, 259.

7 Hist.

quite drained with the *Neapolitan War* ².—What we read in *Raphael of Volterra*, viz. that *Innocent* permitted Mass to be celebrated in *Norway* without Wine, because it was either frozen, or burned into Vinegar before it could be used in that cold Country, has been unanswerably confuted by the very learned *Benedict XIV.* in his Treatise *De Canonizatione*.—By this Pope Eight Cardinals only were created, during the Seven Years of his Pontificate; and among them were *Lawrence Cibo*, his Brother's natural Son, whom he had preferred before to the Archbishopric of *Benevento*, and *John de Medicis*, the Son of *Lawrence*, and Brother to his Son's Wife, though he had not yet completed the Thirteenth Year of his Age ^a. Of him I shall have Occasion to speak, at length, in the Sequel under the Name of *Leo X.*—*Innocent*, though said to have been a Man of Learning, left no Writings, that we know of, behind him, besides some Letters and Bulls. By One of his Bulls, dated at *Rome* the 2d of *March* 1486, he confirmed the Marriage of *Henry VII.* with *Elizabeth* of *York*, the eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* notwithstanding their being related within the Fourth Degree of Affinity, and, perhaps, of Consanguinity. By another he declared the Children, who should be born of that Marriage, legitimate in virtue of that Dispensation, commanded all to obey *Henry* as their lawful King, on Pain of Excommunication, from which none could absolve them but the Pope himself, except at the Point of Death, and enjoined them, upon the same Penalty, to acknowledge the Children *Henry* might have by a Second Wife, in case *Elizabeth* died without Issue. This Bull too is dated at *Rome* the 27th of the same Month of *March* of the same Year 1486 ^b.

^a Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.
p. 294, 297.

^a Idem ibid.

^b Rymer. Foedera, &c. tom. 12.

FRIDERIC III.
MAXIMILIAN III.
Emperors of the West.

ALEXANDER VI.

The Two Hundred and Twelfth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 1492.

*His Birth,
Education,
Preferments,
and Life be-
fore his Pro-
motion to the
Pontificate.*

IN the Room of *Innocent* was unfortunately chosen *Roderic Borgia*, whose Pontificate was, as we shall see in the Sequel, a continued Series of the blackest Crimes, of Murder, Rapine, Perfidiousness, Lust and Cruelty. He was the Son of *Godfrey Lenzolio*, a wealthy Nobleman of *Valencia*, by *Joan Borgia*, Sister to *Calixtus III.* As the *Borgian* Family was more conspicuous than that of *Lenzolio*, *Godfrey*, with the Consent of *Calixtus*, changed the original Name of his Family for that of *Borgia*, which from him was transmitted to all his Descendents. His Son *Roderic* gave, from his tender Years, Proofs of an extraordinary Genius, and an uncommon Capacity, but at the same time betrayed a Disposition of Mind so cruel and wicked, that one might have foreseen what Fruit such a Tree would produce, when it grew to produce any. When he had attained to the Eighteenth Year of his Age, he betook himself to the Study of the Law, and, in a very short Time, outshining most others of that Profession, he was employed, as an Advocate, in the most intricate Cases, and soon acquired, by that Means, a considerable Fortune. But growing tired of the Retirement and constant Application, indispensably required in one of his Profession, he, all on a sudden, bid adieu to the Law, and, being taken with the Gaiety of a military Life, appeared in the World in a military Character. Being now free from all Restraint, and at full Liberty to gratify his Passions, he fell in Love with a Widow, who had Two Daughters, and was lately come with her Family from *Rome*; and having, with his insinuating Manners, gained the Affections of the Mother, and robbed her of her Honour, he bent all his Thoughts upon making the Daughters a Prey to his Lust as well as the Mother. In the mean time the Mother died, and *Roderic*, to whose Care she had committed her Two Daughters, having them now in his Power, as their Guardian, put one of them into a Monastery, and continued with the other, whom some call *Rosa*, and some *Catherine Vanozza*, the incestuous Commerce, which he had begun in her Mother's Life-time.

time. By her he had Five Children, Four Sons, and One Daughter, viz. *Francis*, *Cæsar*, *Giuffre*, and another, whose Name is uncertain. His Daughter was called *Lucretia*; and of her as well as her Brother we shall have frequent Occasion to speak in the Sequel. *Roderic* spared no Expence, being a most tender and affectionate Father, to give his Children the best Education, but acted therein with such Caution and Secrecy, that they were not known to be his till after his Exaltation to the Papacy. While he thus enjoyed the Company of his beloved *Vanozza* quite undisturbed, News was brought him of his Uncle's Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity under the Name of *Calixtus* III. As he thought that no Addition could be made to his present Happiness, he neither felt, nor expressed on that Occasion, any extraordinary Joy. However, he wrote immediately a most submissive and respectful Letter to the new Pope, to congratulate him upon his Promotion, to wish him a long and happy Pontificate, and beg him to continue to him, as his Relation, his Protection and Countenance. To this Letter *Calixtus*, who entertained the highest Opinion of his Nephew's Parts and good Qualities, returned a most affectionate Answer, requiring him to repair, with all Expedition, to *Rome*, in order to be employed in State-Affairs, and bear Part of the Burden that had been laid upon him. But *Roderic*, preferring the Company of his dear *Vanozza* to all the Honours and Wealth that his Uncle could confer on him, put off, under various Pretences, from time to time, his Journey to *Rome*. The Pope, not knowing what his affected Delays were owing to, and impatient to have one about him, whom he could trust with his most secret Designs, dispatched a Prelate with express Orders to bring his Nephew with him to *Rome*, and at the same time bestowed on him, as a Pledge of what he might expect, a Benefice of Twelve thousand Crowns a Year. *Roderic*, no longer able to withstand the pressing Instances and Kindness of his Uncle, and on the other hand his Passion for *Vanozza* not allowing him to leave her behind him, and live at so great a Distance from her, it was agreed between them, that they should both repair to *Italy*, but by different Roads, and to different Places, he to *Rome*, and she with her Children to *Venice*. Accordingly they both set out, after many tender Embraces, about the same Time, and both arrived safe at their Journey's End. *Roderic* was received by the Pope with all possible Marks

Year of
Christ 1492.

of Esteem and Affection, and, being frequently admitted to his Presence, he raised in his Holiness so high an Opinion of his Merit, that, in a very short Time, he preferred him to the Archiepiscopal See of *Valencia*, his native Country, created him Cardinal of *St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano*, and appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the holy *Roman Church*, with the yearly Income of Twenty-eight thousand Crowns to support that Dignity. *Roderic* refused, at first, the Dignity of Cardinal, knowing that he would thereby be confined to *Rome*, and have fewer Opportunities of visiting *Vanozza* and his Children, in whom centered all his Cares and Affections. But his Friend, Cardinal *Sanseverino*, urging to him the Folly of refusing a Dignity, that was the last Step to the highest upon Earth, his Ambition prevailed, and he accepted the Red Hat. Having now the triple Crown in his View, he applied himself wholly to Acts of Devotion, preaching, administering the Sacraments, visiting the Sick, protecting the Widows and Orphans, and relieving, with uncommon Generosity, Persons of all Ranks in Distress; insomuch that he was universally looked upon, and honoured by the Cardinals themselves, as a Saint. But these Acts of Charity did not take up his Mind so, as to leave no Room in it for his dear *Vanozza*. He wrote a most affectionate Letter to her to acquaint her with his Promotion to the Rank of Cardinal, which, he said, opened him a Way to the supreme Dignity, to assure her, that he retained, and ever should, the same Affection for her, and recommend to her Secrecy and Continence till he had the Pleasure of seeing her again. In the mean time *Calixtus* died; and in the Two following Pontificates of *Pius H.* and *Paul II.* no Mention is made of Cardinal *Roderic*. But *Sixtus IV.* the Successor of *Paul*, bestowed upon him the Abbey of *Subiaco*, and sent him with the Character of Legate into *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the Kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal* at War about the Kingdom of *Castile*. His Negotiations at both Courts proved unsuccessful. For, finding himself at a Distance from *Rome*, instead of attending to the Affair, upon which he was sent, he spent most Part of his Time in Intrigues with the Ladies; which rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of both Kings, as well as their Ministers. On his Return to *Italy* on board a *Venetian Galley*, he was overtaken with a violent Storm on the Coast of *Pisa*; and though his Galley had the good Luck to escape, another in Company with his
Baggage.

Baggage and Retinue was dashed to Pieces, and all on board perished, ^{Year of} viz. One hundred and Eighty Persons, and among them Three Bishops, and some Doctors. In the Pontificate of *Innocent VIII.* elected in the Room of *Sixtus*, we find nothing of Cardinal *Roderic*, worthy of Notice, besides his begging Leave of his Holiness to go to *Venice*, pretending to have some very urgent Business there, and his calling *Vanozza* to *Rome* upon the Pope's forbidding him to depart from that City. *Vanozza* on her Arrival lodged first near the Capitol, but removed soon from thence to a more private Place beyond the *Tiber*. As they were both sensible, that the Affair could in no Place be long kept secret, it was agreed between them, that *Manuel Melchiori*, a *Spanish* Gentleman, who had hitherto passed for a near Relation of the Lady's Husband, and was the only Person upon Earth who had been let into the Intrigue, should now personate her Husband. Accordingly, he assumed the Title of Count *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, and she of Countess, and being plentifully supplied with Money by the Cardinal, they both made a Figure suitable to their Title. The Cardinal, pretending to have been acquainted in *Spain* with the Count, under Colour of visiting him, paid frequent Visits to the Countess unobserved, and when he had spent the whole Day in visiting Churches and Hospitals, he passed the Night in the Arms of his Mistress.

The Cardinal, however, did not suffer his Amours to engross his ^{His Election.} Attention so as to neglect his true Interest. He had the Papacy constantly in his View ever since he accepted the Dignity of Cardinal, and had made it his Business to cultivate the Friendship of the Cardinals, who had the most Interest in the Conclave, especially of the Two Cardinals *Sforza* and *Riario*, of whom the former had Nine Votes at his Disposal. While Cardinal *Roderic* was thus employed, *Innocent* ^{Bargain} died on the 25th of *July*, and the Cardinals, in all Twenty-seven, ^{made with} entering into the Conclave as soon as they had performed his Exequies, ^{the Cardi-} the following Bargain was concluded between the leading Cardinals and Cardinal *Roderic*, viz. that Cardinal *Orsini* should have *Roderic's* Palace, with the Two Castles of *Monticelli* and *Suriani*; that Cardinal *Sforza* should succeed *Roderic* in the Office of Vice-Chancellor; that Cardinal *Colonna* should have the Abbey of *St. Benedict*; that the

^c Pavist. in Alex. VI. Tomaso Tomasi. vita Duc. Valentin. Ciacon. vit. Alex. VI. p. 148. Burchard. Hist. Arian. p. 3—23. Anonym. ad Tomasi, p. 305. apud Gordon. p. 1—15.

The History of the P O P E S, or Alexander VI.

Cardinal of *St. Angelo* should be made Bishop of *Porto*, the City of *Nepi* should be given to the Cardinal of *Parma*, and the Town of *Civita Castellana* to Cardinal *Savelli*. Five Cardinals only, out of the Twenty-seven, protested against so open and so barefaced Simony, and could by no Offers be brought to concur with the Rest. But as Cardinal *Roderic* had Twenty-two Votes out of Twenty-seven, he was, in spite of their Opposition, declared Pope on the 2d of *August* of the present Year, under the Name of *Alexander VI*. His Election was received by the *Roman* People, who looked upon him as a Pattern of every Virtue, with all possible Demonstrations of Joy; and on the 26th of *August* he was crowned with extraordinary Solemnity. And now the Cardinals, his Electors, were expecting the Performance of the Promises he had made them. But instead of that, *Alexander*, in a Speech, full of Zeal for the Observance of the Canons, exhorted them to reform their Lives, to set a good Example to others, and, above all, to avoid Simony, adding, that he would spare none, whom he ever found guilty of that detestable Crime. Indeed he was as good as his Word. For, far from paying to his corrupt Electors the Wages of their Iniquity, in Process of Time he either confined them to Prison, or banished, or put them to Death, as we shall see in the Sequel.

His Son
Cæsar Borgia
comes to
Rome.

At the Time of *Alexander's* Promotion his Children were all living privately at *Rome*, except *Cæsar*, his Second Son, who was then pursuing his Studies at *Pisa*. But he no sooner heard of his Father's Promotion, than he flew to *Rome*, not doubting but he should be immediately preferred to some high Post, or be made a Cardinal. The Pope received him with the greatest Marks of Affection, but at the same time told him, that if he and his Brothers walked in the virtuous Path, that he should point out to them, they might depend upon his Protection and Favour; but if they built their Greatness upon any other Foundation than that of Virtue, he would look upon them as Strangers to him, having been exalted to his present high Station for the Good of the Church, and not of his Family. This Speech did not a little mortify *Cæsar's* Ambition; and he complained of it to his Mother. But she bid him take Courage, saying, she knew his Holiness's Mind, and for what End he had expressed himself to him in that Manner; that is, she knew all to be Diffimulation, and rank Hypocrisy.

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

333

Hypocrisy. In the mean time *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon* and *Castile*, created the Pope's eldest Son, *Francis*, Duke of *Gandia*. For though *Alexander* called them his Nephews, they were by this Time commonly known to be his Children. From the Promotion of the Pope's eldest Son, the Cardinals and flattering Courtiers took Occasion to recommend to him his Second Son *Cæsar Borgia*, and his Nephew *John Borgia*, Archbishop of *Monreal* in *Sicily*, as Persons worthy of a Place in the College of Cardinals; and his Holiness, as it were to gratify the Cardinals, conferred that Dignity on his Nephew, but, refusing it to his Son, nominated him to the Archbishopric of *Valencia*, which he himself had formerly held. However, the following Year he made a Promotion of Twelve Cardinals; and among them was his Son *Cæsar*, whom he created Cardinal of *Sancta Maria Nova*; but he is commonly called Cardinal *Valentine*, on Account of his having been preferred from the Archbishopric of *Valencia* to that Dignity d.

Year of
Christ 1492.

Created
Archbishop of
Valencia, and
Cardinal.

Year of
Christ 1493.

Italy had enjoyed for some Years a profound Peace and Tranquillity, the little States, as well as the great, having joined in a League to defend each other, by whomsoever attacked. But that Peace was unexpectedly disturbed by the Ambition of the French King *Charles VIII.* claiming the Kingdom of *Naples*, as Heir to the *Anjevin* Family. For *Charles* of *Anjou*, the last of that Family, dying without Male Issue, appointed *Lewis XI.* his Cousin-German, as he called him, his universal Heir, and after him his Son *Charles*, the *Dauphin*. By virtue of this Will *Lewis* took Possession of *Provence* and the Dutchy of *Anjou*, but would not concern himself with the Affairs of *Italy*. But *Charles*, a Youth covetous of Glory, coming to the Crown in 1483, began to entertain Thoughts of making good his Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was encouraged to that Undertaking only by some of his Favourites, and some Malecontents, who, flying from *Naples*, had taken Refuge in *France*. But Men of Penetration left nothing unattempted to divert the young King from an Enterprize, which they apprehended might be attended with the Loss of his Army, and even of his Life. Thus was the Expedition put off till the present Year 1493, when the King received unexpectedly an Invitation from *Lewis Sforza*, Regent of the Dutchy of *Milan*, pressing him to come and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which he had an unquestion-

Charles, King of France, invited to the Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples.

Year of
Christ 1493.

able Right, and promising to assist him therein to the utmost of his Power. *Lewis* had been appointed Guardian to the young Duke *John Galeazzo*, his Nephew; and though the Duke had already attained to the Twentieth Year of his Age, the Guardian still continued to keep the Government in his own Hands. As *John* had married the Daughter of *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, and King *Ferdinand's* Grand-daughter, *Lewis* apprehended, that they would oblige him to resign the Dutchy to its lawful Owner; and it was to give them sufficient Employment at Home, that he invited *Charles* to the Conquest of the Kingdom.

Ferdinand,
King of
Naples, dies.
Year of
Christ 1494.

Charles, now relying on the Invitation, and encouraged by the Offers of *Lewis*, would no longer hearken to the pacific Counsels of his best Friends, but, looking upon the Kingdom of *Naples* as already half conquered, he began to make vast military Preparations by Sea as well as by Land. On the other hand *Ferdinand*, not doubting but they were designed against him, omitted nothing to put the Kingdom in a good State of Defence. But being seized with a Fever, occasioned by the extraordinary Fatigue he was obliged to undergo, and the Uneasiness of his Mind, he died on the Fourteenth Day of his Illness, the 25th of *January* 1494. He was succeeded by his Son *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, who sent immediately a splendid Embassy to *Rome*, with many valuable Presents for the Pope, and his favourite Son Cardinal *Valentine*, by whom his Holiness was, in a great Measure, governed. The Embassadors were charged to obtain of the Pope the Investiture for the new King, to pay Homage to him in his Name, and to propose an Alliance between their Master and his Holiness in Defence of their respective Dominions. The Embassadors met with a most favourable Reception, and after several Conferences with Cardinal *Valentine*, an Alliance was concluded between the Pope and the King upon the following Terms: That both should maintain a determined Number of Troops for their mutual Assistance; that the King should pay immediately to his Holiness Thirty thousand Ducats; that he should give his Daughter *Sancia* in Marriage to *Giuffre*, the Pope's youngest Son; should create him Prince of *Squillace* with the yearly Income of Ten thousand Ducats; should confer upon him the Office of Prothonotary, One of the Seven great Offices of the Kingdom; should settle upon *Francis*, Duke of *Gandia*, his eldest Son, an Estate

Treaty con-
cluded be-
tween his
Successor *Al-*
phonso and
the Pope.

of Ten thousand Ducats a Year; should bestow upon him the First great Employment of the Kingdom that should be vacant, and a considerable Command in the Army; and lastly, that to Cardinal *Valentine* he should grant the best Benefices of the Kingdom, as they happened to become vacant. The Pope knew, that the King stood in great Need of his Assistance, and, taking Advantage of his present Situation, demanded such Terms, as were neither consistent with Reason nor Justice. *Alexander* was, on his Side, to assist the King, to the utmost of his Power, with his spiritual as well as his temporal Arms, to grant him the Investiture, to send a Cardinal to crown him, and to prefer his Nephew, *Lewis* of *Arragon*, to the Dignity of Cardinal f.

Year of
Christ 1494.

These Articles being agreed to, the Pope dispatched his Nephew, Cardinal *Borgia*, Archbishop of *Monreal*, to *Naples* to crown the King, and perform, at the same time, the nuptial Ceremony. The Bridegroom went with the Cardinal, attended by the Flower of the *Roman* Nobility, and the Appearance they made during their Stay at *Naples*, was the most pompous and splendid that had ever been seen in that City. The King being crowned, with great Solemnity, by the Cardinal Legate, and the nuptial Ceremony performed with no less Solemnity, *Giuffre*, or, as I shall henceforth call him, the Prince of *Squillace*, after a short Stay at *Naples*, returned, with his Bride, the Princess, to *Rome*, his Holiness being impatient to see them. Most extraordinary Honours were paid them; by the Pope's Order, in all the Cities on the Road through which they passed, and on their Arrival at *Rome* they met with a more honourable Reception than any King or Emperor had done to that Time. They were received, at some Distance from the Gate, by the Magistrates of the City in a Body, by the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility of both Sexes, and conducted by them, in solemn Procession, to the *Vatican* Palace. There the Princess was presented to the Pope by his Daughter *Lucretia*, attended by all the Ladies of Distinction in *Rome*, and the Prince by his Brother Cardinal *Valentine*, accompanied by the chief *Roman* Princes and Barons. His Holiness, scarce allowing them Time to perform the usual Ceremony of kissing his Foot, embraced them with great Tenderneſs; and placing the Bride in a Chair of State on his Right Hand, and *Lucretia* in another on his Left, the Conversation was kept up several Hours by

The King
crowned, and
his Daughter
married to
the Pope's
youngest Son.

f. Guicciardin. l. 1. *Tomas* apud Gordon. p. 52. et seq.

Year of
Christ 1494.

his Holiness and the Ladies; and it looked more like an Assembly of the last Kings of *Assyria*, than a Meeting in the Presence of the Vicar of *Christ* s.

The French
King enters
Italy.

On this Occasion great Rejoicings were made, by the Pope's express Command, in all the Cities of the Ecclesiastical State, as well as at *Rome*, as if the Marriage of his Holiness's Bastard Son with the Daughter of a King, had been One of the greatest Blessings that could have befallen them. But their Joy was suddenly damped by the unexpected Advice of the Arrival of the *French* King with his Army at *Asti* in *Piedmont*, on his March to the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He arrived at *Asti* on the 9th of *September*; but falling ill of the Small-Pox in that City, he was obliged to halt there a whole Fortnight. As soon as he found himself in a Condition to bear the Fatigue of the March, he left *Asti*, and directing his Rout through *Pavia*, *Piacenza*, and *Parma*, passed the Mountains, chusing rather to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* through *Tuscany* and the Territory of *Rome*, than by the Way of *Romagna* and the *March of Ancona*. He met with some Opposition in passing through the Territories of *Florence*; but Matters being in the End accommodated between him and those Republicans, to their mutual Satisfaction, he pursued his March to the Ecclesiastical State, being determined to pass through *Rome*, and oblige the Pope to renounce his Alliance with the King of *Naples*, and abandon his Protection.

Pursues his
March to the
Ecclesiastical
State.

The Pope and
Alphonso
apply to the
Turk.

The Pope had, upon the First Notice he received of the King's Design upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, applied for Assistance both to the *Venetians* and to the Emperor *Maximilian*, who, in 1492, had succeeded to his Father *Frideric* in the Empire. But finding that neither would take any Part in the War, he resolved, for Want of other Allies, to recur to the *Turk*. This Resolution he communicated to *Alphonso*; and it was agreed between them, that both should send Deputies to *Constantinople* to negotiate an Alliance with *Bajazet*. Pursuant to that Agreement, One *George Buzardo*, a *Genoese*, well skilled in the Oriental Languages, was immediately dispatched to the Court of *Constantinople* by the Pope, and One *Camillo Pandone* by the King. Their Instructions were, to inform his sublime Highness of the mighty Preparations that were carrying on by the *French* King in *France*, with

Embassadors
sent by the
Pope and the
King to Ba-
jazet.

a Design to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, when he had conquered it, to invade his Highness's Dominions; that the King had, with that View, demanded of his Holiness his Highness's Brother *Zizini*, whom he intended to send with a powerful Army and Fleet to recover the Countries taken from the Christians; that out of the great Regard and Friendship his Holiness had for his sublime Highness, he was determined to oppose the *French* to the utmost of his Power. But as he would be thereby put to a far greater Charge than he was able to bear, the Nuncio was ordered to beg of his Highness, that he would remit to him immediately the Forty thousand Crowns that would be due, on his Brother's Account, about the End of the ensuing *November*. Of *Zizini*, and the Sum allowed yearly by his Brother to him, or rather to the Pope, for his Maintenance, I have spoken in the Life of the preceding Pope *Innocent VIII*. As the *Venetians* had refused to join the Pope and *Alphonso* against the *French*, or to concern themselves at all in their Quarrel, the Nuncio was ordered to get the Sultan to interpose his good Offices with those Republicans, in Favour of the King and his Holiness, and to dispatch, without Loss of Time, an Embassador for that Purpose to *Venice*. The Nuncio was received by *Bajazet* with all possible Marks of Honour, his Demands were all readily complied with, and he was remanded in a very short Time with Fifty thousand Crowns, though Forty thousand only were due; and with him *Bajazet* sent one *Casimus Dautius* with the Character of his Embassador to the Pope. They embarked on board the same Vessel at *Constantinople*. But the Vessel being unfortunately stranded on the Coast of the *Adriatic*, between *Sinigaglia* and *Ancona*, *John della Rovere*, Lord of that Country, seized on the Money, the Fifty thousand Crowns, pretending that Sum to have been owing to him by the Apostolic See ever since the Pontificate of *Innocent VIII*. With the Money were found the above-mentioned Instructions, and Five Letters from *Bajazet* to the Pope, all dated at *Constantinople*, One on the 12th of *September*, and the other Four on the 18th of the same Month, in the Year 1494, *since the Nativity of the Prophet Jesus*. The Direction common to them all, with very little Variation, was; *Sultan Bajazet Chan, by the Grace of God, King and Emperor of Asia and Europe, to the most worthy Father and Lord of all Christians, Alexander VI. by Divine Providence, Pontiff of the Roman Church.* *Bajazet,*

Year of Christ 1494.

Instructions given by the Pope to his Nuncio.

Five Letters from Bajazet to the Pope.

Vol. VII. Y y being

Year of
Christ 1494.

Their Con-
tents publi-
ed to the
World.

being alarmed at the Intelligence the Pope had given him of the *French* King's Design to invade his Dominions, and employ his Brother against him, applies in the First of these Letters to his Holiness, his good Friend and Ally, to get, by his Means, so dangerous an Enemy removed out of the Way. The Sultan well knew, that there was no Crime, which the *most worthy Father of all Christians* would scruple to commit, provided he were well paid for it; that the Love of Money, to enrich and aggrandize his Children, was his predominant Passion; and that the Offer of a Sum, worthy of his Acceptance, would prove a Temptation, which he could not withstand. Upon these Considerations he exhorts the Pope, in the Letter before us, to cause his Brother to be removed, as soon as possible, from the Miseries of this World to a more happy Life; shews the many Advantages, that he pretends would accrue to the Christians, as well as to his own Subjects, from his Death, which he says would be Life to him, and solemnly promises, upon Oath, to remit to his *Greatness*, the Title he gives to the Pope, as soon as he shall have complied with this his Request, the Sum of Three hundred thousand Ducats, to be employed by him in purchasing Lordships for his Sons. He closes his Letter with renewing, for the Pope's further Security, his Promise and Oath in the following Terms: *I, the abovesaid Sultan Bajazet Chan, do again swear by the true God, who made Heaven and Earth, and every Thing in them, in whom we believe, and whom we adore, that, if you, on your Part, agree to the above-mentioned Request, I shall, on my Part, perform and execute every Thing I have promised.*—Two of the Four remaining Letters contained the *Turkish* Embassador's Credentials: The Third was a Letter of Thanks for the Intelligence *Alexander* had given to *Bajazet* concerning the Designs of the *French*, with a Promise of sending speedy Assistance to *Alphonso*, and dispatching, without Delay, an Embassador to *Venice*, with Orders to exhort that Republic, in his Name, to declare for that Prince and the Pope his Ally; in the Fourth *Bajazet* desires the Pope to make *Nicholas Cibo*, Archbishop of *Arles*, a perfect Cardinal, *ut faciat ipsum Cardinalem perfectum*. The Archbishop had been sent, in the late Pontificate, upon what Errand we know not, to the Court of *Constantinople*, and having, in his Embassy, given entire Satisfaction to *Bajazet*, he was, at his earnest Request, nominated by the Pope, *Innocent VIII.* to the Dignity of Cardinal. But

Innocent

Innocent dying before he received the Red Hat, and his Promotion was published, he was not yet looked upon as a true Cardinal, nor did he enjoy the Privileges, common to all of that Order. These Particulars we learn from *Bajazet's* Letter, entreating the Pope, by the Friendship subsisting between them, to make the Archbishop a perfect, or a true Cardinal.—These Papers were all sent to King *Charles*, while he was yet at *Florence*, by *John della Rovere*, who had intercepted them, in order to their being made public: And they were, accordingly, published, in *Italian* and *Latin*, with Two Certificates annexed to them; the one of *Buzardo*, the Nuncio, certifying that he had received the Instructions, spoken of above, from his Holiness's own Mouth at *Rome* in the Month of *June* 1494, and had executed them at *Constantinople*; the other was a Declaration by *Philip de Patriarchis*, Clerk of *Forli*, and Notary Public, attesting that he had translated, Word for Word, the above-mentioned Papers sent from *Sinigaglia*. His Declaration is dated at *Florence*, in the Convent of the *Minorites*, the 25th of *November* 1494. For these Letters we are indebted to *Burchardus*, a contemporary Writer of unexceptionable Authority, and Master of Ceremonies to *Alexander*, who has inserted them at length in his *Diarium*, or Journal of that Pope's Actions ^b.—As for the unhappy *Zizini*, he died soon after he was put into the *French* King's Hands; and it was universally believed that his Holiness had caused him to be poisoned, in order to earn, by his Death, the promised Reward of Three hundred thousand Ducats ⁱ.

To return now to *Charles*, whom we left on his March from *Florence* to the Ecclesiastical State. As he approached the Territories of the Church, he was met by Envoys from the Pope, sent to propose a Treaty between him, the Holy See, and the King of *Naples*. *Charles* received the Envoys with great Politeness, but returned Answer, that he was ready to treat with his Holiness, and would treat with no other: And, accordingly, he dispatched immediately Embassadors to *Rome*. The Embassadors peremptorily insisted, pursuant to their Instructions, upon the King's being admitted, with his whole Army, into *Rome*, and the Pope's ordering *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, Duke of *Calabria*, who was come with a Body of Troops to defend the City, to withdraw, and return to the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the Pope would thus be

^b Burchard. Diar. p. 14. et seq. apud Gordon. in Appendice.

ⁱ Idem ibid.

Year of
Christ 1494.

The Pope
refuses to ad-
mit him into
Rome.

But is forced
to yield.

The King's
Entry into
Rome.

left entirely at the Mercy of the King, who had several Cardinals in his Retinue, known to be the avowed Enemies of the *Borgias*, and all Men capable of the most violent Resolutions, the Demands of the Embassadors were rejected by his Holiness himself as well as his Two Sons, Cardinal *Valentine* and the Duke of *Gandia*, in the most haughty and insolent Terms. However, when News was brought that the King had entered the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, had possessed himself of *Viterbo*, had left a Garrison there, and was advancing, full March, to *Rome*, the Pope, finding that he must either stand a Siege, or receive him into the City, chose the latter, and sent immediately Deputies to acquaint the King therewith, and settle the Conditions. The King appointed Deputies to confer, and adjust Matters, with those of the Pope; and it was agreed, that the King should pass through *Rome* when, and in what Manner, he pleased; that his Troops should be supplied with the necessary Provisions, paying for them; and that the Duke of *Ca'abria* should withdraw all his Forces from *Rome* before the King entered it. These Conditions being agreed to, *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*, marched out of *Rome*, with his *Neapolitan* Forces, on the last Day of the present Year, in the Morning, and *Charles* made his Entry in the Evening, by Torch-light, at the Head of his Troops, all armed, and the King resting his Lance on his Thigh, as if he were entering an Enemy's Town. The Streets were all illuminated, and the People, flocking from all Quarters, received the King with loud Acclamations, crying out, as he passed, *Viva la Francia, Viva la Francia*. *Charles* dismounted at the Palace of *St. Mark*, which had been prepared for his Reception, and not trusting the Pope, who had retired to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, he caused strong Guards to be placed, with Part of his Artillery, in all the Avenues leading to his Palace. The same Night the Pope sent his Secretary, the Bishop of *Nepi*, and One of the Masters of the Ceremonies, to compliment the King, on his safe Arrival, in his Name, as well as in the Name of the College of Cardinals, and the People of *Rome*. The next Day a Treaty was set on Foot, and in a few Days concluded between the Pope and the King. The Articles of that Treaty were, that a perfect Harmony should thenceforth subsist between his Holiness, and the most Christian King; that the Cities of *Terracina*, *Civita-Vecchia*, and *Spoleti*, should be delivered

Agreement
between him
and the Pope.

Year of
Christ 1495.

up to and kept by the King, till he had completed the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*; that his Holiness should not molest the Cardinals, nor the *Roman* Barons, who had declared for the King; that *Zizini*, Brother to Sultan *Bajazet*, should be delivered up to the King, to be employed by him in the War, which he intended to make upon the *Turks* after the Conquest of *Naples*; and lastly, that Cardinal *Valentine* should attend him, in the present Expedition, with the Character of Apostolic Legate. By this last Article the King thought, that he had, in the Son, a Pledge for the Fidelity of the Father. These Articles being all agreed to, the Pope returned from the Castle of *St. Angelo* to the *Vatican*, and was there visited by the King on the 16th of *January*. They had some other Interviews the following Days; and in all the Pope expressed the most cordial Affection for the King, and the sincerest Attachment to his Person and Interest. At his Desire he created Two Cardinals, *William Bricconet*, Bishop of *St. Malo*, and the Bishop of *Mans* of the *Luxemburg* Family; and on that Occasion told the King, that he could ask nothing of him, that he was not ready to grant; that he had always favoured the *French* Nation in his Heart, and had only wanted an Opportunity of receding, with Honour, from the Engagements, which he had entered into with the King of *Naples*. Before *Charles* left *Rome*, most of the *Roman* Barons, and with them several Cardinals, informing him privately of the Manner, in which the Pope had been elected, and had hitherto governed; of his lewd and debauched Life, of his Want of all Faith, Religion and Principles, &c. earnestly entreated him to cause a General Council to be called, in order to depose him, and deliver the City of *Rome*, as well as the Church, from so lawless a Tyrant. They added, that notwithstanding the Zeal he pretended, at present, for his Majesty's Service, he would find him, as soon as the Terror of his Arms was removed, a most bitter and implacable Enemy. The King returned Answer, that it was to ascertain his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and not to concern himself with the Government, or the Affairs of the Church, that he came into *Italy*, and that, if his Holiness of a Friend became his Enemy, he would then; but not till then; treat him as such i.

Year of
Christ 1495.

The Pope
pretends
great Zeal
for the King's
Service.

¹ Guicciardin. l. 2. De Comines, c. 11. Burchard. Diar. p. 34. Tomasi, p. 97.

Year of
Christ 1495.

Cardinal
Valentine's
treacherous
Conduct.

The King, having now settled all Matters with the Pope, set out from *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, having made near a Month's Stay in that City. He halted the First Day at *Marino*, but Twelve Miles distant from *Rome*, and the next at *Veletri*, about Fourteen Miles from *Marino*. From thence Cardinal *Valentine*, who, by One of the Articles of the Treaty, was to attend the King in this Expedition, made his Escape. He had appointed One of his Servants to wait for him, with Two Horses, about Half a Mile out of Town, and walking thither in the Dusk of the Evening, in the Disguise of a Groom, he mounted his Horse, and returned, full Speed, to *Rome*. The King knew nothing of his Flight till the next Morning, when he sent to complain to the Pope of so manifest a Breach of One of the chief Articles of the Treaty, to which, he said, he was very well satisfied, that his Holiness was privy. The Pope pretended to have been no ways concerned in it, but could not be prevailed upon to send the Cardinal back to the Army; which left no Room for the King to doubt of his Insincerity. But not thinking it worth his while to return to *Rome* on that Account, he took no further Notice of it for the present ^k. *Burchard* tells us, that the Cardinal, to remove all Suspicion from the Mind of the King of his intending to leave him, and prevent his being too narrowly watched, ordered Nineteen covered Carriages to attend him, all loaded, in Appearance, with Things of great Value for his own Use; that he caused Three of them, containing a great Quantity of Plate, to be unloaded, in the Sight of the whole Army, at the Place, where the King halted the First Day; but that the Drivers of these Three Carriages had private Orders to keep behind, and, when at a considerable Distance from the Army, to turn about, and make the best of their Way for *Rome*; which they did and arrived safe. The same Writer adds, that, when the Cardinal's Flight was known in the Army, the Soldiery fell upon the remaining Carriages, in order to plunder them, but, to their great Disappointment, found them loaded only with Stones, or Things of no Value, and that the Cardinal, nevertheless, gave out, that being sent for to *Rome*, upon an Affair of the utmost Importance, unknown till then, the *French* Soldiers had laid hold of that Opportunity to plunder his

* De la Vigne Journal de Charle VIII. Tomasi, p. 97. Burchard: Diar. p. 34.

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

343

Baggage, and, in order to conceal it, filled the Carriages with Rubbish¹.

Year of
Christ 1495.

In the mean time the King, thinking that he should hereafter have no great Occasion for the Assistance or Friendship of the Pope, pursued his March to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Upon his Approach the People and most of the Barons, who hated the very Name of *Alphonso* on Account of his Avarice, Cruelty, and tyrannical Government, flew every-where to Arms, and proclaiming *Charles* their lawful King and Deliverer, set up the *French* Standard in all their Towns, not awed by Garisons. *Alphonso* having no Hopes of receiving any Assistance in due Time from either of his Allies, the *Turk* or his Holiness, and not daring to quit *Naples*, lest that City should follow the Example of the rest, he took a very extraordinary Resolution, that of resigning the Royal Title and Authority in favour of his Son *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*, *Ferdinand* was not above Twenty-four Years of Age, of a mild Disposition, of an obliging Behaviour, and as universally beloved as his Father was hated. *Alphonso* therefore flattered himself, that he being removed, and so promising a Youth placed on the Throne in his Room, the People would prefer him, who was born among them, and whom they all knew, to One, who was as great a Stranger to them as they were to him. Having therefore signed the Act of Renunciation in the Presence of his Brother *Frideric*, and all the Nobility, and caused *Ferdinand* to be crowned with the usual Ceremonies, he fled in his Gallies to *Mazara* in *Sicily*, and, after a short Stay there, to *Messina*, where he embraced a religious Life, and ended his Days on the 19th of *November* of the present Year, when he had lived Forty-seven Years and some Days, and reigned One Year, wanting Two Days^m. He was buried with Royal Pomp in the great Church of *Messina*, and his Tomb is there to be seen to this Day.

The Resignation of *Alphonso* would have had the wished-for Effect, in the Opinion of *Guicciardin*, had it been made sooner. But the Revolt was already become general; and the *French*, having taken by Storm Two Places, that opposed them, *Montefortina* and *Mount St. John*, and, putting all they found in them to the Sword, reduced them to Ashes, struck such Terror into the rest, that they all submitted as

Alphonso
resigns the
Crown to his
Son *Ferdinand*, and
quits the
Kingdom.

The whole
Kingdom and
Naples itself
submits to
Charles.

¹ Burchard. & Tomasi. *ibid*.
mont. Hist. Neap. & Constanzi. l. 20.

^m Guicciardin, l. 1. Comines, l. 7. c. 11. Sum-

Year of
Christ 1495.

soon as the Enemy appeared before them. The new King advanced with his Army to defend the Cities of *St. Germano* and *Capua*, and thus prevent the *French* from advancing to *Naples*. But being either abandoned by his Troops, or betrayed by his Generals, he set out from *Capua*, with the small Remains of his Army, on his Return to the Capital. But, finding upon his Arrival there, that the Inhabitants had openly revolted, had proclaimed *Charles*, and sent to him to come and take Possession of their City, he resolved to abandon a Kingdom, which it was no longer possible for him to defend. Having therefore assembled the Chief of the Nobility and People, he absolved them from the Oath of Allegiance, which they had taken to him but a few Days before, and gave them Leave to submit, upon the best Terms they could get, to their new Masters. This the young King did in so affecting a Speech, and such tender Expressions, as they are related by *Guiccardin*, that they drew Tears from all who were present. But as they had no other Effect, the King, embarking on the Gallies, that waited for him in the Harbour, with his Uncle *Frideric*, the old Queen, his Grandfather's Wife, her Daughter *Joan*, and a few Lords, who did not forsake him in his Misfortunes, sailed for the Island of *Ischia*, often repeating, while in Sight of *Naples*; the Words of the 127th Psalm, *Except the Lord keep the City the Watchmen waketh in vain* ^a.

Ferdinand
retires to the
Island of
Ischia.

Charles
makes his
public Entry
into Naples.

Charles, being, by *Ferdinand's* Flight, left Master of, almost, the whole Kingdom, made his public Entry into *Naples* on the 21st of February of the present Year, amidst the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks, and having in a few Days, reduced *Castel Nuovo* and *Castello dell' Uovo*, in which *Ferdinand* had left some Troops, he employed the remaining Part of the short Time he stayed there in giving Orders for the securing of his Conquests, in receiving the Oaths and Submissions of the Provinces, Cities, and Towns, and above all in Tournaments, Shews, and Rejoicings. While he was thus employed he received certain Intelligence from *Philip de Comines*, his Ambassador at *Venice*, of a League concluded against him, into which had entered, the Pope, the *Venetians*, the Republic of *Florence*, and *Lewis Sforza*, the Usurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the chief Author of the King's Expedition into *Italy*. They were all alike jealous of the Power of the *French*, who carried all before them; and this League they

^a Guiccardin, l. 1. p. 36, 37, 38.

formed not only with a Design to drive them out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, but to prevent the King's Return to *France*, and to seize on his Person, in order to oblige him to surrender every Foot of Ground he held in *Italy*. *Sforza*, apprehending, as has been said, that King *Ferdinand*, the elder, would oblige him to deliver up the Dutchy of *Milan* to *John Galeazzo*, the lawful Heir, who had married that King's Grand-daughter, had, in order to divert him from that Undertaking, invited the *French* to the Conquest of his Kingdom. But having, with a large Sum of Money, purchased of the Emperor *Maximilian* the Investiture of the Dutchy, and dispatched with Poison the young Duke his Nephew, he thought that he no longer stood in need of the *French*, and therefore very readily joined in the League against so powerful and so dangerous an Enemy; the rather as the Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards *Lewis XII.* laid Claim to that Dutchy. The Intelligence *Charles* received of this League obliged him to hasten his Departure from *Naples*; and having placed Garisons in the fortified Towns, he set out on his Return to *France*, on the 20th of *May*, about Three Months after his entering that Kingdom. He passed through *Rome*, but found that the Pope, and the Cardinals who adhered to him, had all fled first to *Orvieto*, and from thence to *Perugia*. The *Romans* supplied his Army with Plenty of Provisions; and to them, as he knew they did not approve of the Conduct of the Pope, he behaved in the most obliging Manner. He marched Five Weeks without the least Opposition: But, upon his Arrival at the River *Taro* in the *Parmesan*, he found the Confederates encamped on the opposite Bank, to the Number, says *Comines*, of 30,000 Combatants, whereas his Army consisted only of 7,000 regular Troops. After several Motions the Two Armies came at last, on the 6th of *July*, to a general Engagement, which *Guicciardin* has described, at length, not much to the Honour of the *Italian* Soldiery. For the Confederates had 3,300 Men killed on the Spot, and the *French* not above 200. Besides, the King carried his Point, which was to open a Passage for his Army; and he pursued his March quite unmolested. He halted a few Days at *Asli*, to refresh his Troops, who had suffered greatly for want of Provisions, and then continuing his March, arrived, with his Army, at *Lions* on the 7th of *November*.

Year of
Christ 1495.

The Italian
Princes join
in a League
against him.

He returns
to France.

Battle on the
Banks of the
Taro.

o Guicciardin, l. 2. p. 45. 59. Tomasi. p. 145—148. Comines, l. 8. c. 1—7. La Vigne Journal de Charles VIII.

Year of
Christ 1495.
Summons
sent by the
Pope to
Charles,
and his An-
swer to it.

Charles had not yet reached the Borders of *France*, when a Monitory was delivered to him by a Messenger from the Pope, commanding him, on Pain of Excommunication, to quit *Italy* in the Term of Ten Days, and recall all his Troops out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. If he complied not with that Command, he was by the same Monitory summoned to appear, in Person, before his Holiness at *Rome*. The King could not help smiling at this Summons; and he returned to it the following Answer; That he was not a little surpris'd at his Holiness's commanding him to leave *Italy*, since, having demanded a free Passage for his Troops to return to *France*, his Holiness's Allies had denied him his Request, and rais'd what Troops they could to stop him; that he was no less surpris'd at his requiring him to withdraw his Troops from the Kingdom of *Naples*, since it was not without his Consent, Approbation, and even good Wishes, that they had enter'd that Kingdom; and, lastly, that as to his appearing before his Holiness at *Rome*, such a Command seem'd to him quite unaccountable; since being desirous, on his Return from *Naples*, of seeing him at *Rome*, and returning him Thanks for the many Obligations he owed him, he had not thought fit to grant him that Satisfaction; but, nevertheless, that he would strive to obey, in due Time, his Holiness's Command; and only begged that he would wait for him, and not make him undertake, a Second Time, the same Journey in vain.

Ferdinand
resolves to
attempt the
Recovery of
his Kingdom.

And now briefly to relate what happened in the Kingdom of *Naples*, after the Departure of *Charles*. He had left some Troops under the Command of *Gilbert*, Count of *Montpensier*, Prince of the Blood, but too small a Number, as he wanted them himself for his Return, to guard so great a Country. Besides, he had very imprudently neglected to reduce some strong Holds, that had not yet submitted; and the People of *Naples*, the most inconstant and fickle in the World, began already to be dissatisfied with the *French* Government. All this encouraged King *Ferdinand*, who had fled, as has been said, to the Island of *Ischia*, to attempt the Recovery of his Kingdom. Having formed this Design, he pass'd over, in a light Galley, from the Island of *Ischia* to *Messina*, to advise with his Father *Alphonso*, who was still living, about the most effectual Means of carrying his Design into Execution. They had several private Conferences, and in the End it was

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

347

agreed, that Recourse should be had to *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*,
 furnished the Catholic, a Title lately conferred on him by the Pope, ^{Year of}
 on Account of his Victories over the *Moors* of *Granada*. As he was ^{Christ 1495,}
 nearly related to them, being the Son of *John*, King of *Arragon*, Bro-
 ther to *Alphonso*, the First King of *Naples* of that Family, they did not
 doubt, but he would very readily espouse their Cause, and afford them ^{Ferdinand,}
 all the Assistance in his Power; the rather as he had Reason to appre- ^{King of}
 hend, that, should the *French* be left in the quiet Possession of the ^{Spain, ef-}
 Kingdom of *Naples*, they would lay hold of the first Opportunity to ^{pouses his}
 invade the neighbouring Island of *Sicily*, that belonged to him, and ^{Cause.}
 unite it to their new Kingdom. Of this the Catholic King was aware,
 and therefore upon the first Application from *Alphonso* and his Son
Ferdinand, he ordered a Body of Troops to assemble, with all Expedi-
 tion, at *Messina*, and to pass over from thence to the Kingdom of *Naples*,
 in order to assist the banished King in recovering his Kingdom. These
 Troops were commanded by the famous *Gonsalvo Fernandes*, of the
 Family of *Aguilar*, a Man who had signalized himself in a very emi-
 nent Manner, against the *Moors* of *Granada*, and had by his Courage,
 his Conduct, and his military Atchievements, acquired the glorious
 Title of the *Great Captain*; and by that Title he is commonly men-
 tioned in History. *Gonsalvo* and the young King landed their Army, ^{A new War}
 without Opposition, at *Reggio*, in *Calabria*, opposite to *Messina*. ^{kindled in}
 The Town opened its Gates to them, and the Castle surrendered after a ^{Italy.}
 Three Days Siege. In *Calabria* commanded for *Charles*, *Edward*
Stuart, a *Scotchman*, commonly known by the Name of *d'Aubigni*.
 He was originally Captain of the King's Life-guards, who were all
 of that Nation, the *French* Kings reposing greater Confidence in them
 on Account of their known Valour as well as Fidelity, than in their
 own Subjects. *Edward* had no less distinguished himself, on many Oc-
 casions, by his Courage and Conduct in the Field, than by his Pene-
 tration and Wisdom in the Cabinet; and had therefore been created
 Lord *Aubigni*, and raised to the highest Military Honours. *Charles*,
 upon his returning to *France*, appointed him Lord High Constable of
 his new Kingdom, bestowed upon him the County of *Assi*, with the
 Lordship of *Squillace*, held by the Pope's youngest Son, and committed
 to his Charge the Defence of the Province of *Calabria*, lying next to
Sicily. He therefore no sooner heard of the Surrender of *Reggio* than

Year of
Christ 1495.

The Neapolitans revolt, and invite Ferdinand to return.

Year of
Christ 1496.

The French are everywhere driven out.

he took the Field, attacked *Gonsalvo* and the King, utterly defeated them, and obliged *Gonsalvo* to shut himself up in *Reggio*, and the King to return to *Sicily*. This was a very inauspicious Beginning, and it tarnished, not a little, the Glory of the *Spanish Great Captain*. In the mean time the People of *Naples*, no longer able to bear with the haughty and insolent Behaviour of the *French*, sent privately to invite *Ferdinand* to return, assuring him, that they were, all to a Man, ready to shed the last Drop of their Blood in his Cause. Upon that Invitation he immediately put to Sea with a Fleet of Sixty large and Twenty small Ships, which the Catholic King had furnished him with, and had the Satisfaction, as he sailed along the Coast, to see his Standard displayed upon the Towers of *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and the other Maritime Towns. He appeared the Third Day off *Naples*, and *Montpensier*, who commanded there, having very imprudently marched out with the greater Part of the Garison to prevent his landing, the People laid hold of that Opportunity, flew to Arms, seized all the Gates, and, crying out, *God save King Ferdinand*, brought him in Triumph, into the City, on the 7th of *July* of the present Year. He rode through the City amidst the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks; and the Ladies, not satisfied with covering him from the Windows with Flowers, and sprinkling him with odoriferous Waters, many of the first Distinction among them came out to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Face. The other Cities followed the Example of the Metropolis, and the Revolt was now become as general in favour of *Ferdinand*, as it had been, but a few Months before, against him. The *French* were every-where driven out, and *Montpensier* himself was besieged in the City of *Atella* by *Gonsalvo* and the King, and made Prisoner, with his whole Army, still Five or Six Thousand strong. But it was agreed, that he should be supplied with Shipping to transport his Troops with their Baggage to *Provence*; upon Condition, however, that he obliged *Aubigni* to deliver the Towns, that he still held in *Calabria*. The brave *Scot* had recovered several Towns that the *Great Captain* had reduced, and among the rest the City of *Cosenza*, Capital of the *Hither Calabria*, and refused to surrender them, alleging, that he had not signed the Treaty of *Atella*, and therefore was not bound to stand to it. *Montpensier* was therefore kept Prisoner at *Puzzolo*, where he died soon afterwards. *Aubigni* held out some time longer;

longer ; but finding, that the King had laid aside all Thoughts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and being, at the same time, reduced to great Straits for want of Provisions, as well as Money to purchase any, or to pay his Soldiers, he thought it would reflect no Disgrace upon him to abandon an Enterprize, which his Master had abandoned ; and accordingly he concluded a Treaty with the Enemy, by which he and all the other *French* Commanders were allowed to return unmolested to *France*, with all their Men and their Baggage ¹. Such was the Success of the famous Expedition of *Charles VIII.* against the Kingdom of *Naples* ; an Expedition, to use the Words of Father *Daniel*, undertaken with much Imprudence, pursued with wonderful Success, and little Conduct, and at last shamefully abandoned, with the Loss of a great many brave Men ². Indeed no Kingdom, it must be owned, was ever more easily conquered, and more shamefully lost.

By the Departure of the *French* Peace was restored throughout the Kingdom. But the King had scarce tasted the Sweets of it, when he was taken dangerously ill at *Soma*, a Town situated at the Foot of Mount *Vesuvius*, and, being carried to *Naples*, he died there in a few Days. His Death happened in the Month of *October* of the present Year, when he had not yet completed the 28th Year of his Age, nor the Second of his Reign. As he died without Issue, he was succeeded by his Uncle *Frideric*, the Brother of *Alphonso*. Thus did *Naples* see, in the Space of less than Two Years, Five Kings ; *Ferdinand* the elder, *Alphonso* his Son, *Charles VIII.* of *France*, *Ferdinand* the younger, and *Frideric* his Uncle.

Of Pope *Alexander* we find nothing recorded worthy of Notice, during the Course of the *Neapolitan* War, besides his Simoniacal Practices in conferring not only Benefices and Bishoprics, but even the Red Hat, upon such only as were able to come up to the Price he set upon them ; his instituting new Offices, and exposing them to public Sale, and his creating the Duke of *Gandia*, his eldest Son, Captain General of the Church, and sending him to make War upon the *Orsini*, whom he had declared guilty of High Treason, for siding with the *French* against his Ally *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*. The Duke entered the

¹ Guicciard. l. 2 & 3. Comines, l. 7. & 8. Govius, l. 3. Georgius Florus de exped. Caroli VIII. Oricellarius de Bello Italic. La Vigne Journal de Charles VIII. Hist. de France. l. 8. ² Daniel

Year of
Christ 1496.

Territories of the *Orfini* at the Head of a very considerable Army, made himself Master of several strong Holds, which that Family was possessed of in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and, at last, laid Siege to *Bracciano*, a very strong Place, situated on the Lake of that Name. Here he met with a most vigorous Resistance, was repulled, with great Loss, in all the Attacks he made; and, in the mean time, landed at *Gaeta* a Body of chosen Troops, sent by *Charles*, King of *France*, to the Relief of his Allies. These were joined, on their March, by most of the other *Roman* Barons and their Vassals, who, being well apprised that the Pope made War upon the *Orfini* with no other View, but to enrich his Family at their Expence, looked upon their Cause as their own. The Duke of *Gandia* no sooner heard of the Landing of the *French*, than he raised the Siege, and marched with his whole Army to meet them. The Two Armies met at *Soriano*, a Village belonging to the *Orfini*, and, an Engagement thereupon ensuing, the Pope's Army was put to Flight, with the Loss of 500 Men, of all their Standards, Baggage, and Artillery. The Duke himself was wounded, and very narrowly escaped falling into the Enemy's Hands. This Battle was followed by a Treaty of Peace between the Pope and the *Orfini*, which his Holiness, bent upon enriching and aggrandizing his own Children with the Spoils of that illustrious Family, no longer observed, than he thought that he could break it with Safety, as we shall see in the Sequel.

His Army
defeated.

Benevento
erected into a
Dutchy, and
given by the
Pope to his
eldest Son.

Year of
Christ 1497.

The following Year the Pope, not satisfied with having created the Duke of *Gandia*, his eldest and favourite Son, Captain General of the Church, proposed, in a Consistory, called on the 7th of *June*, the erecting of the City of *Benevento*, with its Territory, into a Dutchy, and bestowing it upon him. To that Proposal the Cardinals all agreed except Cardinal *Piccolomini*, afterwards *Pius III.* who had the Courage to declare, that he never would consent to the alienating of the Lands or Estates of the Church. But in spite of his Opposition *Benevento* was declared a Dutchy, and the Duke of *Gandia* received the Investiture at his Father's Hands. This new Honour proved fatal to the Duke. For his Brother the Cardinal, provoked beyond Measure at the Partiality shewn by the Father for him, and envying him the extraordinary Honours that were heaped daily upon him, while he himself was, in a Manner, neglected, resolved to remove him out of the Way, and thus engross

his

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

351

his Father's Affections to himself. To this barbarous and horrid Resolution he was instigated by another Motive of a different Nature. His Brother was his Rival in an Amour; and the Lady seemed to prefer the Duke to the Cardinal, which the latter could not bear. Being therefore determined upon the Fratricide, he charged Four of the many Assassins, whom he kept constantly in his Pay, with the Execution of it; and the Time fixed for that Purpose was the Night preceding the 15th of June, the Cardinal knowing for certain that his Brother was to visit his Mistress that Night. As he himself was to set out early next Morning for *Naples*, to crown the new King, he supped with the Duke and the rest of his Relations at his Mother's. After Supper the Duke and the Cardinal came away together; but the Duke telling the Cardinal, with his usual Familiarity, that he had a Mind to pass some Hours with a Lady of their Acquaintance before he went Home, the Cardinal wished him much Pleasure, and thus they parted. As the Duke did not return that Night, nor the Day following, and Persons even of Distinction were at this Time frequently missing, it was surmised by some, that he had been murdered, and that his Body, which, upon the strictest Search, could be no-where found, had been thrown into the *Tiber*. Upon that Surmise the Pope, distracted with Grief, ordered the Watermen, and all who had Houses on the River, to be examined, whether they knew of any dead Body being lately thrown into the River. Amongst the many who were examined one *George*, a *Sclavonian*, who used to bring Timber up the River in his Boat, declared, that on *Wednesday* Night (the Night preceding the 15th of June) while he was watching his Timber, which he had put ashore, he saw Two Men; and soon after Two others, coming out of an Alley, and looking every where around them, to see, as he supposed, whether the Streets were clear from Passengers; that, upon their seeing no body, they made a Signal to their Companions to advance, which they immediately did; that One of them was on Horseback, and had behind him the Body of a dead Man, the Head and Arms hanging down on One Side, and the Legs on the other; that as he approached the River, Two of his Companions taking the dead Body, the one by the Arms, the other by the Legs, after swinging it Two or Three Times, threw it, with all their Might, into the River. The *Sclavonian* being asked, upon this his Deposition, why he had not made:

Year of
Christ 1497.

Who is murdered by his Brother the Cardinal.

Circumstances attending that Murder.

Year of
Christ 1497.

made such a Discovery to the Governor, he answered, that he had seen an Hundred Bodies of Persons who had been murdered thrown into the River, and that, as no Notice had been ever taken of those Murders, he thought it was no Business of his to take any Notice of this. Upon this Intelligence all the Watermen, in and about *Rome*, were employed to fish for the Body, with a Promise of a great Reward to those who should find it. It was found and haled ashore the same Day about the Hour of Vespers, and, upon their washing it; they discovered Nine Wounds, all of them mortal. The Body was carried in the Evening, with great Funeral Pomp, to the Church of *St. Mary de Populo*, and there interred, as he had been General of the Church, with all the Military Honours. The Pope, affected beyond Expression with the tragical End of his eldest and favourite Son, and taking it for granted, that the Murder had been perpetrated by the Enemies of the Family, caused the strictest Enquiries to be made after the Authors of it, that he might have, at least, the Satisfaction of wreaking his Vengeance upon them. None could bear Witness against the Cardinal, but the Russians, whom he had employed, and they dared not, lest they should be sent after the Duke. However, from the Discoveries, that were made in the Course of these Enquiries, it evidently appeared, that the Cardinal, and no other, was the Author of the Murder. The Pope himself was convinced of it, and overwhelmed with Grief; he shut himself up in his Closet, and there remained, without admitting any Person whatever, or taking any Kind of Nourishment, from *Wednesday* to *Saturday*, when he was prevailed upon by the Cardinal of *Segovia*, who had never departed from his Chamber-door, to admit him, and take some Food. The following Night *Vanozza*, whose Favourite the Cardinal was, as the Duke was the Pope's, visited his Holiness, and staid several Hours with him in private. What passed at that Interview we know not. But in this all Authors agree, that the Pope thenceforth, by a sudden and unaccountable Change, appeared quite unconcerned; that all further Enquiries concerning the Duke's Death were stopt; and his Name no more mentioned, than if he had never existed*. Some Authors suppose *Vanozza* to have been privy to the Murder, nay, and to have instigated the Cardinal to it, finding

*The Pope's
Behaviour on
that Occasion.*

* Guicciardin, l. 3. p. 96. Tomasi. p. 497—262. & Burchard. p. 36—40. apud Gordon, p. 152—159.

him endowed with much better Talents than the Duke, and more capable of raising the Family to the highest Pitch of Grandeur, if the Honours, bestowed upon the Duke, were conferred upon him. And now let us see what Measures his Holiness pursued to exalt this Fratricide, and in him his Family.

Ferdinand II. King of *Naples*, was succeeded, as has been said, by his Uncle *Frideric*, who immediately wrote a most submissive Letter to the Pope, to acquaint him with his Accession, and beg his Holiness to send him the Bull of Investiture. *Alexander*, in Compliance with the King's Request, sent him, the very next Day, the Bull he had applied for, and with it a Letter, filled with the most friendly and kind Expressions, wishing him a long and prosperous Reign, and assuring him, that he should ever employ all his Power, temporal as well as spiritual, to support him upon a Throne, to which he had so just a Title. To do him greater Honour, he sent soon afterwards Cardinal *Valentine*, with the Character of his Legate *a latere*, to crown him; and on the 10th of *August* of the present Year that Ceremony was performed by the Cardinal, with the utmost Magnificence, not at *Naples*, where the Plague then raged, but at *Capua*.

As *Charles VIII.* of *France* died on the 7th of *April* of the following Year 1498, and great military Preparations were carrying on by his Successor *Lewis XII.* with a Design of making a new Attempt upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pope, thinking that King *Frideric*, to engage his Favour and Protection against so powerful an Enemy, would readily grant him whatever he should ask, demanded his Daughter for the Cardinal, who wanted to renounce that Dignity, and the Principality of *Taranto* for her Portion. The Pope's View in this was, as is supposed by the contemporary Writers, to raise his Son, so unbounded was his Ambition, to the Throne of *Naples*. For should his Son marry the King's Daughter, and get Possession of so considerable a Part of the Kingdom, he thought it would be no difficult Undertaking, with the Wealth and Forces of the Church, to drive out the Father-in-Law, who had but few Troops, and empty Coffers. Of this *Frideric* was aware, and therefore rejected, in the least disobliging Terms he could, the proposed Marriage. *Lewis Sforza*, the Usurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*, whose Dominions the *French* King claimed, and

Year of
Christ 1497.

The Pope
grants the
Investiture
to Frideric,
King of Na-
ples, and
sends Cardi-
nal Valentine
to crown him.

Quarrels
with the
King.
Year of
Christ 1498.

Occasion of
that Quar-
rel.

† Camill. Peregrin. in Append.

Year of
Christ 1498.

intended to invade, as well as the Kingdom of *Naples*, used his utmost Endeavours to persuade *Frideric* to gratify the Pope, lest the Desire of aggrandizing his Family, the only Object he had in his View, should induce him to recur to *France*, and unite with that King against both, which would be inevitably attended with the Ruin of both. But *Frideric* still refused to comply with the Pope's Demand, saying, that he well knew he should thereby forfeit his Holiness's Friendship, and expose himself to the Danger of losing his Kingdom; but that he likewise knew, that by giving his Daughter in Marriage to the Pope's Son, with the Principality of *Taranto*, he should expose himself to the same Danger, and was therefore determined of Two Evils to chuse that, which was the least derogatory to his Honour, and proceeded not from his own Act u.

The Pope concludes an Alliance with France against *Frideric*.

That the Duke of *Milan's* Apprehensions were not ill-grounded appeared soon afterwards. For upon *Frideric's* obstinately persisting to reject the proposed Match, the Pope resolved, as the Duke had foreseen, to apply to *France*, not doubting, but, at so critical a Juncture, that King would purchase his Friendship at any Rate. Accordingly the Archbishop of *Ragusa* was sent, with the Character of Nuncio, to the *French* Court, to conclude an Alliance with the King, though the Pope gave out, that his only Business was to congratulate the new King upon his Accession to the Throne. As the King promised himself great Advantages, in his intended Expedition into *Italy*, from the Friendship of the Pope, a Treaty was soon concluded upon the following Terms; that his Holiness should assist the King in the War he intended to make upon the Duke of *Milan*, and the King of *Naples*; that he should declare null his Marriage with *Jane* of *France*, Daughter to *Lewis XI.* should grant him a Dispensation to marry *Anne* of *Brittany*, and prefer *George* of *Amboise*, Archbishop of *Roan*, to the Dignity of Cardinal. The King, on his Side, was to confer some considerable Estates, Titles, and Dignities in *France*, upon Cardinal *Valentine*, as soon as he had renounced that Dignity, to procure a Match between him and *Charlotta*, Daughter of *Alan d'Albret*, and Sister to Queen *Jane* of *Navarre*, and to put the Pope in Possession of some Towns in *Romagna*, held by petty Princes, stiling themselves *Vicars of the Church*. *Anne* of *Brittany*, mentioned in the Treaty, was Heiress

And upon what Terms.

to that Dutchy, and the Widow of the late King *Charles VIII.* who had married her to annex *Brittany* to the Crown of *France*. But he dying without Issue, it reverted to her by One of the Articles of the Marriage-Treaty; and it was to secure that Principality to *France*, that *Lewis* sued for a Dispensation to marry her, and obtained it, though he had lived Twenty Years with *Jane*, in all Appearance, as his lawful Wife w.

Year of
Christ 1498.

Under this Year we read of a remarkable Instance of *Alexander's* Baseness, Cruelty, and Injustice. He had granted a Dispensation to a Nun, Heiress to the Crown of *Portugal*, to quit her religious Profession, and marry the natural Son of the late King. That Dispensation gave great Offence to *Ferdinand*, the *Catholic*, who claimed that Kingdom as the next Heir to it after the Nun; and the Pope was, on the one hand, unwilling to revoke it, and, on the other, apprehensive of the Consequences, that might attend his maintaining it, in Opposition to so powerful a Prince. But *Valentine* extricated him out of his Perplexity, advising him to deny his having ever issued such a Dispensation, and to charge the Archbishop of *Cosenza*, the Secretary of Briefs, with having forged it. This Expedient the Pope readily embraced; and the Archbishop was immediately apprehended by his Order, as guilty of Forgery, and sent Prisoner to the Castle of *St. Angelo*. As he, conscious of his own Innocence, denied the Fact with great Constancy and Firmness, and all, who were acquainted with his Character, looked upon the Charge as a malicious and groundless Calumny, the Pope sent *John Merades*, Bishop elect of *Toul*, One of the noted Instruments of his Cruelty, to assure the Prisoner in his Name, that, though he was innocent, if he would, for some weighty Reasons, take the Guilt upon him, his Holiness would cause him to be immediately set at Liberty, and prefer him to the greatest Dignities. The unhappy Bishop, allured with the Hopes of Liberty and Preferment, fell into the Snare, pleaded guilty in the Presence of several Witnesses, and most humbly begged his Holiness to forgive him. But instead of the promised Liberty and Dignities, the Pope ordered him to be more closely confined than ever. He was soon afterwards brought before a private Consistory, and being there found guilty, upon his own Confession, of having forged the Dispensation

Remarkable
Instance of
the Pope's
Baseness and
Cruelty.

* Guicciardin: l. 4. Seyssel. Annal. de France. Argentre Hist. de Bretagne, l. 12.

Year of
Christ 1498.

in Question, the following Sentence was pronounced by the Pope himself against him, that he should be degraded, that his Effects should be confiscated, and his Person delivered up to the Civil Magistrate. This cruel and unjust Sentence was executed with the utmost Rigour; all the Bishop's Effects, and the Money, he was possessed of, were given to *Valentine*, and he himself was, by the Civil Magistrate, confined, for Life, to a Dungeon in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, without any other Food but Bread and Water. But Death soon put an End to his Misery *.

Valentine renounces the Ecclesiastical State.

The Way being paved for *Valentine's* secular Grandeur by the above-mentioned Treaty concluded with the King of *France*, he applied to the Pope, and the College of Cardinals, for Leave to quit the Ecclesiastical State, alleging, that he had embraced it against his Will, merely out of Obedience to his Holiness's Command; and therefore hoped, that they would not oblige him to continue in it. It was a Thing quite unprecedented for an Archbishop and a Cardinal to become a Layman; but the Cardinals knowing that the Affair had been determined before-hand by the Pope, they all agreed to it; and *Valentine* went the very next Day in a rich Lay Habit to meet the Ambassador, whom the King of *France* had sent to confirm the above-mentioned Treaty. The Ambassador stayed about a Month at *Rome*, and had the Satisfaction, during that Time, to notify to the Pope, that his Master, in Compliance with the Treaty, had created *Cæsar Borgia*, Duke of *Valence* in *Dauphine*, had settled upon him a Pension of Twenty thousand Livres, and given him the Command of a Company of One hundred Lances, with Twenty thousand Livres more by Way of Pay. *Cæsar* (whom I shall henceforth call *Duke Valentine*, the Title given him by almost all the *Italian* Historians) set out from *Rome* with the *French* Ambassador for the Court of *France*, carrying with him the Pope's Bull for the Divorce, and the Cardinal's Cap for the Archbishop of *Roan*. He was received with most extraordinary Marks of Honour in all the Towns of *France* through which he passed, and above all at *Chinon*, where the *French* Court then resided. The Magnificence of his Entry into that City, as described by *Tomasi* and *Burchard*, almost exceeds all Belief †. *Tomasi* tells us, among other Things, that he

Is created by the French King Duke of Valence.

* Burchard. p. 40—44. Tomasi, p. 294.
Diar. p. 85.

† Tomasi, p. 314. Burchard.

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

357

had in his Train a considerable Number of led Horses, all shod with massy Gold. The King, to gratify his Vanity and that of the Pope, received, and entertained him, in a Manner, as a sovereign Prince, created him Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, an Order greatly esteemed at that Time in *France*, and continued daily heaping new Honours upon him, though he had already sufficiently discovered his Genius and Temper, and despised him in his Heart.

The following Year 1499 *Valentine's* Marriage with the Daughter of *Alan d' Albret* was brought about, not without some Difficulty, by the King, and the Nuptials were celebrated with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence. And now the King, thinking he might safely rely upon the Pope's steady Adherence to his Interest, ordered the Troops, designed for the Conquest of the Dutchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, to rendezvous at *Lions*, and he went thither himself, attended by Duke *Valentine* and the Chief of the *French* Nobility. The King remained at *Lions*, but his Army passed the *Alps* in the Beginning of *August* of the present Year, and before the End of that Month made themselves Masters of the whole Dutchy. So rapid a Conquest was owing to the Cowardice of some of the Duke's Commanders, and the Treachery of others, but above all to the Hatred his Subjects universally bore him, on Account of his Usurpation, and the Severity of his Government. The King, upon the News of the Surrender of *Milan*, immediately set out to go and take Possession of so glorious an Acquisition; and on the 16th of *October* he made his public Entry into that City, in the Ducal Habit, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People. The Reader will find a particular Detail of the Events of this War in *Guicciardin*, and to that excellent Historian, as they are foreign to my Subject, I refer him y.

The Pope sent to congratulate the King, upon his Success, as soon as he heard of his Arrival at *Milan*, and at the same time took care to remind him of his Promise to put the Holy See in Possession of the Towns that were held by petty Princes in *Romagna*, but had originally belonged to the Church. This was the only Article of the Treaty, that the King had not yet fulfilled, and, in Compliance with it, he immediately granted to Duke *Valentine*, whom the Pope had appointed Captain-General of the Church, a Body of Three hundred Lances,

Guicciardin. l. 4.

and

Year of
Christ 1499.

General In-
surrection
against the
French in the
State of
Milan.

Quelled, and
the Duke
taken Pri-
soner.

Year of
Christ 1500.

Valentine
compleats the
Reduction of
Romagna.

and Four thousand *Swiss*, the former to be paid by the King, and the latter by the Pope. With these Troops the Duke began his Expedition by besieging *Imola*, which, as it was not defensible, immediately surrendered, *Catherine Sforza*, the Governess, having retired with her young Son, *Ostavian Riarius*, Lord of the Place, to *Forli*, that belonged to the same Family. As the Governess had not a sufficient Number of Troops to defend that City, she abandoned it, and, having sent away her Children and her most valuable Effects to *Florence*, withdrew to the Citadel. There she held out, for some time, with a Courage and Resolution far above her Sex. But the Citadel being taken as well as the Castle, to which she had retired, she was made Prisoner, and, being sent to *Rome*, was there shut up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. But the pressing Instances of the *Florentines*, and the Remonstrances of *Ivo d' Alegre*, whom the King had appointed to command under the Duke, saved her from falling a Victim, as many others had done, to the *Borgian* Cruelty and Avarice. *Valentine* was prevented, for the present, from pursuing this War, by an Incident quite unforeseen, a general Insurrection against the *French* in the State of *Milan*, which obliged them to recall the Troops, employed in reducing the Cities of *Romagna*. Thus was a new and far more bloody War than the former kindled in the *Milanese*. But the King, who was returned to *France*, having, upon the first News of this sudden Revolution, sent a strong Reinforcement to *Trivulzio*, whom he had appointed Governor of his new Dutchy, all the Places, that had revolted, were recovered, and on the 10th of *April* of the following Year 1500 the Duke himself was taken Prisoner, being betrayed by the *Swiss* in his Pay, and carried into *France*. As he had usurped the Dutchy of *Milan*, had poisoned his Nephew the lawful Heir, and had frequently put all *Italy*, by his unbounded Ambition, in a Flame, the King confined him for Life to the Castle of *Loches*; and he died there about the Year 1510.

As the King had not yet made the necessary Preparations for his intended Expedition into the Kingdom of *Naples*, he sent, at the Request of the Pope, a strong Body of chosen Troops to assist *Valentine* in renewing the War against the Princes of *Romagna*. With that Reinforcement the Duke soon made himself Master of *Pesaro* and *Rimini*,

² Guicciardin. l. 5. Hist. de Bayard. c. 16. Anton. Hist. de Louis XII.

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

359

Year of
Christ 1501.

the First Place being abandoned by its Lord, *John Sforza*, and the latter, which was held by *Pandolfo Malatesta*, opening its Gates to him as soon as he appeared before them. At *Faenza* he met with a most vigorous Resistance from *Astor Manfredi*, Lord of that City, though only a Youth of about Eighteen Years of Age. The Duke is said to have lost, in the Course of this Siege, above Two thousand of his best Troops. But the Besieged, being, in the End, reduced to great Straits for Want of Provisions, and dreading the Consequences of their falling into the Hands of so merciless an Enemy without any previous Agreement, prevailed upon their young Prince to capitulate; and the Town was, accordingly, delivered up upon the following Conditions, that the Persons and Effects, of the Inhabitants should be safe, and that *Astor* should be allowed to retire unmolested to what Place soever he pleased, and carry with him, all his Effects. *Valentine* swore to the Observance of these Articles; but, regardless of his Oath, he retained the young Prince at his Court, and for some time treated him, in Appearance, with great Respect. But not long after he was sent to *Rome*; and there, when a certain Person, as was reported, had satiated his Lust with him, he being a most beautiful Youth, he was, with his natural Brother, privately put to Death. Thus *Guicciardin*. *Tomas* adds, that about a Twelvemonth after, the young Prince was found in the *Tiber* with a Bow-String about his Neck, and his Brother, a Youth of Fifteen Years of Age, with his Hands tied behind his Back. As the Reduction of *Romagna* was completed by the taking of *Faenza*, great Rejoicings were made, on that Occasion, at *Rome*; and the Pope not only confirmed to *Valentine* the Title of Duke of *Romagna*, which he had assumed, but granted to him the whole Province to be held by him and his Heirs, and invested him with it in a full Consistory; so that the Church got nothing by this War, in which so many Lives were lost, though the Pope had undertaken it under Colour of recovering to her her ancient Domains; and the Duke was, in the End, the only Gainer.

Instance of
his Cruelty
and Treachery.

Is created
Duke of Ro-
magna.

The Pope and *Valentine* were for carrying the War next into the State of *Bologna*, held, with that City, by the *Bentivogli*. But the King of *France*, having, by this Time, made the necessary Preparations for adding the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples* to that of

The Kings of
France and
Spain agree
to divide the
Kingdom of
Naples be-
tween them.

Guicciardin. l. 5. Tomas, p. 139.

the

Year of
Christ 1501.

the Dutchy of *Milan*, recalled the Troops he had lent to *Valentine*; and thus was the intended Attempt upon *Bologna* put off to a more proper Season. Of the King's Expedition against the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Success that attended it, Authors give us the following Account. As *Ferdinand the Catholic* claimed that Kingdom as well as *Lewis*, they privately agreed to conquer it, with their joint Forces, and divide it between them, laying it down as a Principle, that *Frideric*, the Prince then on the Throne, had no Right to it, being descended only from a natural Son of the House of *Arragon*, and that they Two were the only Persons, who could have a lawful Claim to it, *Lewis*, as Heir to the Family of *Anjou*, and *Ferdinand*, as Nephew to *Alphonso*, who conquered it, he being the Son of *John*, King of *Arragon*, *Alphonso's* Brother, and consequently lawful Heir, as he pretended, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which his Uncle had conquered with the Arms and the Money of *Arragon*. By that Convention *Ferdinand* was to have *Calabria* and *Apulia*, lying next to *Sicily*, which belonged to him, and *Lewis* the Rest of the Kingdom with the Capital. Each was to conquer his own Share, and neither was obliged to assist, but only not to hinder the other. This Treaty was signed by *Ferdinand* at *Granada* on the 11th of *November* of the present Year. But by both Princes it was thought expedient, that it should be kept secret till such Time as the *French* Army, destined for the Conquest of *Naples*, arrived at *Rome* ^b. In the mean time the unhappy King *Frideric*, hearing of the March of the *French* Army, and knowing nothing of this Treaty, applied to *Ferdinand* as a Prince of the same Family, earnestly entreating him to take him into his Protection, and assist him as powerfully against *Lewis* of *France*, as he had assisted his Nephew against *Charles*. *Ferdinand*, in Compliance, as he pretended, with *Frideric's* Request, ordered *Gonsalvo*, called the *Great Captain*, having first let him into the Secret, to embark immediately on board the Fleet, that lay at *Malaga* with a great Number of Troops on board, and sail to *Sicily*. The News of his Arrival there gave great Joy to *Frideric*, who entertained not, (and how could he?) the least Suspicion of the Catholic King's Treachery, and he immediately wrote to *Gonsalvo*, pressing him to pass over, without Delay, to *Calabria*, that he might be ready at hand to make Head against the *French* in

Treachery of
the King of
Spain.

^b Recueil de Traites de Leonard. tom. 1.

full March to invade his Kingdom. *Gonsalvo* demanded, and obtained some Towns in *Calabria*, that he might have Places to retreat to, as he pretended, in case of any Misfortune; but his real Design was thus to get more easily Possession of his Master's Share. Upon the Landing of the great Captain with his Troops in *Calabria*, the deluded King drew together the few Forces he had, in order to join him. But, in the mean time, the whole Secret was disclosed. For the *French Army* being arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, the Embassadors of *Spain* and *France* demanded an Audience of the Pope in a full Consistory, and having obtained it, they notified to him and the Cardinals the Treaty concluded between the Two Kings, begging his Holiness to confirm it by granting the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* to the King of *France*, and that of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the King of *Spain*. Their Request was immediately granted, and a Bull was soon afterwards issued, depriving *Frideric* of the Kingdom, and confirming the above-mentioned Division. The unfortunate *Frideric* was thunder-struck at the News of this Treaty, and could scarce believe, that a Prince of his own Family would be so base as to abuse the Confidence, he placed in him, to procure his Ruin more effectually. But being soon convinced of it by the Hostilities, that the Great Captain began to commit in *Calabria*, and finding it absolutely impossible for him to resist Two such formidable Powers, he put the few Forces he had into his Towns to defend them as long as they were able, and retired himself to *Castel Nuovo* in *Naples*. But being there besieged, without any Hopes of Relief by *Aubigni*, who commanded the *French Army*, he surrendered upon the following Conditions: That he should be permitted to withdraw to the Isle of *Ischia* with what Effects he could carry with him, should be allowed to remain there Six Months, and then retire to what Place he pleased out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was so provoked at the Baseness and Treachery of *Ferdinand*, that, before the Six Months expired, he retired to *France*, and being well received by that King, he made over to him, out of Spite to *Ferdinand*, all his Rights to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and had, upon that Account, the Dutchy of *Anjou*, and a Pension of 30,000 Ducats a Year, which he enjoyed to the Hour of his Death. The Great Captain met with as little Opposition in reducing *Calabria* and *Apulia*, as *Aubigni* had done in conquering the Rest of the Kingdom. Ta-

Year of
Christ 1501.

The Parti-
tion Treaty
confirmed by
the Pope.

Frideric
driven out,
and the King-
dom divided
between the
Kings of
France and
Spain.

Year of
Christ 1501.

ranto held out for some Time, but was, in the End, forced to capitulate; and One of the Articles of the Capitulation was, that the Duke of *Calabria*, the dethroned King's Son, then in that City, should be at Liberty to retire to what Place soever he should think proper. They obliged the Great Captain to swear, upon the consecrated Host, to the Observance of this Article in particular. But, notwithstanding his Oath, he sent the young Prince, under a strong Guard, into *Spain*, where he met with kind Usage, but was kept, in a Manner, as a Prisoner, so long as he lived*. Thus ended the Reign of this unhappy Branch of the House of *Arragon* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Great Numbers of Manifestos were published by the King of *Spain's* Friends to justify his Conduct in this War. But with all their Manifestos they could not hinder People, as *Guicciardin* informs us, from making a Joke of his Title of *Catholic*, as well as of his Pretences to Piety and Religion in driving the *Moors* out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which procured him that Title.

Valentine
invades, and
reduces the
State of Pi-
ombino.

While these Things passed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pope, watching every Opportunity of extending his Power, and aggrandizing his Family at the Expence of his Neighbours, formed a Design of making himself Master of the Republic of *Florence*, divided, at this Time, into Two opposite Factions. Accordingly, he sent Duke *Valentine*, with all the Forces of the Church under his Command, to invade the Dominions of that Republic, under Colour of reinstating *Peter de Medicis*, who had been lately driven out by the popular Faction. The Duke made himself Master of some Places; but while he was advancing full March to *Florence*, he received a Letter from the King of *France*, to whom the *Florentines* had applied, requiring him instantly to withdraw his Troops from the *Florentine* Dominions, to restore the Places he had taken, and not concern himself with the Affairs of that Republic. With this Order *Valentine* complied much against his Will; but turning his Arms, before he left *Tuscany*, against *Appiano*, Prince of *Piombino*, to whose Dominions he had no Shadow of Claim or Right, he made himself Master of all the Places belonging to that Prince, and after a Siege, that lasted some Time, of *Piombino* itself his Capital. The Prince had gone in Person, upon this unexpected Invasion, into *France*, to implore the Protection of the

* Guicciard. l. 5. Antog. Hist. de Louis XII. Hist. du Chevalier Bayard.

King,

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

363

King, who was bound by former Stipulations to maintain him in the quiet Possession of all his Dominions. *Lewis* received him very coldly, and returned to his Request the following Answer; that he could afford him no Assistance without the Breach of a posterior Treaty concluded with his Holiness and Duke *Valentine*. However the Prince saved, at least, his Life by his Journey into *France*. For the City of *Piambino* being taken in his Absence, he escaped, by that Means, falling into the Hands of the Duke, who, to secure to himself the Possession of the States, which he had unjustly seized, seldom failed to remove the Proprietors, by some Means or other, commonly by Poison, out of the Way. From *Piombino Valentine* returned to the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and there seized on all the Towns and Territories belonging to the *Colonnas* and the *Savellis*, pretending that they had forfeited them by joining the King of *Naples* against the *French*. Out of the States of these Two wealthy and powerful *Roman* Families the Pope created Two Dutchies, the one of *Nepi*, the other of *Sermeneta*. With the former he invested *John Borgia*, another natural Son of his, not by *Vanozza*, but by a *Roman* Lady after his Accession to the Pontificate. But in the Bull of Investiture he is called the Son of *Cesar Borgia*. The other Dutchy he bestowed upon *Roderic of Aragon*, the supposed Son of his Daughter *Lucretia* by her Third Husband, the natural Son of *Alphonso II.* King of *Naples* d. I said the supposed Son; for it was commonly believed, that *Roderic* was his Holiness's own Son by his own Daughter.

Year of
Christ 1502.

Valentine's next Undertaking was to make himself Master of the Dutchy of *Urbino*; with that View he sent Part of his Troops to invest *Camerino*, belonging to the *Varani* Family, and soon after came himself, with the Rest of his Army, to *Perugia*, to assist in Person, as he pretended, at the Siege. From *Perugia* he dispatched Two Messengers to *Guidobaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, to compliment him in his Name, and beg he would lend him some Troops and Artillery to be employed in the Siege of *Camerino*. As the Duke had lately compounded some Differences with the Pope to the entire Satisfaction of both, and received most affectionate Letters from his Holiness, he apprehended no evil Consequences from his complying with *Valentine's* Request. But no sooner had he put himself out of a State of making any Defence by complying with it, than *Valentine*, marching with incredible

Seizes on the
Dutchy of
Urbino by
Treachery.
Year of
Christ 1502.

⁴ Guicciard. l. 5.

Year of
Christ 1502.

And on the
City of Ca-
merino.

Confederacy
against Va-
lentine.

Speed, entered the Dutchy, in a hostile Manner, seized on *Cagli*, and, advancing with the same Expedition to *Urbino*, made himself Master of that City without the least Opposition. He had placed Guards on all the Roads, in order to get the Duke and his Nephew into his Power. For it was a Rule with him to extirpate the whole Race of those Princes, whom he had divested of their States. But the Duke mounting a Peasant's Horse, in the Disguise of a Peasant, had the good Luck to escape undiscovered first to *Ravenna*, and afterwards to *Venice*; and his Nephew, escaping a thousand Snares, got safe to *Assi*.
— *Valentine*, after a short Stay at *Urbino*, returned to pursue the Siege of *Camerino*. As he met there with a most vigorous Resistance from *Julius da Varano*, Lord of the Place, a Treaty was set on Foot, and a few Days Truce agreed to by both, in order to settle the Terms. But *Valentine*, observing that the Besieged, depending upon the Truce, were less vigilant, he assaulted the Place on all Sides with his whole Army, and carried it Sword in Hand. The Attack was so sudden, and so unexpected, that the unhappy Prince, not having Time to make his Escape, fell into the Hands of the perfidious Conqueror, with Two of his Sons; and they were all Three by his Order immediately strangled. The Prince's eldest Son had been sent some Time before to *Venice*, and thus happily escaped the Fate of his Two younger Brothers.

The Treatment, that the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Lord of *Camerino* had met with, taught the other Princes of *Italy* to provide for their own Safety. With that View they met at a Place called *Maggione*, not far from *Perugia*, and there agreed, all to a Man, to join their Forces in their own Defence, and stop the Career of *Valentine's* unjust Usurpations. At this Meeting were present *Vitelozzo Vitelli*, Lord of *Citta di Castello*, *Paul Baglione*, Lord of *Perugia*, *Liverotto*, Lord of *Fermo*, *Hermes*, Son of *John Bentivoglio*, Lord of *Bologna*, *Antony da Venafro*, as the Deputy of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, the chief Magistrate of the Republic of *Siena*, Cardinal *Orsini* with *Paul*, and *Francis Orsini*, Duke of *Gravina*. This Confederacy alarmed *Valentine*, the rather, as the People of *Urbino* had revolted and recalled their lawful Sovereign, who landing at *Sinigaglia* had recovered the whole Dutchy, except some strong Holds, and was ready to join the Con-

* Guicciard. *ibid.* et Buonacorsi.

† *Idem ibid.*

‡ Tomasi, p. 234.

federates.

federates. At the same time the City of *Camerino*, shaking off the Yoke, put *John da Varano*, their late Lord's eldest Son, in Possession of the Place. Upon the first News of this Alliance, the Pope and *Valentine*, sensible that they were not then in a Condition to oppose so many Enemies with any Success, resolved to recur to their usual Arts, and, instead of Arms, employ Guile and Deceit. Accordingly they proposed the accommodating Matters in an amicable Manner, and by Treaty, his Holiness engaging his Word with the most solemn Protestations, that the Articles agreed to should, on his Part and *Valentine's*, be most religiously observed, they applied to *Paul Orsini* in particular, and having gained him by promising to restore to his Family all the Towns and Territories that had been taken from them, they met with very little Difficulty in gaining the Rest, and thus breaking the Confederacy. *Valentine*, being thus delivered from all his Fears, appointed the Heads of the Confederacy to meet him at *Sinigaglia*, in order to give their Opinion concerning an Affair of the utmost Importance, he being, he said, no less willing to confide in the Counsel of his Friends, than in their Arms. The Two *Orsini*, *Paul*, and the Duke of *Gravina*, *Vitelli* of *Cita di Castello*, and *Liverotto* of *Fermo*, in Compliance with *Valentine's* Invitation, repaired to *Sinigaglia*, and were there received by him with all the Marks of the most sincere Friendship. When he had talked some Time with them in a most friendly Manner, he took them into an inner Room, under Colour of having something to communicate to them in private. But no sooner had they entered the Room, than they were made Prisoners, and Two of them, viz. *Vitelli* and *Liverotto*, strangled upon the Spot. The Two *Orsini* underwent the same Fate soon afterwards, and the Cardinal of that Name, when he had been confined for some Time in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, was dispatched with Poison ^h.

Year of
Christ 1502.

The Confederacy broken, and Four of the Chiefs treacherously murdered.

And now the Duke, having no Enemy to oppose him, recovered the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and, without the Loss of a single Man, made himself Master of *Citta di Castello*, *Fermo*, and *Perugia*, the *Baglioni*, Lords of the latter Place, having abandoned it at his Approach. He turned his Arms next against the *Orsini*, and, pretending that they had formed a Design of seizing even on *Rome* itself, as they had many strong Holds in that Neighbourhood, he possessed himself of all their

Several Cities reduced.

Persecution of the Orsini.
Year of
Christ 1503.

^h Guicciardin. l. 5. Tomasi.

Year of
Christ 1503.

Territories, and having laid their Fortresses level with the Ground, returned to *Rome*, loaded with the Spoils of that ancient Family. He had long aspired at the Sovereignty of the Free State of *Siena*, of *Pisa*, and of *Florence*, and had even set out on his March, with all the Forces of the Church under his Command, in order to invade those States, beginning with that of *Siena*. But by an express Order from the King of *France* he was obliged to drop that Undertaking, and withdraw his Troops from the Territory of *Siena*, where he had already committed many shocking and unheard of Barbarities. However, being afterwards emboldened by the Misfortunes of the *French*, in the War, carried on between them and the *Spaniards*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, about the Division of that Kingdom, he resolved, and so did the Pope, to pursue the War against the above-mentioned States, whether the *French* King approved of it, or not; nay, though they owed to him all their Grandeur, they had determined to abandon his Party in case he opposed them, and espouse that of *Spain* against him. But the sudden and quite unexpected Death of the Pope defeated at once all their vast Projects.

Alexander
dies.

Account of
his Death.

It was universally believed, says *Guicciardin*, that the Death of the Pope was owing to Poison; and, as that Author informs us, it happened according to the more common Report in the following Manner. *Valentine* had resolved to dispatch with Poison *Hadrian*,¹ Cardinal of *Corneto*, One of the most wealthy of the sacred College; and being One Night to sup with him, with his Holiness, and other Guests, in a Vineyard, near the *Vatican*, that belonged to the said Cardinal, he sent thither, before Supper, some Flasks of Wine infected with a most deadly Poison. These Flasks were delivered to the Waiter, with strict Orders not to open them for any Person whatever. In the mean time the Pope arrived, and being overcome with Thirst, as the Season was extremely hot, he asked for something to drink. As the Waiter, who was trusted with the Wine, had not been let into the Secret, he imagined that it was some of the choicest, and presented his Holiness with it. While the Pope was drinking *Valentine* arrived, and took a Draught of the same Wine. The Poison operated immediately; the Pope was carried for dead to the Pontifical Palace, and his Son after him in the same Condition. Such is the Account

¹ *Guicciardin*. l. 5.

Alexander VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

367

Guicciardin gives us of *Alexander's* Death; and from that Account it does not appear that the Pope was privy to the Affair. But by other Authors the Plot is charged upon the Father as well as the Son. *Alexander*, says Cardinal *Bembo*, died on the 18th of *August*, having, by a Mistake of the Waiter, drunk the Poison, which he had privately ordered to be given to his intimate Friend Cardinal *Hedrian*, in whose Gardens he supped with his Son *Cæsar*. It providentially happened, that they, who had dispatched, with Poison, so many illustrious Persons, in order to possess themselves of their Treasures, and designed to have added their intimate Friend and their Guest to the Rest, should, by the same Means, have destroyed themselves instead of him.^k *Tomasi Tomasi* writes, that the Pope intended to have poisoned all the rich Cardinals, as well as the Cardinal of *Corneto*, and seize on their Wealth, as he stood in great Want of Money for his Expedition against *Tuscany*; that he invited them, with that View, to sup with him and his Son, in a Vineyard near the *Vatican*, that belonged to the said Cardinal of *Corneto*; that *Valentine* consigned the poisoned Wine to the Head-waiter, and acquainted him with the whole, but that the Pope arriving in his Absence, and asking for something to drink, the Under-waiter, who had received no Instructions, gave him some of the poisoned Wine, imagining, as it was set apart, that it was reserved for his Holiness. *Tomasi* adds, that the Pope had scarce sat down to Supper, when being seized with a racking Pain in his Bowels, he fell off his Chair, and was taken up and carried to his Palace for dead^l.—He died the next Day, the 18th of *August*, in the Seventy-second Year of his Age, when he had held the See Eleven Years and Sixteen Days: His Body, all swelled, black, and shockingly disfigured, was carried to *St. Peter's*, in order to be there interred, the People crowding, with incredible Joy, about it, and congratulating each other upon their being, at last, delivered from One, who with his immoderate Ambition, and unex-^{His Charac-}amplified Treachery, with innumerable Instances of horrid Cruelty, of^{ter} monstrous Lust, and unheard of Avarice, exposing all Things to Sale, both sacred and profane, had, like a venomous Serpent, intoxicated the whole World. Such is the Portrait *Guicciardin* has left us of this Pope^m.

^k Bembo, l. 6. ^l Tomasi apud Gordon. vita Alex. p. 361, et seq. ^m Guicciard.
l. 5.

Year of
Christ 1503.
His Vices.

I shall pass over, in Silence, the many shocking Instances, that occur in History of his Holiness's *monstrous Lust*, but cannot help taking Notice of his being strongly suspected of Incest with his own Daughter, and his having, in his Amour with her, his Two Sons, the Duke of *Gandia* and *Valentine*, for his Rivals. This gave Occasion to several Pasquinades, and, among the rest, to the following famous Distich of *Pontanus*, written by way of Epitaph for *Lucretia's* Tomb.

*Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, sed re
Thais; Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.*

He is charged with the same Crime by the celebrated *Sannazar* in the following Lines,

*Humana jura, nec minus caelestia,
Ipsosque sustulit Deos;
Ut scilicet liceret beu scelus! Patri
Natæ finum permingere °.*

His Holiness, says *Burchardus*, was a great Lover of Women, and in his Time the Apostolic Palace was turned into a Brothel, a more infamous Brothel than any of the public Stews. He then tells us of an Entertainment, given by *Valentine*, in the Apostolic Palace, to Fifty of the most noted Harlots then in *Rome*, and describes, perhaps, too minutely, the Obscenities practised, on that Occasion, in the Presence of the Pope, and his Daughter *Lucretia* p. In short, none of the Eastern, none of the *Roman* Emperors, however lewd and debauched, exceeded *Alexander* in Lewdness and Debauchery^q. — Of his *immoderate Ambition*, his *unexampled Treachery*, and his *horrid Cruelty*, I have already alleged several shocking Instances. As for his *unheard-of Avarice*; he stuck at nothing to accumulate Wealth wherewithal to feed the Extravagance of his unnatural Brood, and raise them to the highest Pitch of Grandeur. It was a common Practice, says *Guicciardin*, both with the Father and the Son, to dispatch with Poison, not only those, whom they had resolved to sacrifice to their Revenge and Jealousy, but all other Persons, whose Wealth tempted their unhallowed Avarice, not sparing Cardinals, nor other Courtiers, nor even

° Sannazar, l. 2. Epigram 29.
p. 187.

p Burchard. Diar. p. 77. ibid.

q Tomasi,

their most intimate Friends, and their most faithful and useful Ministers. Innumerable Instances are to be met with in the Writers of these unhappy Times, especially in *Tomasi* and *Burchardus*, of Persons thus dispatched, and charged, after their Death, with Crimes, for which it was pretended, that they had forfeited their Estates; and thus were they twice most barbarously murdered. — In Simony he far surpassed all his Predecessors; exposing to Sale all Ecclesiastical Preferments, Dignities, Benefices, and even Bishoprics; nay, and admitting none into the Sacred College, but such as had purchased that Dignity with ready Money; which gave just Occasion to the following Pasquinade.

Year of
Christ 1503.

All Things
venal in his
Time at
Rome.

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum.

Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.

To conclude, all, who speak of *Alexander*, seem to agree in this, that for Lust, Avarice, Cruelty, Treachery, and Perfidiouſness, he scarce ever had his Equal. But, at the same time, they allow him to have been endowed with most extraordinary Talents, and a Capacity equal to the Government of an Empire. No Man ever proposed Matters with more Art, or drew others with more Ease into his own Sentiments. His Language was attracting, and his Eloquence irresistible. He made it his Study to accommodate himself to the Temper and Genius of others; with the Grave and Serious he was so too, but jocular and facetious with Men of Pleasantry. He loved Shows, and public Sports; but never suffered his Diversions to interfere with Business. He contented himself with little Sleep, was very temperate in his Diet, and never known to have been guilty of the least Intemperance. He is said, for all his Love of Money, never to have withheld from the Professors of the liberal Arts their Salaries, from the Soldiers their Pay, nor from the Workmen their Wages: It was a Maxim with him, that *who takes from the Great must give to the Little*. And it was by adhering to that Maxim, that he caused so many Roman Barons to be divested of their Estates, and barbarously murdered, without any Insurrection ensuing thereupon in Rome, or any Danger to himself.

Allowed to
have had
some good
Qualities.

^r Guicciard. l. 5.

^s Burchard. et Tomasi, ubi supra.

^t Burchard. Tomasi,

ubi supra, et Onuphrius in Alex. VI.

Year of
Christ 1503.
His Wri-
tings.

Alexander left behind him a *Treatise* under the Title of *Cyprian de-
fensionis fidei Romanae Ecclesiae*, with several *Bulls*; and amongst these
the Bull relating to the Disputes between the Kings of *Castile* and *Por-
tugal*, concerning the Discovery of the *West Indies*. That Affair being
by both Princes referred to his Arbitration, he determined it thus:
that their Conquests in those Parts should be bounded by a Line, sup-
posed to be drawn from North to South, passing about One hundred
Leagues from the Islands off *Cape Verde*, and that the Part of the
Ocean, lying to the West of that Line, should belong to the King of
Castile, and the other to the South, to the King of *Portugal*.

MAXIMILIAN,
Emperor of the West.

P I U S III.

The Two Hundred and Thirteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Disturbances
on Occasion of
the Death of
Alexander.

THE Death of *Alexander* was attended with great Disturbances,
not only at *Rome*, but throughout the Ecclesiastical State. For
no sooner was it known that he was dead, and his Son *Valentine* lay
dangerously ill, than the Cities of *Pesaro*, *Sinigaglia*, *Citta di Castello*,
Camerino, *Urbino*, *Piombino*, and *Perugia*, shaking off the Yoke, re-
called their old Lords, and reinstated them in their Dominions. Thus
did *Valentine* lose at once what it had cost him so much Blood and
Treasure to gain. However the People of *Romagna* showed no Inclina-
tion to revolt, being intirely satisfied with their new Governor,
and his new Government. In *Rome* every Thing was in the utmost
Confusion. For the *Orsini*, and the other *Roman* Barons, whom *Va-
lentine* had divested of their Estates, being returned upon the News of
the Pope's Death and *Valentine's* Illness, Battles were daily fought in
the Streets between the Two opposite Parties; insomuch that the Car-
dinals were obliged to raise a considerable Body of Troops to protect
them, while they were shut up in the Conclave. Besides, they ap-
plied to the *French*, *Spanish*, and *Venetian* Embassadors, and having by
their Means prevailed upon *Valentine*, as well as upon the Heads of
the opposite Party, to withdraw, with their Men from *Rome*, till the

Election was made, they began, at last, to celebrate the Funeral Solemnities of the deceased Pope, not in the Church of St. Peter, where he was buried, but in that of the *Dominicans*, called *The Minerva*. They did not, it seems, think it safe to meet in the *Vatican*, as being too near to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, garrisoned by *Valentine's* Men. However, being assured by the Governor, that they should meet with no Disturbance, nor Interruption, they assembled in the *Vatican*, to the Number of Thirty-eight, and, in a very short Time, elected, with one Consent, *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Eustatius*. His Election fell on the 22d of *September*, when the See had been vacant Thirty-five Days, and he was crowned on the 8th of *October*, under the Name of *Pius III*. Year of Christ 1503.
Pius III. elected.

He was a Native of *Siena*, of the *Todeschini* Family; but being Nephew to *Pius II.* by his Sister *Laodamia*, of the *Piccolomini* Family, he was allowed by that Pope to take the Name and bear the Arms of that Family. He was preferred by his Uncle to the Dignity of Cardinal, when only Twenty-two Years of Age, and not long after to the Bishopric of *Siena*, and it was to renew the Memory of his Benefactor that he took the Name of *Pius III*. The succeeding Popes *Paul II.* *Innocent VIII.* and *Alexander VI.* employed him in several Legations, which he is said to have discharged to their entire Satisfaction, being a Man of great Experience and equal Probity. His Family, Preferments, &c.

Upon the News of his Election *Valentine*, who still continued greatly indisposed, and was obliged to travel in a Litter, returned to *Rome* with 200 Men at Arms, as many light Horse, and 800 Foot. But the *Orsini* being likewise returned, the War was renewed within the Walls, and the City thrown again into the utmost Confusion. But as the *Orsini* received daily new Reinforcements they prevailed in the End, and obliged *Valentine* to fly for Refuge to the Castle of *St. Angelo*. Upon his Flight his Men dispersed; and thus was he left at the Mercy of the Pope, who nevertheless would allow no Violence to be offered to him, but ordered the Governor to let him depart unmolested whenever he pleased. Thus was Peace restored to the City, but *Pius* did not live to enjoy it. For being advanced in Years and very infirm, he died on the 26th Day after his Election. Some ascribe his Death to Poison, conveyed into an Ulcer he had in his Leg, at the Instigation of *Pan-* New Disturbances in Rome.
Death of Pius

* Guicciard. l. 6. Onuph. in Pio III.

* Onuph. in vit.

Year of
Christ 1503.

dolfo Petrucci, Lord of *Siena*. His Death happened on the 18th of *October*, when he had lived Sixty-four Years Five Months and Ten Days. He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, in a Marble Sepulchre, near that of his Uncle *Pius II.* in the Chapel of *St. Andrew*. *Guicciardin* speaks of him as a Man of an unspotted Life, and not unworthy of the high Dignity, to which he was raised.

MAXIMILIAN,
Emperor of the West.

JULIUS II.

The Two Hundred and Fourteenth BISHOP of Rome.

Julius II.
elected.

AS at the Time of *Pius's* Death the Troops of the *Orsini* were still in *Rome*, the Cardinals delayed entering into the Conclave till they had evacuated the City. But in the mean time they agreed in their Choice without Doors, and assembling on the last Day of *October*, elected that Night, without shutting the Conclave, *Julian della Rovere*, Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, who took the Name of *Julius II.* This Unanimity in electing a Man, who was known to be of a restless and untractable Temper, and to have spent his whole Life in Contentions and Bustles, is ascribed by *Guicciardin*, partly to his being looked upon as the principal Defender of the Immunities and Rights of the Church, but chiefly to the great Promises he made to the Cardinals, that is, to Simony, Corruption, and Bribery. He even courted the Favour of *Valentine*, and to gain him, and, by his Means, the *Spanish* Cardinals, he proposed a Marriage between the Duke's Daughter and his own Nephew, *Francis Maria della Rovere*, Governor of *Rome*. He promised, besides, to confirm *Valentine* in the Post of Captain General of the Church, and to assist him in the Recovery of the Cities of *Romagna*, that had begun to revolt.

His Prefer-
ments before
his Election.

Julius, thus elected, was a Native of *Savona* in the State of *Genoa*, and the Son of *Raphael della Rovere*, Brother to *Sixtus IV.* By that Pope he was preferred to the See of *Carpentras*, and in 1471 created Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Peter ad Vincula*. By the same Pope he was

* *Guicciard. l. 6. Tomasi, Onuph. in vita.*
ibid.

* *Idem ibid.*

* *Guicciard.*

Julius II.

BISHOPS of Rome.

373

made Bishop of *Albano*, then of *Osia*, and lastly high Penitentiary, and Apostolic Legate at *Avignon*. He was greatly esteemed and carested by *Innocent VIII.* the Successor of *Sixtus*. But having Reason to believe, that *Alexander*, coveting his Wealth, intended to remove him out of the Way, as he had done many others, he retired to *France*, and attended King *Charles* in his Expedition against the Kingdom of *Naples* ^b.

Year of
Christ 1503:

The new Pope was scarce warm in his Chair, when a Quarrel broke out between him and the *Venetians*, on the following Occasion. The People of *Romagna*, who, in the general Revolution of the other States and Cities, had continued faithful to *Valentine*, hearing that he had fled into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and his Troops were dispersed, began to take different Parties. Some returned under their former Obedience to the Church, while others recalled their ancient Lords. But the *Venetians*, aspiring at the Dominion of all *Romagna*, broke unexpectedly into that Province, and having got Possession of *Forlimpopoli*, of *Rimini*, and of several other Places, laid Siege to *Faenza*. Hereupon the *Faentines*, sensible that they could not long hold out with their own Force alone, against so powerful an Enemy, sent Deputies to *Rome*, to implore the Protection and Assistance of the Pope. *Julius* was provoked beyond Measure at the Proceedings of the *Venetians*. But being newly placed in the Chair, and destitute both of Men and Money, he was obliged to content himself for the present with sending a Nuncio, to remonstrate against their attempting to subject to their Republic a City that belonged to the Church; to which they themselves could not but know, that they had no Shadow of Right. The Nuncio, the Bishop of *Tivoli*, was ordered to add, that his Holiness had been most cordially affected to their Republic before his Exaltation, and that now he was raised to so high a Station, they might expect to feel the Effects of his ancient Benevolence. The Senate received the Nuncio with the greatest Marks of Honour and Respect; and after deliberating some time among themselves, returned him the following Answer: That the Senate had always most ardently wished for the Promotion of the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* to the Pontificate, on Account of the Friendship that had subsisted so long between them, and his Holiness could not doubt that they would pay him more Deference and Respect.

Misunder-
standing be-
tween him
and the Ve-
netians.

^b Idem ibid. et Oudph. in vit. Julii II.

Year of
Christ 1508.

now he was Pope, than they had done while he was a Cardinal; but that they did not understand why his Holiness should be offended at their embracing the Opportunity that offered of possessing themselves of *Faenza*, since the Church had divested herself of all Right to it in a full Consistory, and transferred the Sovereignty to Duke *Valentine*. They added, that the City of *Faenza*, with its small State, had been governed, Time out of Mind, by its own Princes, who received the Investiture of the Popes, and paid no other Acknowledgement of their Subjection to the Holy See than a small Tribute, which the Senate was ready to pay, provided it was really due. The Senate having dismissed the Nuncio with this Answer, ordered *Christopher Moro*, their Commander, to pursue the Siege; and the Town was soon obliged to submit. The Pope dissembled for the present, but it was not long ere the *Venetians* had Occasion to repent their having made him an Enemy, as we shall see in the Sequel.

Who make
themselves
Masters of
Faenza.

Valentine
arrested by
the Pope's
Order.

Year of
Christ 1504.

Flies to the
Kingdom of
Naples.

As some Castles in *Romagna* still held out for *Valentine*, though the Cities had revolted, the Pope proposed his delivering them up to him, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*. That Proposal *Valentine* rejected, which so provoked the Pope, that he ordered him to be arrested, and conveyed to the Castle of *Oliva*, to be committed there to the Custody of Cardinal *Carvajal*, till he had put the Pope in Possession of his Fortresses in *Romagna*. The Pope did not intend to set him at Liberty even upon his delivering up those Fortresses; but the Cardinal, to whose Custody he was committed, no sooner heard of their being put into the Pope's Hands, than he restored the Duke to his Liberty, without the Knowledge of his Holiness. The Duke, instead of returning to *Rome*, and putting himself in the Power of the Pope, whom he began to mistrust, repaired, in great Haste, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and met there with a most friendly Reception from the Great Captain, who, having driven the *French* quite out of that Kingdom, governed it as the Catholic King's Viceroy, or Lieutenant. The Duke, in the several Conferences he had with that General, communicated to him the vast Projects he was still forming, especially his Design upon the States of *Pisa* and *Florence*, all which *Gonsalvo* not only pretended to approve, but gave him Leave to raise, in the Kingdom, what Number of Troops he thought necessary to

carry his Design into Execution, nay, and offered his Gallies to convey him and his Troops to *Pisa*. The Troops being raised with incredible Expedition, and the Gallies ready to receive them on board, the Duke, before he embarked, had a long Conference with *Gonsalvo*, who, at parting, embraced him with the warmest Expressions of Friendship. But he no sooner came out of the Room, than he was arrested by the General's Order, and carried Prisoner to the Castle. When *Gonsalvo* was charged with breaking his Faith, he alleged, in his own Vindication, the express Command of his Sovereign, to which, he said, all private Engagements ought to give Way d. *Giovio* will have the Pope to have been the chief Author of the Imprisonment of *Valentine*, consulting therein his own Safety and the Peace of *Italy*. However that be, by his Imprisonment an End was, at last, put to all his Grandeur, Fortune, and Hopes. He had taken for his Motto the Words, *Aut Caesar aut nihil*, *Caesar or nothing*, and he was, for some Time, as great and victorious as *Caesar*. But falling from the Greatness, to which he had raised himself by Fraud and Cruelty, he became, before his Death, *nothing*, as has been elegantly expressed by *Sannazar* in the Two following Lines:

Year of
Christ 1504.

Is there im-
prisoned, and
sent to Spain.

Omnia vincebas, sperabas omnia, Caesar:
Omnia deficiunt, incipis esse nihil.

And by another Poet thus:

Borgia Caesar erat, factis et nomine Caesar.
AUT NIHIL, AUT CÆSAR dixit; utrumque fuit.

He was soon afterwards sent, on board a light Galley, Prisoner to *Spain*, and there confined in the Castle of *Medina del Campo*; nor was he ever more heard of, tho' he had made so much Noise in the World, except on Occasion of his Death, which happened some Years afterwards. He had made his Escape from the Castle of *Medina*, and his Death having fled to *John*, King of *Navarre*, his Brother-in-Law, he was killed in a Skirmish with some Rebels, who had taken up Arms against that Prince. I cannot help observing, that *Valentine*, guilty, on so many Occasions, of the blackest Treachery, of so many horrid Murders, unheard-of Cruelties, and most unjust Usurpations, is proposed

* Idem ibid.

* Idem, l. 7. Jovius, l. 8.

Year of
Christ 1504.

by *Machiavel* in his *Principe* for a Pattern, to be imitated by all, who aspire to, or have arrived at Empire. But with that Writer all Justice, Morality, and Religion, were out of the Question.

Julius resolves to recover Bologna and Perugia.

Year of
Christ 1506.

As the new Pope found, at his Accession to the Chair, the Treasury of the Church quite exhausted, he continued quiet and unactive, though full of vast Projects during the Three First Years of his Pontificate. But having, in that Time, by retrenching all unnecessary Expences, and living himself with great Parsimony, amassed a very considerable Sum, he begun in 1506 to carry his Designs into Execution. As the City of *Bologna* was held by *John Bentivoglio*, and that of *Perugia* by *Gianpagolo Baglione*, but were Parts of the ancient Domains of the Church, the Pope resolved to recover them out of the Hands of those Tyrants, as he called them, and reunite them to the Church. Pursuant to that Resolution he applied to the King of *France*, *Lewis XII.* begging he would assist him in so just an Undertaking. *Lewis*, sensible that it was his Interest to have the Pope his Friend, promised him, very readily, the Assistance he required. But, at the same time, he endeavoured to divert him, in the most friendly Manner, from such an Undertaking, for the present, as calculated to involve all *Italy* in a War. However, when the Pope imparted his Design to the Cardinals, in a full Consistory, he told them, that the King of *France* had promised to assist him, and that, depending upon his Assistance, he would go immediately, in Person, upon the intended Enterprize. When this was told to the King, he expressed no small Surprize at the Pope's depending upon his Forces, before he had given them any Orders to march, especially in an Undertaking, which he did not approve, and turning to those about him, surely, his Holiness, he said with a Smile, must have indulged, more than usual, his Love of Wine, when he declared what must oblige me either to quarrel with him, or to countenance his unseasonable Undertaking.

The King of France strives in vain to divert him from that Undertaking.

Marches in Person against both those Cities.

Julius, however, whom no Difficulties could discourage, set out from *Rome*, on the 27th of *August*, on his March to *Perugia*, being attended by Twenty-four Cardinals, and Four hundred Men at Arms. *Gianpagolo Baglione*, not acting, on this Occasion, with the same Courage he had shewn on all others, went to meet the Pope as far as *Orvieto*, and delivered up to him the Keys of the City, which the

Machiavel, c. 7.

Guicciard. l. 7. *Onuph.* in vita *Julii II.*

Pope entered in a Kind of Triumph. In the mean time the King of *France*, unwilling to disoblige the Pope, ordered *Chaumont*, Governor of the *Milanese*, to march in Person, with Five hundred Lances, to assist the Pope in the Reduction of *Baglione*. As the Pope's Army received daily new Reinforcements from the *Florentines*, from the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, *Bentivoglio*, despairing of being able to withstand so great a Force, had Recourse to *Chaumont*; and upon his interposing in Behalf of that Family, the Pope consented, that *John Bentivoglio*, with his Wife and Children, might retire from *Bologna* unmolested, and settle in any Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*; that they should be allowed to sell, or carry with them, all their Effects, and enjoy the Revenues of the Estates, to which they had a just Title. These Articles being agreed to, the *Bentivogli* quitted the City, and the Pope made his public Entry into it, with extraordinary Pomp, on St. *Martin's* Day, the 11th of *November* of the present Year, and continued there, settling the new Government, till the End of *February* of the following Year, when he returned to *Rome* 8.

Year of
Christ 1506.

And both
submit.

In the mean time the City of *Genoa* revolted from the *French*, to whom it was subject, as well as the State of *Milan*, and great Disputes arising between the People and the Nobility, the King resolved to go in Person into *Italy*, and re-establish his Authority by Force of Arms. With that View he began to make great Preparations both by Sea and Land, which did not a little alarm the Pope, who could not persuade himself, that such vast Preparations were only designed for the Reduction of *Genoa*. He therefore left nothing unattempted to divert the King from leading an Army, in Person, against the Rebels of *Genoa*. But finding that it was to no Purpose, and, at the same time, giving Way to his own groundless Suspicions, he notified to the Emperor by his Nuncio, and by a Brief directed to him and to the Electors of the Empire, that the King of *France* was preparing to come into *Italy* at the Head of a very powerful Army, under Colour of quelling the Tumults in *Genoa*, but that his real Design was to enslave the Church, and usurp the Imperial Dignity. The *Venetians*, no less apprehensive than the Pope of the Coming of the *French* King into *Italy* with so great an Army, assured the *German* Princes, that he had nothing less in his View than to raise his great Favourite, the Cardinal

The Pope and
the Emperor
endeavour to
flir up the
Germanic
Body against
France.

Year of
Christ 1507.

* Guicciard. et Onuph. ibid.

Year of
Christ 1507.

D'Amboise, to the Pontifical Throne, and receive the Imperial Crown at his Hands. Upon this Intelligence the Emperor summoned a Diet of all the Princes of *Germany* to meet at *Constance*, and having caused the Pope's Brief, and several other Letters of the same Import, to be read to them at the Opening of the Diet, he endeavoured, in a long Speech, to unite the whole *Germanic* Body in One common League against *France*. But the Conduct of the King in returning, with his whole Army, to *France*, as soon as he had reduced *Genoa*, deprived both the Pope and the Emperor of the Pretence, which they made use of to animate the Princes of the Empire against him; and it was only resolved, in the Diet, that the Emperor should be furnished with Eight thousand Horse, and Twenty-two thousand Foot, at the Expence of the Empire, for Six Months, when he designed to go to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Crown ^b.

League con-
cluded at
Cambray
against the
Venetians.

Year of
Christ 1508.

The following Year 1508 was concluded the famous Treaty or League of *Cambray* against the Republic of *Venice*, that had been long aspiring at the Empire of all *Italy*. The contracting Parties were the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*; and it was agreed, that they should enter the State of *Venice* on all Sides; that each of them should recover what that Republic had taken from them; that they should therein assist one another; and that it should not be lawful for any of the Confederates to enter into an Agreement with the Republic, but by common Consent. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, and whoever else had any Claims upon the *Venetians*, were to be admitted into this Treaty. The *Venetians* had some Suspicion of what was contriving against them at *Cambray*, but they had no certain Knowledge of it, till the Pope informed them of the whole. For *Julius*, no less apprehensive of the Increase of the Emperor's Power in *Italy*, than of the *French* King's, acquainted the *Venetian* Embassador at *Rome*, before he signed the Treaty, with all the Articles it contained, represented to him the Danger that his Republic was threatened with, and offered not to confirm the League, but to start Difficulties, and raise Obstacles against it, provided they only restored to him the Cities of *Rimini* and *Faenza*. This Demand appeared very reasonable to the Pope; but it was rejected by a great Majority in the Senate, when communicated to them by their Em-

^a Idem ibid.

basador;

bassador; and the Pope thereupon confirmed the League by a Bull dated at Rome the 22d of March 1508 i. Year of Christ 1508.

The *Venetians*, hearing of the mighty Preparations that were carrying on all over *Christendom* against them, began to repent their not having complied with the Pope's Request, and by that Means broken the Confederacy. They therefore renewed their Negotiations with his Holiness, and offered to restore to him the City of *Faenza*. But *Julius*, instead of accepting their Offer, published, by Way of Monitory, a thundering Bull against the Republic, summoning them to restore, in the Term of Twenty-four Days, all the Places they had usurped, belonging to the Apostolic See, as well as the Profits they had reaped from them, since the Time they first usurped them. If they obeyed not this Summons, within the limited Time, not only the City of *Venice*, but all Places, within their Dominions, were, *ipso facto*, to incur a general Interdict, nay, and all Places that should receive or harbour a *Venetian*. They were, besides, declared guilty of High Treason, worthy to be treated as Enemies to the Christian Name, and all were impowered to seize on their Effects, where-ever found, and to enslave their Persons. This Monitory gave no great Uneasiness to the Republic: They appealed from it to a future Council, and no Regard was paid to it, except by a few Monks and Friars k. They are excommunicated by the Pope.

In the mean time the King of *France*, entering, from the *Milanese*, the Territories of the Republic at the Head of a numerous Army, gave the *Venetians* a total Overthrow on the 14th of May of the present Year, and pursuing the Blow, made himself Master, in a few Days, of *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Cremona*, and all the *Ghiaradadda*, which he pretended to have anciently belonged to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Loss of the *Venetians* did not end here. The Pope's Army, entering *Romagna* under the Direction of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, with the Character of Apostolic Legate, recovered the Cities of *Faenza*, *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, while the Emperor, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, retook most of the Places that the *Venetians* had taken from them, and the King of *Spain* obliged them to deliver up all the Towns and Ports in *Apulia*, that *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, had mortgaged to them. Thus every Prince recovering his own, that haughty Republic was stript of the best Part of its Dominions on the Lose their Dominions on the Continent. Year of Christ 1509.

i Idem, l. 8.

k Idem ibid. et Raymund. ad ann. 1509.

Year of
Christ 1509.

*The Pope
concludes a
Peace with
them.*

Continent, and well nigh confined to the Marshes, where it first sprang up ¹.

The *Venetians* were well apprized of the Jealousy the Pope entertained of the immoderate Increase of the *French King's* Power in *Italy*, and likewise of the Emperor's, and therefore resolved, in their present Distress, to apply to his Holiness; the rather, as he had now recovered all the Places, to which he had a just Claim. Accordingly they sent Six Embassadors, all Men of the First Rank, to implore his Holiness's Protection; and beg he would absolve them from the Censures, which they had incurred. The Pope would not admit them to his Presence, but appointed a Congregation of Cardinals to treat with them in his Name. The Embassadors of the Emperor, and the King of *France* warmly opposed his granting them their Request, as contrary to One of the Articles of the League of *Cambrai*, by which it was stipulated, that none of the contracting Powers should make a separate Peace. But his Holiness, thinking that it highly conduced to the Safety of *Italy*, as well as his own, to preserve the Republic from utter Ruin; and the Archbishop of *York*, *Thomas Wolsey*, whom the King of *England*, *Henry VIII.* had sent to *Rome* with the Character of his Embassador, interposing in their Favour by the express Order of his Master, they were absolved on the 24th of *February* 1510, upon the following mortifying Conditions: I. That the *Venetians* should dispose of no Benefices nor Ecclesiastical Dignities, nor oppose the Provisions made concerning them in the Court of *Rome*. II. That they should not obstruct the Trials of Causes relating to Benefices, or other Ecclesiastical Matters. III. That they should lay no Imposts upon the Goods of the Church, nor of Places exempt from the secular Jurisdiction. IV. That they should withdraw their Appeal to a future Council, and renounce all Right, however acquired, to the Towns possessed by the Church. V. That the Subjects of the Church should have a free Navigation in the Gulph, or the *Adriatic* Sea; that their Ships should not be searched, nor obliged to pay any Duties, whether their Cargoes belonged to them, or to other Nations. VI. That all Conventions with the Subjects of the Church, to the Prejudice of the Ecclesiastical Immunity, should be annulled. VII. That they should afford no Shelter, in their Dominions, to any Dukes, Barons, or other Vassals of the Church,

*And upon
what Condi-
tions.*

¹ Idem ibid.

who

who should be declared Rebels, or Enemies to the Apostolic See. ^{Year of} Lastly, That they should repair all the Losses the Church had sustained, ^{Christ 1509.} by their Means, during the Course of the War, and restore to the Ecclesiastics the Sums they had raised upon their Estates. These Articles being agreed to by the *Venetian* Embassadors in the Name of their Republic, they repaired to the Porch of *St. Peter's* Church, and there prostrating themselves at his Holiness's Feet, they humbly begged Pardon for their past Conduct. The Pope absolved them with the usual Ceremonies, and enjoined them no other Penance than to visit ^{Abolves them.} the Seven chief Churches of *Rome*. He did not content himself with ^{Year of} absolving them, but, by a manifest Breach of Faith against his Con- ^{Christ 1510.} federates, he took them into his Protection, granted Leave to all the ^{And takes them into his} Feudatories and Subjects of the Church to serve under their Banners, ^{Protection.} and, growing daily more and more jealous of the Power of the *French* in *Italy*, left nothing unattempted to prevail upon the Emperor to come to an Agreement with the *Venetians*, and join them and himself against the King of *France* as a common Enemy ^m.

The Pope had formed a Design of driving the *French* quite out of *Italy*, and wanting a Pretence to quarrel with them, he laid hold of ^{Quarrels with the} the following Opportunity to quarrel with the Duke of *Ferrara*, their ^{Duke of Ferrara.} Friend and Ally. As Salt was made both at *Comachio*, that belonged to the Duke, and at *Cervia*, lately restored by the *Venetians* to the Church, the Pope, as Lord Paramount of both Places, the Duke being his Feudatory, forbade the making of Salt, for the future, at *Comachio*, in order to engross the Sale of that useful Commodity to himself. The Duke, *Alphonso d'Este*, thinking it hard, that he should be obliged to purchase of others, for the Use of his own Subjects, what he could supply foreign Countries with, refused to comply with his Holiness's Prohibition. Upon that Refusal the Pope, threatening to do himself Justice by Force of Arms, ordered Part of his Army to march into the Territory of *Bologna* and the Province of *Romagna*, to be there ready at hand to enter the Dominions of the Duke. The King of *France*, to leave no Pretence for the Pope to quarrel with his Ally, and consequently with himself, persuaded the Duke to gratify his Holiness; and *Alphonso* sent, accordingly, Embassadors to *Rome*, offering to his Holiness all the Salt he had made at *Comachio*, and promising

^m Idem ibid. et l. 8. Raynald. ad ann. 1510. Buonaccorsi in Diar.

Year of
Christ 1510.

to make no more. But the Pope, who wanted the Duke to quit the *French* Party, without hearkening to his Embassadors, ordered the Army of the Church to march immediately against him. They made themselves Masters of several Places in the *Ferrarese* without Opposition. But the Marshal of *Chaumont*, Governor of the *Milanese*, and the Duke, joining their Forces, soon obliged them to abandon all the Places they had taken. The Pope's Forces took them a Second Time; and his Holiness, determined either to crush the Duke, or oblige him to renounce his Alliance with the *French*, ordered the Duke of *Urbino*, the Commander of his Army, to make the necessary Preparations for the Siege of *Ferrara* n.

The Duke of
Ferrara and
all the
French Of-
ficers excom-
municated.

The Pope, now wholly bent upon the Reduction of *Ferrara*, and laying aside, for the present, all other Projects, set out for *Bologna* to hasten the Preparations, and made his public Entry into that City in the End of *September*. He had not been long in *Bologna*, when he solemnly excommunicated *Alphonso d'Este*, and all, who had taken, or should take Arms in his Defence, and *Chaumont* by Name, with all the chief Officers of the *French* Army. *Chaumont* paid no Regard to the Pope's Thunders, but in order to silence them with the Thunder of his Cannon, he marched unexpectedly towards *Bologna*, with a Design to seize his Holiness, and got within Ten Miles of that City before they received any Intelligence of his March. The News of his Approach, and of his having the *Bentivogli* with him, occasioned an universal Terror and Consternation among the Nobility and the Prelates of the Court, as well as among the People. The Pope alone remained, in Appearance, quite undisturbed, and without betraying the least Symptom of Fear, he sent *Pico*, Count of *Mirandola*, to treat with the *French* General about a Peace. *Chaumont* knew that the King wished for nothing so much as to accommodate Matters with the Pope, and therefore drew up such Conditions, as he thought his Holiness might agree to, and the King would approve. But his Holiness only wanted to gain Time; and he no sooner heard, that his own Forces, as well as those of the *Venetians*, were in full March, from all Quarters, to relieve him, than thinking himself out of Danger, he sent his final Answer to *Chaumont*, which was, that he might save himself the Trouble of making any new Proposals, unless he previ-

The French
disappointed
in an At-
tempt upon
Bologna.

* Guicciard. l. 9. Buonac. in Diario. Bembo Hist. Venet.

ously consented to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*. In the mean time the expected Succours arrived at *Bologna*, and *Chaumont*, now despairing of Success in attempting to reduce that City, thought it advisable to abandon the Enterprize, and return to his former Camp °.

Year of
Christ 1510.

As the Season was already far advanced, the *Venetians* were, upon the Retreat of *Chaumont*, for putting their Troops into Winter-Quarters. But the Pope, though just recovered from a severe Fit of Illness, declared that he would first make himself Master of *Ferrara*. That Project was disapproved by all the General Officers; and they advised his Holiness against it, thinking it high Time, as Winter drew near, to allow the Troops some Rest after the Fatigues of so long a Campaign. But the Pope answering in great Wrath, that it was their Part to obey, and not to advise, the Siege of *Ferrara* was determined upon. But as it was necessary, in order to prevent the *French* from relieving it, to get Possession of *Mirandola*, the Pope's Army sat down before that Place so late as the latter End of *December*. It was defended by *Frances*, the Widow of the late Count of *Mirandola*, and Daughter of the Marquis of *Trivulzio*; and from her the Besiegers met with a most obstinate Resistance, though the Garrison consisted of no more than Four hundred Foot and Seventy Horse under the Command of *Alexander Trivulzio*, her Cousin-Germain. The Pope, to encourage his Men, attended the Army in Person, and took up his Quarters at the Village of *St. Felix* about Three Leagues from the Camp. It was not long before the Besiegers were reduced to the utmost Distress, not only on Account of the extraordinary Rigor of the Season; but for Want of Provisions, their Convoys being intercepted by Parties, placed on all the Roads by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marshal *Chaumont* p.

Mirandola
besieged by
the Pope..

As the Pope went daily from *St. Felix* to the Camp before *Mirandola* to animate his Men, he One Day narrowly escaped falling into an Ambuscade, laid for him by the famous Partisan *Peter du Ferrail*, commonly known by the Name of *Chevalier Bayard*. The Chevalier placed an Hundred Men at Arms in Ambush on the Road from *St. Felix* to the Camp, who falling out, as soon as some of the Pope's Retinue appeared, seized them, and pursued the Rest, full Speed, in their Flight back to *St. Felix*, not doubting but the Pope was just behind them. But, fortunately for him, a heavy Snow had obliged

Who narrowly escapes
falling into
an Ambuscade.

° Guicciardin. et Buonacors. ibid.

p Idem ibid.

him.

Year of
Christ 1510.

him to return, when he was as yet but at a small Distance from the Town, and he reached it before the Chevalier came up with him, having just Time to cause the Draw-Bridge to be pulled up, to which he himself lent a helping Hand ^q:

He assists at
the Siege in
Person.

As the Pope, impatient to get Possession of *Ferrara*, thought the Siege of *Mirandola* advanced but slowly, he took a Resolution to assist at it in Person. Accordingly he left *St. Felix*, and, repairing to the Camp, took up his Quarters at a Place so near the Walls, that he had Two Persons killed with a Cannon-Ball in his Kitchen. He was perpetually on Horseback, riding about the Lines, notwithstanding the intense Cold, scarce supportable by the Soldiery, reprimanding some, animating others, and acting, in every Respect, the Part of a General. It was no unusual Sight, says here the Historian, to behold the High Priest, the Vicar of Christ upon Earth, old and infirm, employed, in Person, in carrying on a War, kindled by himself against Christians, exposing himself to all the Fatigues and Dangers, incident to Commanders of Armies, and retaining nothing of the Pontiff but the Name and the Habit. The Town held out till the 20th of *January*, when it capitulated, and the Pope entered it by the Breach, as Conqueror ^r: And he was now wholly bent upon the Reduction of *Ferrara*, which he ordered to be immediately invested. But the Duke, falling unexpectedly upon the Pope's Troops, obliged them to raise the Blockade with the Loss of a great many Men, and of all their Baggage and Artillery: And thus was *Ferrara* saved to the great Disappointment of the Pope ^s. This Exploit is ascribed by *Brantome* to the Chevalier *Bayard*, who, according to that Writer, cut Five or Six thousand of the Enemy in Pieces, and obliged the Rest to save themselves by Flight ^t.

Mirandola
taken.

Year of
Christ 1511.

Congress pro-
posed for a
general
Peace, but
rejected by
the Pope.

In the mean time the King of *Spain*, no less jealous than the Pope of the Increase of the *French* Power in *Italy*, and under Apprehensions for his Kingdom of *Naples*, which he thought to be in Danger from the Greatness of the King of *France*, proposed a Congress to be held at *Mantua* for a general Pacification. To that Proposal the Emperor and the King of *France* readily agreed upon certain Conditions. But when the Bishop of *Goritz* came to wait upon the Pope, who was

^q Hist. du Chevalier Bayard, c. 42.

^r Guicciard. l. 9. Bembo, Buonacorsi ibid.

^s Guicciard. ibid.

^t Brantome Eloge du Chevalier Bayard.

still at *Bologna*, in the Emperor's Name, and invite him to the Congress, he found his Holiness unalterably determined to make no Peace with *France* till he was put in Possession of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and its Capital. Upon this Occasion the Pope offered the Dignity of Cardinal to the Bishop, provided he prevailed upon the Emperor to quit his Alliance with the King of *France*, and join the *Venetians* and himself against him. That Offer the Bishop rejected with no small Indignation at the Pope's thinking him capable of betraying his Trust, and immediately set out on his Return to the Imperial Court ^u. As the Emperor had honoured him with the Title of his Lieutenant-General in *Italy*, when the Pope sent some Cardinals to treat with him upon his Arrival at *Bologna*, he appointed some of his Gentlemen to confer with them, saying, that it was beneath him to treat with any but his Holiness himself ^w.

Year of
Christ 1511.

The pacific Measures of the other Princes being thus defeated by the invincible Obstinacy of the Pope, and his inveterate Hatred to the *French*, Marshal *Trivulzio*, who had taken the Command of the *French* Army upon the Death of *Chaumont*, that happened at this Time, drew his Forces together early in the Spring, and having retaken all the Places in the *Ferrarese*, that the Ecclesiastical Army had taken the Year before, he came unexpectedly, and encamped at the Distance of Five Miles from *Bologna*. The Pope had already retired from that City to *Ravenna*, leaving the Cardinal of *Pavia* with a Body of Troops to defend it. But the Cardinal fled, in Disguise, out of the City at the Approach of the Enemy, and his Example being followed by the greatest Part of his Troops, the *Bentivogli*, who attended the *French* Army, were admitted, without Opposition, into the City. Thus was that Family once more put in Possession of their ancient Inheritance. The Populace of their Party, overjoyed at the Return of their old Lords, fell upon a Statue of the Pope in Brass, and having dragged it about the Streets with great Contempt and Derision, broke it in Pieces ^x. — That Statue represented the Pope standing, and in the Attitude of holding up his Right Hand to give the People his Benediction. That Posture gave them Occasion to ask, whether it was to bless or to curse them, that his Holiness thus held up his Hand; which coming to the Pope's Ears, he answered, that *it was for both, as they should deserve to*

Bologna
taken by the
French, and
restored to
the *Bentivogli*.

^u Idem ibid.

^w Mezerai Abregé Chron. tom. 4.

^x Guicciard. l. 9.

Year of
Christ 1511.

The Pope's
Army de-
feated.

be blessed or cursed 1.—Marshal *Trivulzio*, wisely apprehending, that his keeping *Bologna* would give Umbrage both to the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, lest that City in the Possession of the *Bentivogli*, and marching the very next Day, the 22^d of *May*, against the Army of the Pope and the *Venetians* under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino*, put them to Flight at the First Onset, took all their Baggage and Artillery, a great many Colours, and the Doge's own Standard, with several General Officers. Upon the News of this Defeat, the Citadel of *Bologna*, which the present Pope had built, surrendered, and the People immediately demolished it. From this Victory the Duke of *Ferrara* took Occasion to drive the Pope's Forces and those of the *Venetians* quite out of his Dominions 2.

The Cardinal
of Pavia mur-
dered by the
Duke of Ur-
bino.

The melancholy Death of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, late Legate at *Bologna*, that happened at this Time, added greatly to the Concern his Holiness was under for the Loss of that City and the Defeat of his Army. As the Cardinal was charged by some with Treachery, by others with Cowardice, he came to *Ravenna* to justify his Conduct, and demanded an Audience of the Pope. His Holiness, overjoyed at his safe Arrival, as he was One of his chief Favourites, not only granted him his Request, but sent him an Invitation to dine with him. But as he was going to the Palace, the Duke of *Urbino*, who knew the City of *Bologna* to have been lost by the Cowardice of the Cardinal, and the Army, which the Duke commanded, to have been defeated in Consequence of that Loss, made up to him, and in the Transport of his Rage stabbed him with his own Hand. His manifold and enormous Vices deserved, says *Guicciardin*, the worst of Deaths. But when the News of it was brought to the Pope, he burst into Tears and loud Lamentations, bewailing, beyond Measure, the Loss of One, who was so dear to him; the more, as he had set up for a zealous Assertor of the Ecclesiastical Immunity, and the high Dignity of Cardinal was so notoriously violated before his Eyes, and by his own Nephew 3. As we read of no Punishment inflicted by the Pope on his Nephew for so daring an Attempt, some will have his Holiness to have been privy to it. But of that no Notice is taken by *Guicciardin*, nor by any other contemporary Historian.

1 Ciacon. in Jul. II.

2 Guicciardin. *ibid*.

3 Idem *ibid*.

The Pope, for all his Firmness and Intrepidity, could not help shewing his Concern at so many Misfortunes, and thinking himself no longer safe at *Ravenna*, after the taking of *Bologna*, and the Defeat of his Army, he set out from thence on his Return to *Rome*. To aggravate his Concern, he received certain Intelligence, upon his Arrival at *Rimini*, that an Order, for the assembling of a General Council at *Pisa*, was set up at *Modena*, *Bologna*, and other Cities of *Italy*, and that he himself was summoned to appear at it in Person. For the Emperor and the King of *France*, finding the Pope would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation, and looking upon him as a Disturber of the public Peace, had agreed to call a General Council, and lay their Complaints against his Holiness before them. This their Design they had communicated to some of the Cardinals, and Five of them approving of it, had left the Pope the preceding Year, while he was on his Journey from *Rome* to *Bologna*, and fled first to *Florence*, and afterwards, for their greater Security, to *Milan*. These were the Cardinals of *Santa Croce*, *St. Malo*, *Bayeux*, *St. Angelo*, and *Cosenza*. They maintained, that as the Church stood in evident Necessity of a Reformation both in its Head and Members, as the necessary Reformation could only be procured by a General Council, and the Pope neglected to assemble One, the Power of applying that Remedy was lawfully devolved to them; the rather as they acted therein by the Authority of the Emperor, and with the Consent of the most Christian King, and the Concurrence of the *German* and *French* Clergy. On the other hand the Pope, to defeat their Views, and clear himself from the Charge of neglecting to assemble a General Council, appointed One to meet the following Year in the Church of *St. John Lateran* at *Rome*, pretending, that he had thereby dissolved the Council convoked by the Cardinals. But they maintained, that as theirs had been called and proclaimed the first, it ought to take Place, and appointed the 1st of *September* next ensuing for the Opening of it. The King of *France* sent immediately Twenty-four Bishops to *Pisa* to represent the *Gallican* Church in the Council, and ordered all the Prelates of his Kingdom to assist at it in Person, or by their Proxies ^b.

The Calling of a Council gave the Pope a great deal of Uneasiness; and indeed not without Reason, the King of *France* being in a Condition, ^{His Holiness's double Dealing.}

^b Idem ibid. et l. 10.

Year of
Christ 1511.

dition, after the Victory lately gained by *Trivulzio*, to cause the Decrees, that should be issued by that Assembly, to be carried into Execution. He therefore ordered the Bishop of *Tivoli*, his Nuncio at the *French* Court, to negotiate a Reconciliation between the Apostolic See and the King. But being, in the mean time, informed, that the King, instead of improving the Opportunity, afforded him, by his Victory, of reducing the whole State of the Church, had, with more Piety, says *Guicciardin*, than Policy, ordered the Marshal to return with the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*, he was thereby encouraged to make such Demands, as the King could not, in Honour, agree to. The Pope only wanted to gain Time; and while he was negotiating a Peace with *France*, he was privately carrying on a Treaty with the King of *Spain* and the *Venetians* against the *French*,* and using his utmost Endeavours to persuade the King of *England*, *Henry VIII.* to enter into that Confederacy †.

Is taken dangerously ill.

During these Negotiations the Pope was taken ill on the 17th of *August*, and on the 4th Day of his Illness thought to be dead. The Report of his Death occasioned great Disturbances in *Rome*. But it was only a Fainting-Fit, and being recovered out of it, though with very small Hopes of his Life, he assembled, the next Day, the Cardinals in the Form of a Consistory, and in their Presence absolved his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, from the Murder of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, not by Way of Justice, but of Apostolic Favour and Indulgence. In the next Place, to prevent others from being raised by Simony to the Pontificate, as it had happened to himself, he caused a Bull to be published, which he had drawn up before, fraught with terrible Penalties and Curses against any, who should procure that Dignity by Money or any other Reward whatever, and declaring all such Elections to be in themselves null. In the mean time he grew daily better, and was no sooner out of Danger, than he resumed his former Schemes, treating of Peace with the King of *France*, and negotiating, at the same time, an offensive League with the *Venetians*, and the King of *Spain*, against him ‡.

But recovers.

Council of
Pisa opened.

In the mean time the Council of *Pisa* was opened on the Day appointed, the 1st of *September*, but with very little Hopes of Success. None of the Cardinals, who had convoked it, were present, nor were

* Idem, l. 10.

‡ Idem ibid.

any of the *French* Bishops, though many of them were already arrived in *Italy*. They kept back, as long as they could, through Fear of Censures and the Loss of their Benefices; so that the Council was opened by none but Deputies or Proxies. But the Archbishop of *Lions* and *Sens* being ordered by the King to attend the Council, they repaired to *Pisa* with Fourteen Bishops, and several *French* Doctors and Abbots; and the First Session being held soon after their Arrival, *Bernardine Carvajal*, Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, and the chief Promoter of the Council, was chosen President. As the City of *Pisa* was, at this Time, subject to the *Florentines*, the Pope, provoked at their suffering such a schismatic Conventicle, as he called it, to be held within their Dominions, laid the City of *Florence*, as well as that of *Pisa*, under an Interdict, excommunicated all who should any-ways countenance that execrable Assembly, and, summoning a public Consistory, pronounced, with great Solemnity in his Pontifical Robes, the Sentence of Deposition against the Cardinals, Authors and Promoters of the Schism, declaring them liable to all the Pains and Penalties denounced against Schismatics and Heretics. The *Florentines*, taking no Notice of the Council then sitting at *Pisa*, appealed from the Pope's Sentence, interdicting their City, to a holy Council of the Church Universal, and, after their Appeal, obliged the Ecclesiastics to perform Divine Service, as usual, in the Four principal Churches of the City.

Year of
Christ 1511.

The Cities of
Pisa and Flo-
rence inter-
dicted.

The Floren-
tines appeal
to a General
Council.

The Pope continued to amuse the King of *France* with Proposals of Peace. But, in the mean while, the League, which he had been long negotiating with the Catholic King and the *Venetians* against that Prince, was brought to a Conclusion, and published, with great Solemnity on the 5th of *October*, in the Presence of the Pope and all the Cardinals assembled in the Church of *St. Mary del Popolo*. No Mention was made of the King of *France* in the Articles of that Confederacy. But the contracting Powers engaged to preserve the Unity of the Church, in imminent Danger from the Council of *Pisa*, to put the Pope in Possession of the City of *Bologna*, as well as of every other City, to which he had a just Claim, meaning thereby the City of *Ferrara*, and to act with a powerful Army against any, who should oppose the Execution of these their Designs, in order to drive them quite out of *Italy*. Upon the First Notice the King received of this

League be-
tween the
Pope, the
King of
Spain, and
the Venetians
against
France.

• Idem ibid. et Petrus de Angleria. ep. 468.

Year of
Christ 1511.

new Confederacy, evidently calculated to divest him of all his *Italian* Dominions, if he did not comply with all the Pope's Demands, however inconsistent with his Honour and his Interest, he acquainted his Generals in *Italy* with 'it, ordering them to maintain, at all Events, the *Baglioni* in Possession of *Bologna*, and defend the City of *Ferrara*, as they would the City of *Paris*. At the same time he wrote to the Cardinals and the Bishops, assembled at *Pisa*, to pursue the Work, for which they had met, the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members f.

Proceedings
of the Council
of Pisa.

No *German* Bishops had yet appeared at *Pisa*, nay, in an Assembly, held at *Augsbury*, they had condemned that Council, as tending to produce a Schism; but with this Clause, that they were ready to change their Opinion, if satisfactory Reasons were offered to the contrary. The Four Cardinals therefore, for the Fifth, *Francis Borgia*, Cardinal of *Cosenza*, had died at *Lucca*, and the *French* Bishops, meeting in the Church of *St. Michael*, declared, in the Three Sessions they held there, on the 5th, 7th, and 10th of *November*, that they represented the Church Universal, were lawfully assembled, held their Power immediately of God, and all, the Pope himself not excepted, were bound to obey their Decrees; that none should be allowed to withdraw from the Council without just Cause, and that all Acts made, or attempted, to the Prejudice of the Council, should be deemed in themselves null. In the mean time the People of *Pisa*, alarmed at the Interdict, began to insult, in the public Streets, the Members of the Council, and even the Cardinals themselves, who had brought it upon them. This occasioned daily Quarrels between the People and the *French* Soldiers, whom the King had appointed to guard the Council; which so terrified the Cardinals, and the Rest of the Prelates, that they passed an Act for translating the Council to *Milan*, and departed in all Haste the very next Day g.

Which is ad-
joined to
Milan.

Bologna be-
sieged by the
Confederates.
Year of
Christ 1512.

While these Things passed at *Pisa*, the Forces, that the King of *Spain* was bound to furnish by One of the Articles of the League, arrived in *Romagna*, viz. Twelve hundred Men at Arms, One thousand Light Horse, and Ten thousand *Spanish* Foot, under the Command of *Raymund de Cardona*, then Viceroy of *Naples*. They joined the Ecclesiastic Army in the Neighbourhood of *Imola*, and after taking

f Idem ibid.

g Idem ibid. et Concil. Pisan. II. p. 73, et seq.

Julius II. BISHOPS of Rome.

391

some Places in *Romagna*, that belonged to the Duke of *Ferrara*, they advanced to *Bologna*, and, at the repeated Instances of the Pope, impatient to recover that important City, they laid Siege to it in the Beginning of *January*. But they were soon obliged to abandon that Enterprize by *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, the King's Nephew, who had been lately made Governor of the *Milanese*, though, at that Time, not above Two or Three and Twenty Years of Age. He found Means to get into the Place with a strong Body of Troops; and the Confederates, despairing of being able to reduce it, when defended by so numerous a Garrison with their General at their Head, silently withdrew in the Night, and returned to *Imola*.

Year of
Christ 1512.

The Siege
raised.

As the King had taken the City of *Bologna* under his Protection, and it served as a Bulwark against the Attempts of the Pope upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, he expressed an unusual Joy at that Event. But his Joy was allayed by the News he received soon afterwards, that the Parliament and King of *England* had been prevailed upon by the Pope's Nuncio, the Bishop of *Moravia*, a *Scotchman*, to send Prelates to represent that Kingdom in the *Lateran* Council, and that the King had ordered the *French* Embassador to depart, saying, it was not fit that the Representative of One, who so openly persecuted the Apostolic See, should be seen near the Person of a King, and in a Kingdom so devoted to the Church. At the same time the Emperor seemed disposed to quit his Alliance, being tempted thereunto by the mighty Promises of the Pope; and the *Swiss*, gained over by their Countryman, the Cardinal of *Sion*, shewed a great Inclination to enter into the Service of the Confederates against him.

King of Eng-
land inclined
to accede to
the League.

The King therefore finding himself alone against so many Enemies, who had either declared, or were ready to declare against him, and being, at the same time, sensible, that, upon the King of *England's* invading his *French* Dominions, which he expected daily, he should be obliged to recall great Part of his Forces out of *Italy*, he sent an express Order to the Duke of *Nemours* to march, without Delay, against the *Spanish* and Ecclesiastic Troops in *Romagna*, and draw them to a decisive Battle. But they, determined not to hazard an Engagement, took Care to encamp in Places, where they could not be forced to it. As no Opportunity therefore offered of attacking them, but under great Disadvantage, the Duke of *Nemours* resolved to lay Siege to *Ravenna*.

Ravenna be-
sieged by the
French.

Year of
Christ 1512.

venna, persuading himself, that they would not tamely suffer a City of such Importance to be lost before their Eyes. He was not mistaken; for the Generals of the Allies, hearing that the Town was besieged, that the Siege was briskly carried on, and that the Place must surrender, if not relieved, resolved, in a Council of War, to march with the whole Army to its Relief.

Battle of Ra-
venna.

Compleat
Victory gain-
ed by the
French.

As they approached, the Duke of *Nemours* went out to meet them; and One of the most bloody Engagements thereupon ensued, that had been fought for many Years in *Italy*. It lasted near Eight Hours; and on both Sides fell a great Number of brave Men, and Persons of Distinction. But the Allies were, in the End, forced to give Way, and leave the *French* Masters of the Field. *Raymund* of *Cardona*, a *Catalonian*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Commander in Chief of the whole Allied Army, fled among the first, and never stopt till he reached *Ancona*, about Thirty Leagues distant from the Field of Battle. He was remarkable for the Comeliness of his Person, but wanted Courage, and was therefore called by the Pope *Madam da Cardona*. The Rest, following his Example, betook themselves to a disorderly Flight, all but a small Body of *Spanish* Infantry under the Command of *Peter Navarre*, a brave and experienced Officer. These retired in good Order; and *Foix*, thinking that the Victory was not compleat, if they were not broken and dispersed as well as the Rest, fell furiously upon them. But being surrounded, and falling from his Horse, or, as others say, his Horse falling upon him, he was wounded with a Pike in his Side, and, at the same time, received several other Wounds, some say Fourteen, of which he died upon the Spot. The *French* were so stunned with the Loss of their brave Commander, that they suffered the *Spaniards* to march off unmolested. As to the Number of the Slain of both Armies, it amounted at least, according to *Guicciardin*, to Ten thousand, and of that Number the *French* made but One-third. All the Baggage, Colours, and Artillery of the Allies were taken, and a great many Persons of the First Rank were made Prisoners, with the Cardinal *de Medicis*, the Pope's Legate, whom they delivered up to Cardinal *Sanseverino*, Legate of the Council of *Pisa*, then sitting at *Milan*. This memorable Battle was fought on *Easter-Day*, the 11th of *April* of the present Year ^h.

^h Guicciard. l. 10. et Brantome Eloge de Gaston de Foix.

The Defeat of the Allies was followed by the Loss of *Ravenna*, *Imola*, *Forli*, *Cesena*, *Rimini*, and all the Fortresses of *Romagna*, except those of *Forli* and *Imola*; and Cardinal *Sanseverino* took Possession of them in the Name of the Council of *Pisa*, that it might not be thought the King intended to extend his Dominions at the Expence of the Church. When News of so signal a Victory, gained over the Confederates, was brought to *Rome*, it threw the whole Court into the utmost Terror and Confusion. The Cardinals, flying immediately to the Palace, conjured his Holiness, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church and his own Safety, not to defer concluding a Peace with *France*. On the other hand the Embassadors of the *Venetians* and the King of *Spain* remonstrated, in very strong Terms, against his coming to any Agreement with the *French*. Thus Fear, Indignation, and his irreconcilable Hatred to the King, combating together in his Breast, he knew not what to determine, but seemed, at one Time, inclined to Peace, and, at another, determined to continue the War: But being, in the mean while, informed that the *Swiss* had espoused his Cause, and were on their March to join the Confederates, and that *Palice*, who had succeeded *Foix* in the Command of the Army, instead of marching to *Rome*, was returned to the *Milanese* with the greatest Part of his Forces, in order to prevent their entering that Dutchy, his Holiness recovered his Courage, ordered new Forces to be raised, and, declaring that he would not depart from the League, wrote to his Nuncio in *France* to break off the Negotiations, which he might have begun with the King or his Ministers. At the same time arrived at *Rome* a Messenger from the King of *England* with a Commission, empowering the Cardinal Archbishop of *York*, then residing at the Pope's Court, to sign the League in his Name, and the King of *Spain* assured his Holiness that, to prevent the *French* from reaping any Advantage from their late Victory, he was resolved to send a powerful Army into *Italy* under the Command of the *Great Captain*.

But what above all delivered the Pope from his Fears, and confirmed him in his Resolution of pursuing the War, was the unexpected Arrival of the *Swiss* in the *Trentine* to the Number of Eighteen, or Twenty thousand fighting Men, though the Pope had only demanded Six thousand. They joined the *Venetian* Army in the *Veronese*, and jointly with them directed their March to the Dutchy of *Milan*, which

Year of
Christ 1512.
The Pope ex-
horted to
Peace.

What encour-
aged him to
continue the
War.

The Swiss
espouse the
Cause of the
Pope, and
enter the
Dutchy of
Milan.

Year of
Christ 1512.

Which the
French are
forced to
abandon.

Genoa re-
volts from
the French.
Bologna re-
covered to the
Pope.

they no sooner entered, than all the Cities, where the Citizens were stronger than the Garrisons, revolting from the *French*, surrendered to them. *Palice*, whose Army only consisted of Six or Seven thousand Men, the Rest being employed in garrisoning the fortified Towns, retired as the Enemy advanced, and Marshal *Trivulzio*, Governor of *Milan*, thinking himself no longer safe in that City, furnished the Castle with Men and Provisions, and set out for *Piedmont* with all the King's Officers, and the Cardinals and Bishops of the Council. Thus were the *French* every where driven out, nothing being left to them of the whole *Milanese*, but the Castles of *Milan*, *Novara*, and *Cremona*, and the Towns of *Crema*, *Brescia*, and *Peschiera*. *Palice*, upon the First Notice he received of the Motions of the *Swiss*, had ordered the Troops, which he had left in *Romagna*, to march, with all Speed, to *Milan*; and they were no sooner gone, than the Cities of *Rimini*, *Cesena*, and *Ravenna*, returned under the Obedience of the Pope. The Cities in the State of *Milan* had all submitted to the *Holy League*, as they were pleased to call it, and were therefore governed, for the present, by the Cardinal of *Sion* with the Character of the Pope's Legate. But the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* submitted, of their own Accord, to the Pope, who pretended a Right to them, as anciently appertaining to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*.

To compleat the Ruin of the *French* Affairs in *Italy*, *Genoa* revolted, expelled the *French* Governor, and conferred the Dignity of Doge upon *Janus Fregosi*, the Author of the Revolt. At the same time the Duke of *Urbino*, approaching *Bologna* with the Ecclesiastic Forces, obliged the *Bentivogli* to abandon that City, and the Inhabitants to acknowledge the Pope for their only Lord and Sovereign. His Holiness, carrying his Rage against that Family beyond all Bounds, interdicted all Places that should receive or entertain any of them; and to be revenged upon the *Bolognese*, who had insulted his Statue, and cast many abusive Reflections upon his Character, he deprived them of all their Privileges, excluded them from all Share in the Government, extorted large Sums from many of the Citizens, as Friends to the *Bentivogli*, nay and had formed a Design, as was reported, says *Guicciardin*, of destroying the City, and removing the Inhabitants to *Cento*; but he did not live to carry it into Execution i.

i Idem ibid.

The Bishops and Cardinals of the Council of *Pisa* had continued their Sessions at *Milan* ever since their Removal to that City; and in the Eighth, held on the 21st of *April*, they declared Pope *Julius II.* a Disturber of the public Peace, a Sower of Discord among the People of God, a Rebel to the Church, a public Incendiary, a blood-thirsty Tyrant, hardened in his Iniquity, and incorrigible; pronounced him, as such, suspended from all spiritual and temporal Administration of the Church, and forbade the Faithful, of what Rank soever or Profession, thenceforth to acknowledge or obey him. This Decree was received in *France*, and by the King's express Command strictly complied with throughout the Kingdom^k. It was the last Act of the Council of *Pisa*. For the *Swiss* breaking into the *Milanese*, the Bishops, who were all *French*, fled from thence first to *Asti* in *Piedmont*, and soon afterwards to *Lions*, where they were well received, and kindly entertained by the King.

Year of
Christ 1512.
The Pope sus-
pended by the
Council of
Pisa.

End of that
Council.

The Pope, provoked more than ever against the King on Account of his receiving the above-mentioned Decree of the Council, and his affording a safe Retreat in his Dominions to the Bishops of that Assembly, declared him, and all who adhered to him, liable to all the Punishments due to Heretics and Schismatics, granted a Power to every one to seize on their Goods, their Estates, and whatever else belonged to them, and laid the whole Kingdom of *France* under an Interdict. At the same time, to wreak his Vengeance upon the City of *Lions* for receiving the Bishops of the Council, he ordered, under grievous Censures, the Fair, that was kept there Four Times a Year, to be thenceforth held at *Geneva*, whence it had been removed by *Lewis XI.* to *Lions*^l.

The King of
France ex-
communi-
cated, and
the Kingdom
laid under an
Interdict.

The *French* having nothing now left in *Italy* but a few Castles, the Confederates began to quarrel among themselves about the Possession of the Places, which they had abandoned. But the Pope, apprehending that the *French*, taking Advantage of their Divisions, might reconquer the *Milanese*, prevailed upon them to hold a Congress at *Mantua*, in order to settle their Differences in an amicable Manner; and it was there agreed, that the Dutchy of *Milan* should be restored to *Maximilian Sforza*, as Heir to his Father *Lewis*, to whom that Dutchy had belonged. But the *Venetians* could by no Means be

The Pope
enters into a
Confederacy
with the Em-
peror against
the Vene-
tians.

^k Idem ibid. et Concil. Pisani. p. 110.

^l Idem ibid. et Raynald. ad ann. 1512.

Year of
Christ 1512.

brought to an Agreement with the Emperor, demanding the Restitution of the City of *Vicenza*, which he had taken in the Beginning of the War, and they had afterwards retaken. The Pope spared neither Entreaties nor Menaces to oblige the Republic to yield that City, and enter into an Alliance with himself and the Emperor to oppose the *French*, in case they attempted the Recovery of their Dominions in *Italy*. But, at last, finding that he could not induce them, either by Entreaties or Menaces, to give up the City in Question, he concluded an Alliance with the Emperor against them. By One of the Articles of this new Alliance the Cities of *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and *Reggio*, which the Pope had seized, were to be left in the Possession of the Holy See, but with this Clause, *without Prejudice to the Rights of the Empire*^m. This Clause was added, says *Guicciardin*, because it did not appear, that those Cities had ever been possessed by the Church, and of the Donations, made by the Emperors, there was nothing to shew but One single Writing, that might have been forged.

The Proceed-
ings of the
Lateran
Council.

The Pope had, as has been said, summoned a Council to meet in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, in Opposition to that of *Pisa*; and it was, accordingly, opened at the Time appointed, the 3d of *May* of the present Year, his Holiness assisting at it in Person with the College of Cardinals, and a great Number of Bishops, Doctors, and Abbots. In the First Session, held on the 10th of that Month, it was declared, that the Council there assembled was a true, lawful, and holy Council, in which resided all the Power and Authority of the Church Universal. In the Second Session, held on the 17th of the same Month, was read the Declaration of the Catholic King, approving the Convention of the Council, and a Sermon was preached by Cardinal *Caitan*, or rather a furious Invektive against the Councils of *Constance*, of *Basil*, and of *Pisa*, subjecting *Peter* to the Church, and the Pope to a Council; which, he said, was setting Children above their Parents, the Members above their Head, and the Servants above their Lord. In the Third Session, held on the 3d of *December*, the Bishop of *Goritz* presented to the Fathers, in the Emperor's Name, a Revocation of all Acts and Powers made in Favour of, or granted to the Council of *Pisa*, with a Declaration that he approved of the *Lateran* Council, and would adhere to it. In the same Session was confirmed the Pope's Bull, in-

^m Idem ibid. et Petrus de Angleria, Ep. 512.

terdicting

interdicting the Kingdom of *France*, and removing the Fair, spoken of above, from *Lions* to *Geneva*. In the Fourth Session, held on the 10th of *December*, were read the Letters Patent of *Lewis XI.* abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction, and they, who still maintained it, were summoned to appear, in the Term of Sixty Days, and shew Cause why the said Pragmatic should not be abrogated. The Fifth Session was held on the 16th of *February*; but the Pope being taken ill, the Cardinal of *St. George*, Bishop of *Ostia*, presided at it in his Room; and the Defenders of the Pragmatic were again summoned to appear within the above-mentioned Time °.

Year of
Christ 1512.

In the mean while the Pope's Illness increased daily, and no Hopes being now left of his Recovery, he caused a Consistory to be called, and the Bull to be confirmed, which he had published before against Simoniacal Practices in the Election of the Pope. At the same time he declared the Election of a Successor to belong to the Cardinals, and not to the Council, and desired, that the schismatic Cardinals might have no Share in the Election; but he forgave them their Offences against him, and prayed God to pardon them the Injuries they had done to his Church. He then begged the College of Cardinals to gratify him so far, as to grant the City of *Pesaro* in Fee to his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, since it had by his Means been recovered to the Church. Thus retaining the same Vigour of Mind, which he had enjoyed before his Illness, he received the Sacraments of the Church, and died on the 21st of *February* 1513, when he had lived Seventy Years, and governed the Church Nine Years Three Months and Twenty-one Days p. He was buried, with the usual Solemnity, in the Church of *St. Peter*, in the Chapel of his Uncle Pope *Sixtus*.

Julius dies.
Year of
Christ 1513.

Julius was certainly a Man of most extraordinary Parts, of great Courage, Resolution, and Constancy, and would have deserved the highest Commendations, had he employed his Talents, as was incumbent upon him, in promoting Religion and Piety, and reforming the enormous Abuses that prevailed, in his Time, in the Church. But entirely neglecting all spiritual Concerns, he made it his whole Business, from the Time of his Promotion to the Hour of his Death, to extend the temporal Empire of the Church by dint of Arms, and the Blood of Christians, acting therein, to use the Expression of a celebrated

His Character.

° Concil. Lat. tom. 14. p. 91—100.

p Guicciard. l. 21.

Year of
Christ 1513.

Writer, more like a Sultan of the *Turks*, than as the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, and the common Father of all Christians¹. Two hundred thousand Persons are said to have perished in the Wars, carried on chiefly at the Instigation of this furious and blood-thirsty Pope; and as many more would have, probably, undergone the same Fate, had not Death intervened, and prevented his disturbing the Repose of

His vast Pro-
jeets.

Europe any longer. For he had formed a Design of renewing the War against the Duke of *Ferrara* as soon as the Season would permit; of changing the Government of *Florence*, and, what he had above all Things at Heart, to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, as well as the *French*, to subject the Kingdom of *Naples* to his See, and thus deliver *Italy*, as he frequently expressed himself, from the Yoke of Barbarians. With this View he cultivated, by all Means, the Friendship of the *Swiss*, presented them with a Sword, a Cap, a Helmet, and a Standard, bestowed on them the Title of *Defenders of the Ecclesiastical Immunity*, and secretly prevented them from entering into a Confederacy with the

His Hatred
to the King of
France.

Catholic King.—The Aversion, or rather Hatred, that *Julius* bore to the King of *France*, was carried by him beyond all Bounds of Moderation, and even of Decency. For not satisfied with driving him out of *Italy*, with laying his whole Kingdom under an Interdict, and stirring up the King of *England* to invade his *French* Dominions, he had drawn up a Bull, transferring the Title of *Most Christian King* to the King of *England*, divesting *Lewis* of the Royal Title and Dignity, and giving his Kingdom to any, who should conquer it. This Bull the Pope intended to have confirmed by the *Lateran* Council. But he was providentially removed out of the World before this, or any other of the many Projects he had formed, could be carried into Execution. For it was commonly believed, that had he succeeded with the Assistance of the *Swiss*, in expelling the *Spaniards* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and adding that Kingdom to the other Dominions of the Church, his restless Temper, and unbounded Ambition, would not have allowed him to remain unactive, but prompted him to attempt, with the Assistance of the same mercenary *Swiss*, the subjecting of all *Italy* to his See².—*Julius* is charged by all the contemporary Writers with immoderate Drinking; and *Gradineco* tells us in his Diary, that his Holiness loved Wine to such a Degree, that when he was taken

A Lover of
Wine and Wo-
men.

¹ Mezeray, Abregé Chron. tom. 5. p. 117.
Ludovic. XII.

² Guicciard. l. 11. Ferron. in

dangerously

dangerously ill in 1511, he could not refrain, even in the Height of his Fever, from drinking strong *Greek Wines*. He was a Lover of Women, at least, before his Promotion to the Pontificate, as well as of Wine, and had a Daughter named *Felice*, whom he married to *John-Jordan Orsini*.—But not to defraud this Pope of the Praise that is due to him, he did not tread in the Footsteps of preceding Popes, in aggrandizing, at the Expence of the Church, his Nephews and Relations. His purchasing of the Emperor the City of *Siena* for his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, and his beseeching the Cardinals, alittle before his Death, to grant to him and his Posterity the City of *Pesaro* in Fee, are the only Instances of his shewing any private Concern or Affection for his Family. Of the Twenty-seven Cardinals, whom he created at different Promotions, Four only were any-ways related to him, and they Men of untainted Characters. When his Daughter earnestly entreated him, in his last Illness, to confer that Dignity upon *Guido of Montefalcone*, her uterine Brother, he sternly answered, that the Person, whom she recommended, was not worthy of so high a Dignity, and, turning away from her, expired in a few Minutes *.—As for the famous Medal, that the King of *France*, *Lewis XII.* is said to have caused to be struck with this Inscription, *Perdam Babylonis Nomen, I will destroy the Name of Babylon*, meaning *Rome*, and the Power of *Rome*, its Authenticity has been much disputed, *Et adhuc sub judice lis est*.

Year of
Christ 1513.

Free from
Nepotism.

In *Cherubini* we find Thirty-one Bulls of Pope *Julius*, the most remarkable of which are, that by which he grants a Dispensation to the then Prince of *Wales*, afterwards *Henry VIII.* to marry *Catherine*, the Widow of his Brother *Artbur*; a Bull against all Simoniackal Practices in the Election of the Pope; and One for Indulgences to encourage the Faithful to contribute to the Building of *St. Peter's Church* at *Rome*; for by him that Structure, perhaps the most magnificent in the World, was first begun.

* Guicciard. *ibid.*

MAXIMILIAN,
CHARLES V.
Emperors of the West.

LEO X.

The Two Hundred and Fiftenth BISHOP of Rome.

Year of
Christ 1513.
Leo X. elect-
ed.

*Some Account
of his Family
and Prefer-
ments, &c.
before his
Promotion.*

JULIUS dying, as has been said, on the 21st of *February* of the present Year, the Cardinals, to the Number of Twenty-three, having performed his Exequies, according to Custom, entered into the Conclave, and on the 7th Day, that is, on the 11th of *March*, elected fairly without Simony, or Suspicion of any corrupt Practice, *John* Cardinal *de Medicis*, who took the Name of *Leo X.* So quick an Election of so young a Pope, for he was but Thirty-seven Years of Age, was owing to a Combination of the young Cardinals, who had agreed among themselves to chuse the First Pope out of their own Number t.—*Leo* was the Son of *Lawrence de Medicis*, who had the good Luck to escape with a slight Wound, when his Brother *Julian* was barbarously murdered at the Instigation of Pope *Sixtus IV.* as has been related above u. He was the Grandson of *Cosmus*, the Founder of the Greatness of his Family w, and had Three Sons, *Peter*, *John*, and *Julian*. *Peter* succeeded him in the Government of the Republic, but was declared a Rebel, and obliged to fly from *Florence* with his Two Brothers, for yielding some Places to the *French*, when *Charles VIII.* passed through *Tuscany* on his March to the Kingdom of *Naples*. *John*, now Pope *Leo*, was yet a Child, when *Lewis XI.* out of the great Regard he had for his Family, presented him with a rich Archbishopric in *France*. Being thus destined for the Church, his Father, who was the *Mecænas* of the Time, and himself a Man of great Learning, took Care to have him educated and instructed in all the Branches of polite Literature, by the ablest Men of that Age, and no other Age has abounded with more able Men since the Revival of Learning. When he was but Thirteen Years of Age, *Innocent VIII.* created him Cardinal-Deacon of *St. Mary in Dominica*, on Occasion of the Marriage between his Sister *Catharine* and *Francis Cibo* his Holiness's natural Son x. *Innocent* appointed him, a little before his Death, his Legate *a latere*

t Guicciard. l. 11.

u See above, p. 326.

w See above, p. 307, et seq.

x See above, p. 208.

for *Tuscany*. But his Brother *Peter* being, in the mean time, driven out of *Florence* by the contrary Faction, and all the *de Medicis* declared Outlaws, he travelled all over *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany* till the Death of *Alexander VI.* who succeeded *Innocent*, and countenanced the popular Party in *Florence*. Upon his Death he returned to *Rome*, and was appointed by his Successor, *Julius II.* Legate of *Perugia*, and afterwards of *Bologna*. In 1512 he attended the Confederate Army with the Character of Apostolic Legate, and was made Prisoner in the Battle of *Ravenna*. The *French* conducted their illustrious Captive to *Milan*, where he was treated with the utmost Civility, and all the Respect that was due to his Character. But he ill repaid the kind Treatment he met with. For the Pope having granted him a Power to absolve from all Censures such as should quit the *French* Service, and promise to bear Arms no longer against the Church, he prevailed upon great Numbers to desert by offering them Absolution. When the *French* abandoned *Milan*, the King ordered the Cardinal to be sent into *France*. But the Peasants of a Village, called *Pieve del Cairo*, falling unexpectedly upon the Soldiers, who guarded him, delivered him out of their Hands. Being thus set at Liberty, he applied to *Raimund de Cordona*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Commander of the *Spanish* Troops in *Italy*, and had the Satisfaction of seeing his Family by their Means, and the Concurrence of the Pope, restored to their former Grandeur at *Florence*, and his Brother *Julian* placed, with all the Power the Family had ever enjoyed, at the Head of that Republic. Matters being thus settled in *Florence*, the Cardinal, upon the First News he had of the Death of Pope *Julius*, flew to *Rome*, and was elected for his Successor in the Manner we have seen.

The new Pope was crowned, according to Custom, in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, on the 11th of *April*, the very Day, on which he had been made Prisoner at the Battle of *Ravenna* the Year before. So pompous was the Appearance, on that Occasion, of his Family, of his Court, of the Prelates and the Nobility, that it was universally believed, that nothing had been seen equal to it since the Inundation of the Barbarians, or the Times of the old *Romans*, his Holiness striving to imitate and renew the Pomp, Splendor, and Magnificence of their public Shews. The Parade of that Day, by no Means suitable to the

*Pompous
Coronation
of the new
Pope.*

¹ Guicciard. l. 6; 7, 11. et Onuph. in Leone: X.

Year of
Christ 1513.

present Times, is said to have cost him, at least, One hundred thousand Ducats. He thereby gained, indeed, the Applause and Esteem of the Vulgar; but Men of Sense could not help blaming him for thus squandering away, in useless Expences, the Treasure of the Church ^z.

The Two de-
posed Cardi-
nals arrested.

The Two Cardinals *Carvajal* and *Sanseverino*, the chief Promoters of the Council of *Pisa*, now sitting at *Lions*, no sooner heard of the Death of *Julius*, than, leaving that City, they hastened to *Marseilles*, and from thence set out for *Rome* by Sea, being attended by an Embassador from the King. They landed at *Leghorn*; and being there informed of the Election of the new Pope, they advanced, depending upon his known Good-Nature, to *Pisa*. But they were there arrested, and being conducted to *Florence*, the Pope sent the Bishop of *Orvieto* to advise them not to proceed any further till it was determined in what Manner they should be received at *Rome*, and at the same time to exhort them no longer to appear in the Habit of Cardinals since they had been lawfully deposed, and their Deposition had been confirmed in the *Lateran* Council ^a.

The Pope
strives to
gain the King
of France.

As the late Pope had shewn, on all Occasions, an irreconcilable Aversion to the King of *France*, and by that Means quite estranged him from the Apostolic See, *Leo*, in order to regain him, and put an End to the Schism, made in the Church by the Council of *Pisa*, which the King still supported, wrote to him a most kind and obliging Letter soon after his Coronation. In that Letter he declared, that, as the common Father of all Christian Princes, he was extremely grieved, that the King, by his Disagreement with the Church, had put it out of his Power to shew how much he was inclined by Nature to be his Friend, but that he was ready to receive him as a most Christian King, and embrace him, as the eldest Son of the Church, as soon as he returned to the Obedience of the Apostolic See. As the *French* were, generally speaking, desirous of being restored to the Communion of the Church, from which they had been cut off by the late Pope, the King, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, immediately dispatched the Bishop of *Marseilles* to *Rome*, to treat with his Holiness about a Reconciliation. Not long after his Arrival the Sixth Session of the *Lateran* Council was held, at which *Leo* presided in Person; and in

^a Guicciard. l. 11.

^a Idem ibid. et Petrus de Angleria: Epist. 515.

that

that Session was read a Paper, signed by the Two deposed Cardinals, wherein they approved of all that was done in the *Lateran Council*, promised to adhere to it, and condemned that of *Pisa* as a *schismatic Conventicle*. The Two Cardinals of *Sion* and of *York* strongly opposed their Restoration; but the Bishop of *Marseilles* earnestly interceding for them, in his Master's Name, the Pope, to gratify the King, consented to their being reinstated in their Dignity; and the Ceremony was performed in the following Manner. The Two Cardinals entered *Rome* privately by Night without any Badges of that Dignity, and appearing the next Day, in the Habit of common Priests, before the Pope sitting in Consistory, and attended by all the Cardinals, except those of *York* and *Sion*, who refused to be present, they fell on their Knees, and, in the most submissive Terms, asked Pardon of the Pope and the Cardinals, declared their Approbation of their own Deposition, and the Election of a new Pope, as done canonically, and condemned the Council of *Pisa* as a schismatic and detestable Assembly. They remained in the same humble Posture till this their Confession, signed by them, was entered upon Record; and then rising up, they embraced all the Cardinals, who stirred not from their Seats, resumed, as soon as they had done, the Badges of their former Dignity, and were admitted to sit in the same Place, where they had sat before their Deposition ^b.

Year of
Christ 1513.
The deposed
Cardinals re-
nounce the
Council of
Pisa, and are
restored.

In the mean time the Sessions of the *Lateran Council* were continued; but nothing was transacted in the Seventh worthy of Notice, though *Leo* presided at it in Person; and the Eighth was put off till the 17th of *December*, his Holiness striving, in the mean while, to prevail upon the King of *France* to renounce the Council of *Pisa*, to adhere to the *Lateran*, and send his Bishops to assist at the latter. His Endeavours were, in the End, crowned with Success. For the King, being daily importuned by his People, especially by the Clergy, and earnestly pressed by the Queen, *Anne of Bretany*, to come to an Agreement with the new Pope, consented at last, much against his Will, to receive the *Lateran Council*, which he had hitherto opposed, and renounce that of *Pisa*, which he had so zealously promoted. Accordingly Embassadors were sent to *Rome*, who being introduced to the Council in the Eighth Session, held on the 17th of *December*, acknow-

The King of
France re-
nounces the
Council of
Pisa, and re-
ceives the
Lateran.

^b Idem ibid. Onuph. in Leon. et Raymund. ad ann. 1513.

Year of
Christ 1513.

acknowledged that Council, in the King's Name, as the only true and lawful Council, condemned the Assembly, then sitting at *Lions* under the Name of the Council of *Pisa*, and engaged that the said Assembly should be dissolved in One Month's Time, and the Bishops, who composed it, all be remanded to their respective Sees. Thus ended the Council of *Pisa*, called by some a mock Council, and, perhaps, not undeservedly, as it consisted of a very small Number of Bishops, and they of One Nation only. The King, not satisfied with obliging the Bishops to depart from *Lions*, and forbidding them to assemble in any other City of his Dominions, ordered Six of them, and Four Doctors, to repair to *Rome*, and ask the Pope's Pardon, and Absolution, in the Name of the *Gallican Church*, for countenancing, with their Presence, the schismatic Assembly of *Pisa*; which was commanding them to ask Pardon for doing what he himself had commanded them to do ^m.

Leo's Perfidy
and false
Dealing.

Year of
Christ 1514.

The following Year 1514 was chiefly employed by *Leo* in Negotiations with the Emperor, with the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, as well as with the *Venetians* and the *Swiss*, to prevent the King of *France* from reconquering the Dutchy of *Milan*, which that Prince seemed to have above all Things at Heart. In this Affair his Holiness acted all along with the utmost Perfidy, encouraging the King to that Undertaking, and, at the same time, stirring up underhand all *Christendom* against him, in order to divert him from such an Enterprize, or render it abortive, if he persisted in it. The King was informed by some, who were trusted with the Secret, of his Holiness's Treachery and Double-dealing, and would have resented it in a proper Manner, had not Death intervened. *Lewis* died at *Paris* on the First Day of the

Death of
Lewis XII.

Year of
Christ 1515.

Year 1515, and was succeeded by *Francis* of *Angoulême*, Duke of *Valois*, in the Twenty-first Year of his Age. The new King wrote immediately to the Pope to acquaint him with his Accession to the Crown, and at the same time to assure him, that no Person upon Earth was more devoted to his Holiness than himself, and that from none he could expect more advantageous Conditions for himself and his

The Pope enters into a
Confederacy
first against
and afterwards
with his Successor
Francis I.

Family. *Leo* answered him by a most kind and obliging Letter, but soon afterwards entered into a Confederacy with the Emperor, the Catholic King and the *Swiss* against him in Defence of the State of *Milan*, there being no Room to doubt, that the vast military Prepa-

^m Idem ibid. et Mezeray Abregé Chron. tom. 4. p. 123.

rations, then carried on in *France*, were designed against that Dutchy. This powerful Confederacy did not deter the King from pursuing his Design upon the *Milanese*. He passed the *Alps* early in the Spring at the Head of a very numerous and well appointed Army, and having gained a compleat Victory over the *Swiss*, who alone had the Courage to oppose him, he made himself Master, in a very short Time, of the whole Dutchy, and its Capital. This unexpected Success alarmed the Pope, and abandoning, or rather betraying, the Confederates, he entered into an Alliance with the King of *France*; and it was agreed, that the Pope and the King should have an Interview at *Bologna*. They met there accordingly, the Pope making his public Entry into that City on the 8th of *December*, and the King on the 10th. The King, being introduced to the Pope in a public Consistory, paid him, in Person, all the Honours that it was customary for Christian Princes to pay to a new Pope by their Embassadors, *Antony du Prat*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, making a Speech, on that Occasion, in his Majesty's Name. The Pope and the King lodged in the same Palace, and privately conferred for Three Days together with all the Marks of mutual Benevolence and Sincerity.

Year of
Christ 1515.

Interview
between the
Pope and the
King of
France at
Bologna.

The chief Subject of their Conferences was the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and on this Occasion was begun a Negotiation about the famous *Concordat*, which was afterwards substituted in the Room of the *Pragmatic*. The King, after Three Days Stay at *Bologna*, returned to *Milan*, leaving Chancellor *du Prat* to finish that Affair. The Chancellor had several Conferences with the Cardinals of *Ancona*, and *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and in the End an Agreement was concluded, and signed by both the Cardinals and the Chancellor, under the Name of *A Concordat between Pope Leo X. and Francis I. King of France*. The chief Articles of this Agreement or *Concordat* were, I. That the *Pragmatic* should be abolished throughout the King's Dominions. II. That the Chapters of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Churches should not thenceforth elect their own Bishops, but that the King should nominate a fit Person, and the Pope should confer the Dignity on the Person, whom he had nominated. III. That the Pope should thenceforth grant no expectative Graces, nor Reservations, either general or special. IV. That the Ordinaries should be obliged to confer on the Graduates of the Universities such Benefices, as should be vacant in Four Months of the Year,

The King
consents to
the Abolition
of the Prag-
matic, and
the Con-
cordat is
established in
its Room.

Year of
Christ 1515.

Year, to be specified, but should be at Liberty to dispose of those, vacant in the other Eight Months, to whom they pleased. V. That every Pope might, once in his Pontificate, oblige every Collator, having from Ten to Fifty Benefices in his Gift, to confer One as his Holiness should direct, and Two, if he had Fifty or more at his Disposal. VI. That the Annates should be restored and paid according to the true Value, and not according to the ancient Rates greatly below the true Valueⁿ. As the Annates, condemned by the Council of *Basil* as rank Simony, and as such suppressed by the *Pragmatic*, were restored by the *Concordat*, and in the same *Concordat* the Article, establishing the Superiority of a General Council to the Pope, was omitted, though it had been defined by the Councils of *Constance* and of *Basil*, and ascertained by the *Pragmatic*, this new Agreement was universally disapproved, and rejected throughout the Kingdom of *France*, the Clergy, the Universities, and the Parliaments remonstrating against it, and appealing to a General Council. However, as it was supported by the Royal as well as the Pontifical Authority, it was at last registered and published by the Parliament of *Paris* on the 22d of *March* 1527, and is observed, with some small Alterations, to this Day^o.

The Duke of
Urbino
driven out,
and the
Pope's Ne-
phew made
Duke in his
Room.

Year of
Christ 1516.

In the Interview at *Bologna* the King, to gratify the Pope and court his Favour, not only consented to the Abolition of the *Pragmatic*, so odious to *Rome*, but, to his great Dishonour, suffered himself to be persuaded to give up *Francis-Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*, who had put himself under his Protection. The Pope alleged several Accusations against the Duke, summoned him to appear and clear himself from them, and, upon his refusing to comply with the Summons, declared him a Rebel to the Church, and ordered his Nephew *Lawrence de Medicis* to seize his Dominions. *Lawrence*, pursuant to that Order, entered the Territories of *Urbino* at the Head of the whole Ecclesiastical Army, and, meeting no-where with the least Opposition, made himself Master, in a very few Days, of the whole Dutchy. The Duke, finding himself unable to withstand so great a Force, had retired at the Approach of the Enemy, first to *Pesaro*, and afterwards to *Mantua*, leaving his Subjects, since he could not defend them, to consult their own Safety. *Rovere* being thus driven out, the Dutchy was

ⁿ Guicciardin. l. 12. Pinson et Du Puy Hist. de la Pragmat. et du Concord. ^o Pinson et Du Puy ibid. et Raynald ad ann. 1515.

by his Holiness bestowed upon his Nephew *Lawrence*, who, at his Return to *Rome*, received the Investiture, with unusual Solemnity, at his Uncle's Hands. *Leo* had long coveted that Dutchy for his Nephew, and it was only to make Room for him, that he drove out the Duke, all the Crimes that he was charged with, having been committed in the Pontificate of his Uncle, *Julius II.* and by that Pope forgiven. In this his Holiness was guilty of the utmost Ingratitude as well as Injustice, the Duke having, for many Years, generously entertained and supported his Brother *Julian*, during the Time of their Exile from *Florence*, and used his utmost Endeavours to get them restored.

Year of
Christ 1516.

Leo, not satisfied with the Acquisition of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, formed a Design of adding to it the free State of *Siena*, lying between the Territories of the Church and those of the Republic of *Florence*. In order to that he caused Cardinal *Alfonso Petrucci*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Siena*, and his Brother *Borghefi*, who governed that State, and would, he well knew, oppose any Attempts upon the public Liberty, to be sent into Exile. As their Father *Pandolfo Petrucci* had espoused, with great Zeal, the Cause of the Family *de Medicis*, when banished from *Florence*, and spared no Fatigue nor Expence to oblige the *Florentines* to recall them; and besides, the Cardinal had used his utmost Efforts in the Conclave in behalf of *Leo*; so ungrateful a Return for such Benefits provoked him to a Degree of Madness, and he resolved to make the Pope atone, with his Life, for his Ingratitude. He determined at first, in the Height of his Rage, to stab the Pope with his own Hand. But apprehending, when somewhat cooler, the Danger, to which so desperate an Attempt would expose him, he thought of employing Poison instead of a Dagger, since he might by that Means compass his End as effectually, and with much greater Safety. This his Design he communicated to one *Baptista da Vercelli*, a famous Surgeon, and his intimate Friend; and it was agreed between them, that *Baptista* should be recommended to the Pope, who had been long afflicted with a Fistula, as the ablest Man of his Profession, and that, upon his being employed by his Holiness, he should inject Poison into the Ulcer. But, in the mean time, the Cardinal loudly complaining in all Companies, of the Pope's Ingratitude, nay, and mixing Menaces with his Complaints, he began to be suspected of machinating some

Plot against
the Pope's
Life.

Year of
Christ 1517.

The Cardinal
of Siena Au-
thor of the
Plot.

How discov-
ered.

Year of
Christ 1517.

Mischief against him; insomuch that thinking himself no longer safe at *Rome*, he privately withdrew from that City; but having left his Secretary behind him, it manifestly appeared from some of his Letters to him, which were intercepted, that a Plot was carrying on against the Pope's Life. This *Leo* dissembled, and, in order to get the Cardinal into his Power, invited him with mighty Promises to *Rome*, and for his greater Security even sent him a Safe-conduct, and gave his Word of Honour to the *Spanish* Embassador, that he should meet with no ill Treatment. But he no sooner arrived than he was arrested by the Pope's Order, as was likewise Cardinal *Bandinello*, a *Genoese*; *Leo* concluding from his great Intimacy with the Cardinal of *Siena*, that he was privy to the whole Affair. The *Spanish* Embassador complained loudly to the Pope of so notorious a Breach of his Word, given to him, which, he said, was the same Thing as if it had been given to the King of *Spain* his Master. The Pope answered, that no Safe-conduct whatever, no Word of Honour, how solemnly soever given, could be binding in Cases of High-Treason, unless that Crime was specified. The Embassador urged in vain, that when a Safe-conduct is granted, and Impunity is promised to a Person without any Limitations or Restrictions whatever, such a Person cannot be punished, be his Crime what it will, without a manifest Violation of the Safe-conduct, and a Breach of Faith. Both Cardinals were committed to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and it appearing from their Confession upon the Rack, that the Plot was devised by the Cardinal of *Siena* with the Privy of Cardinal *Bandinello*, they were both by a Sentence, pronounced in a public Consistory, deprived of their Dignity, and delivered up to the Secular Power. The Cardinal of *Siena* was secretly strangled the next Night. The other Cardinal was condemned, as being less guilty, to perpetual Imprisonment, from which the Pope not only redeemed him soon afterwards, but, upon his paying a certain Sum of Money, reinstated him in his Dignity. But he died, in a short Time, of a lingering Distemper, which some ascribed to a slow Poison, administered to him, by the Pope's Order, before he recovered his Liberty. Three other Cardinals were condemned to pay large Sums of Money for not acquainting the Pope with the Menaces, which they had heard the Cardinal of *Siena* throw out against him. As by this Severity he greatly

The Cardinal
put to Death.

* Guicciard. l. 13. Jovius vit. Leon X. ad ann. 1517.

disobliged

disobliged all the other Cardinals, and estranged them from him, in order to procure new Friends in the 'Sacred College, he created no fewer than Thirty-one Cardinals at one Promotion; some for their Learning, many for their Money, and others at the Recommendation of different Princes, being Men of all Nations ^{Year of Christ 1517. Promotion of Cardinals.}

The present Year 1517 will ever be memorable in the Ecclesiastical Annals for the Foundation and Commencement it gave to the Revolution in the Church, commonly known by the Name of *The Reformation*. But as a Detail of all the Particulars of that great Event would carry me too far from the Design of this Work, I shall confine myself to the Part the Popes acted in it, which alone is my Province, and refer the Reader to *The History of the Reformation, in Germany, by Sleidan*, and in these our Kingdoms, by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose inimitable Performances contain so full an Account of the Rise and Progress of the *Reformation*, and are so universally known, that all I could say on that Subject would be but an unnecessary Repetition of what every curious Reader must have learned from them. It is well known, that Pope *Leo's* famous Bull of Indulgences, published this Year in all Christian Kingdoms, first gave Occasion to that Change in Religion, of which so many Nations enjoy the Blessings to this Day. For *Leo*, wanting to continue the magnificent Structure of *St. Peter's* Church, begun by his Predecessor *Julius*, but finding his Coffers drained, chiefly by his own Extravagance, in order to replenish them granted, by his Bull, a *plenary Indulgence*, or Remission of all Sins, to such as should charitably contribute to that Work. *Albert*, Archbishop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, was commissioned by the Pope to proclaim that Bull in *Germany*, and by the Archbishop was employed a *Dominican* Friar, named *John Tetzel*, to preach up the Indulgences, and collect the Money arising from them. Some say, that the Indulgences were by the Pope farmed out to the Archbishop, and by him to the Friar, and his Order. However that be, the Friar, to enhance the Value of these Indulgences, and procure, by that Means, more Customers, used to extoll their Efficacy in the most indecent and shocking Terms, telling the deluded Multitude, that, had any one even ravished the Mother of God, he had wherewithal to cancel his Guilt; that he had saved more Souls from Hell, by these Indulgences, than *St. Peter*

The First Rise of the Reformation.

Occasion given to it by Pope Leo's Bull of Indulgences.

Absurdities advanced by the Publishers of these Indulgences confuted by Luther.

* Idem ibid.

Year of
Christ 1517.

*His Doctrine
concerning
Indulgences.*

had converted to Christianity by his Preaching; that their Virtue extended to the Dead as well as the Living; that upon their paying the Price of the Indulgences the Soul of the Person, whom they intended to deliver out of Purgatory, flew that Moment up to Heaven, &c. &c. These and many such-like impious and absurd Doctrines gave great Offence to all good Men, and among the rest to *Martin Luther*, a Friar of the Order of *St. Austin's Hermits*, who, being at this Time Professor of Divinity in the newly erected University of *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, thought it incumbent upon him to confute them: And he did so accordingly in Ninety-five Propositions, which he publicly maintained in that University, on the 30th of *September* of the present Year. He owned the Pope to be vested with the Power of granting Indulgences, that is, of remitting the Punishments due to Sin, but that Power he confined to *canonical* Punishments, or Punishments inflicted by the Canons, by the Church, or its visible Head the Pope. As for *divine* Punishments, or such as are by divine Justice denounced against Offenders in this Life, or the Life to come, he would not allow the Power of the Pope to extend to them, affirming, that they could only be remitted by the Merits of Christ, good Works, and a sincere Repentance. As by this Doctrine the Living reaped very little Benefit from the Indulgences, and the Dead none at all, the Venders of them, enraged beyond measure at the visible Decay of their Trade, fell upon *Luther* with the utmost Fury. He answered their Reasonings, confuted their Objections, and challenged them to answer the following Question, *if the Pope has a Power of delivering Souls out of Purgatory, why does he deliver only some, and those for Money, and not all out of Charity?* His Adversaries, not able to confute his Arguments, nor support their own, had Recourse to a more compendious Way of compassing his Ruin. They represented him to the Pope as an *obstinate* and *incurable* Heretic, who were he not restrained by the Authority of the Apostolic See, would soon infect all *Germany* with his pestiferous Errors. On the other Hand, *Luther*, to prevent their prejudicing the Pope against him, wrote a most submissive Letter to his Holiness, sent him his Ninety-five Propositions with their Proofs, and, to clear himself from the Imputation of *Obstinacy*, which alone makes a Heretic,

* See *Mosheim Ecclesiast. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 16. Note [C].

declared

declared himself ready to change his Sentiments the Moment they were proved to be erroneous.

Year of
Christ 1517.

Before I proceed on this Subject, I cannot help observing, that the Charge brought against *Luther* by some Protestants, and most Roman Catholic Writers, of opposing the Indulgences out of Jealousy or Envy, viz. because the Commission of publishing them, usually granted to the *Austrian* Friars in *Saxony*, had been taken from them and given to the *Dominicans*, has been, in my Opinion, unanswerably confuted by the Rev. Mr. *MacLaine*, the Translator of Doctor *Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History*, in his learned Notes upon that admirable Performance ^u. I shall only add, that *Guicciardin*, in speaking of that Opposition, says, that it was, perhaps, honest, or, at least, from the just Occasion that was given to it, in some Degree excusable ^w. From these Words it is manifest, that *Guicciardin*, a Contemporary, and most accurate Historian, knew nothing of the selfish and ignoble Motives, which *Luther's* Opposition to the Doctrine of Indulgences is ascribed to by the more modern Writers. For had it been owing to any such Motives, it would have been evidently dishonest, and in no Degree excusable.

Not excited
by Jealousy
or Resent-
ment to oppose
them.

At first *Leo*, wholly taken up with the Pleasures of his Court, made a Jest among his Poets and Buffoons, of the bold Attempt of the Friar of *Wittenberg*. But being informed by the Emperor of the rapid Progress the new Doctrine made, and the Divisions it was likely to produce both in the Church and the Empire, he became serious, and summoned *Luther* to appear before him at *Rome* in the Term of Sixty Days, in order to maintain there the Doctrine which he was said to propagate in *Germany*. But *Friederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, who had taken *Luther*, as his Subject, into his Protection, urging against that Summons the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Empire, by which its Subjects, he said, were, in all Causes, to be tried upon the Spot, the Pope yielded, and ordered *Luther* to plead his Cause before Cardinal *Cajetan*, then Apostolic Legate at the Diet of *Augsburg*. As *Cajetan* was a *Dominican*, *Luther* thought it somewhat strange, that he should have been appointed Judge and Arbitrator in a Controversy between him and *Tetzel*, a Man of the same Order. However, in Compliance with the Pope's Command, he repaired to *Augsburg*, in the Month of *October* of the present Year, and had there Three different Conferences with

Is summoned
by the Pope
to Rome.
Year of
Christ 1518.

Appears
before Car-
dinal Cajetan
at Augsburg.

^u Mosheim's Ecclesiast. Hist. p. 17, 18. Note [P].

^w Guicciard. l. 13.

Year of
Christ 1518.

the Cardinal. But as the Cardinal imperiously insisted upon his retracting his Opinions, without ever attempting to prove them erroneous, he suddenly withdrew from *Augsburg*, after appealing from the Pope ill informed to the Pope better informed. *Luther* had yet advanced nothing contrary to the Catholic Faith. He only maintained, that the Punishments, inflicted upon Offenders by divine Justice, in the present, or in a future State, came not within the Reach of the Pope's absolving Power; a Point, that had been frequently disputed, but had never yet been authoritatively determined. But *Leo*, by a Brief, dated the 9th of *November* of the present Year, declared, that the Sovereign Pontiff, as Successor of *St. Peter*, and Christ's Vicar upon Earth, was vested with a Power of remitting all Sins, and all Punishments due to them; all Sins by the Sacrament of Penance, and all Punishments by Means of Indulgences; ordered all to hold, and to teach, that Doctrine, under Pain of Excommunication, and enjoined Cardinal *Cajetan*, to whom the Brief was addressed, to notify it to all the Bishops and Archbishops of *Germany*, and cause it to be every-where received and executed. *Luther*, finding his Doctrine thus condemned, though supported by Arguments, which his Adversaries had not been able to confute, repaired to *Wittemberg*, and there, on the 28th of *November*, appealed from the Pope, who had made himself a Party, to a General Council *.

His Doctrine
concerning
Indulgences
condemned by
the Pope.

Miltitz sent
into Saxony.
Year of
Christ 1519.

Leo, finding that *Luther*, in Defiance of his Brief and the Penalties denounced in it, still continued to preach the same Doctrine, and despairing of being able to prevail upon him to submit, so long as he was protected by the Elector of *Saxony*, in order to gain that Prince sent him, the following Year 1519, the Golden Rose, which the Popes used to bless every Year, and present to several Princes, as a particular Mark of Friendship and Esteem. With this Present was dispatched a *Saxon* Knight, named *Charles Miltitz*, who belonged to *Leo's* Court. As he was known to be a Man of great Prudence, Penetration, and Address, he was ordered to insinuate himself by all Means into the Favour of the Elector, and demand of him, that he would either oblige *Luther* to renounce his Doctrines, or withdraw from him his Protection. But so cold was the Reception *Miltitz* met with from the Elector on his

* Paul Sarpi Hist. of the Council of Trent, 1. 1. c. 22. Frid. Borner. Diss. de Colloquio Luth. cum Cajetan. Ern. Losch, Acta Reform. tom. 2. c. 11.

Arrival in *Saxony*, and so little did that Prince seem to value the Pope's Present, that the prudent Nuncio thought it adviseable to propose nothing to him against *Luther*, but rather to treat with *Luther* himself. Accordingly he had several Conferences with him at different Places; and by his gentle and insinuating Manner, so very different from that, which *Luther* had hitherto met with from the other Friends of *Rome*, he obtained Two Things of him, to the great Surprise of all who had taken part in the present Controversy. He promised to observe a profound Silence for the future with respect to Indulgences, provided it was in like Manner observed by his Adversaries, and to write a submissive Letter to the Pope: And such a Letter he wrote, owning, that he had carried his Animosity too far, and solemnly protesting that he never intended to attack the Power of the *Roman* Church or the Pope. This Letter is dated the 13th of *March* 1519. He even wrote a circulatory Letter to all his Followers, exhorting them to reverence the *Roman* Church as superior to all other Churches.

Year of
Christ 1519.

The Success
of his Nego-
tiations with
Luther.

The gentle Methods pursued by *Miltitz*, though attended with such Success, were not at all pleasing to some furious Bigots; and One of these, named *Eckius*, Doctor of Divinity, and a sworn Enemy to *Luther*, flying to *Rome*, and there representing to the Pope the Moderation of his Nuncio as Indifference concerning the Success of his Commission, prevailed upon his Holiness to remove him, and oblige *Luther* by more forcible Measures to submit to his Decisions. He was seconded therein by Cardinal *Cajetan*, and the Rest of the *Dominicans* at the Pope's Court, desirous of revenging upon *Luther* the Treatment, which their Brother *Tetzel* had met with at his Hands. To them the Pope hearkened, as they were in high Credit, and bore a great Sway at his Court, and, contrary to the Advice of many sober and thinking Persons, issued a Bull, by which were condemned Ninety-one Propositions; extracted out of *Luther's* Writings; all were forbidden to hold, teach, or defend any of them, upon Pain of Excommunication to be incurred *ipso facto*, and *Luther* was required to retract them, in the Term of Sixty Days, on Pain of incurring all the Censures and Punishments denounced against Heretics. This Bull is dated the 15th of *June* 1520. On the other hand *Luther*, upon the first Notice he had

Leo con-
demns the
Doctrine of
Luther.

Year of
Christ 1520.

¹ Sackendorf. Comment. Hist. Apologet. de Lutheranismo. mag.

² Cherubin. Bullar.

Year of
Christ 1520.

Who renews
his Appeal to
a General
Council.

And has the
Pope's Bull
publicly
burnt.

of this rash and inconsiderate Step in the Pope, renewed his Appeal to a General Council, declared himself ready to appear when and where he could with any Safety, and begged the Emperor, the Electors, and the other Princes of the Empire to suspend the Execution of the Pope's Bull, till he was heard, and convinced, before equitable Judges, of holding or propagating any heretical or erroneous Opinions. As all, who had any of his Writings in their Custody, were ordered, by the Pope's Bull, to burn them, he, in his Turn, had a Pile of Wood erected without the Walls of *Wittenberg*, and there, in the Presence of an immense Multitude, committed to the Flames *Leo's* Bull, and with it the Decretals of the Popes. This happened on the 10th of *December* of the present Year, and *Luther*, to justify it, published soon afterwards a Writing containing Thirty Propositions, extracted out of the Decretals, which he maintained to be heretical, and worthy of being consigned to the Flames.

As *Luther* paid no Regard to the Pope's Menaces or Thunders, but, acquiring daily new Followers and Protectors, bid him openly Defiance, *Leo*, to check the Progress his Doctrine daily made in *Germany*, had Recourse to the new Emperor, *Charles V.* King of *Spain*, who, in 1519, had succeeded his Grand-father *Maximilian* in the Empire, and representing to him, that, as the Defender and Protector of the Church, he was bound to restrain and punish all, who rebelled against her sacred Laws, earnestly entreated him to exert his Authority against *Martin Luther*, a Disturber of her Peace, and a notorious Heretic.

Diet as-
sembled at
Worms.

Year of
Christ 1521.

Luther
pleads his
Cause before
them.

As *Luther* complained of his being condemned by the Pope without being heard, and a Diet of the Empire was soon to meet at *Worms*, the Emperor, at the Request of the Elector of *Saxony*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the Empire, consented that the Pope's Bull against the supposed Heretic should not take place till he had pleaded his Cause before that Assembly. He was accordingly summoned to it, and a Safe-conduct, in due Form, being sent to him by the Emperor, he repaired to *Worms*, and there on the 17th of *April* and the next Day pleaded his Cause with the greatest Intrepidity. Being asked, whether the Books, out of which the Propositions, condemned by the Pope, had been extracted, were really his, he answered in the Affirmative. But when they required him to retract them, he returned Answer, that he was ready to renounce and retract them, provided

Leo X. BISHOPS of Rome.

415

Year of
Christ 1521.

provided they were proved by the Scriptures, or by sound Reason, to be erroneous, but could not, till they were shown to be so, depart from them without betraying the Cause of God, and wounding his own Conscience. As he could neither be intimidated by Menaces, nor allured by Promises to yield, he was dismissed with a Safe-conduct from the Emperor, securing him against any Violence for the Space of Thirty Days. He therefore left *Worms* on the 26th of *April*, on his Return to *Wittenberg*; but he was met, on the 3d of *May*, by Four Men, disguised with Masks, who, attacking him with great Violence, threw him down, seized him, and carried him off full Speed. This Violence was by the Friends of *Luther* generally charged upon the Emiffaries of *Rome*; and it greatly increased the Odium of the Public against them. But it was a Contrivance of the Elector of *Saxony*, who hearing that the pretended Heretic had been condemned, in the Diet, by the Emperor and all the Princes, he himself being absent, had caused him to be seized in the Manner we have seen, and conveyed, with the utmost Secrecy, to one of his Castles, the Castle of *Wartenberg*. His Design in this was to screen him from the furious Persecution, which he foresaw would be soon raised against him. How seasonable this Precaution was appeared in a few Days. For on the 8th of *May* a most severe Edict was published against *Luther*, declaring him a Member cut off from the Church, a Schismatic, a notorious and obstinate Heretic; forbidding all, on Pain of being declared guilty of High Treason, and forfeiting their Estates and Dignities, to receive, entertain, or countenance him, and empowering Persons of all Ranks to seize him, at the Expiration of the Twenty-one Days of the Safe-conduct, and treat him as One under the Ban of the Empire, and protected by no Law. However this Edict, severe as it was, did not stop the Progress of the Reformation. For the Emperor being obliged, by the State of his Affairs, to leave *Germany* soon after it was published, the Civil Magistrates and the Princes took no Care to have it carried into Execution, so that the Followers of *Luther* were suffered to hold, nay, and to propagate their Doctrines unmolested^a.

But is condemned.

Edict issued against him.

While these religious Disputes were carried on with great Warmth in *Germany*, the States of *Italy* enjoyed a profound Peace. But that

^a Paulo Sarpi Hist. Concil. di Trento, l. 1. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trid. l. 2. Ulemberg. vit. Luth. c. 6. Cochleus ad ann. 1521. Sleidan de Statu Relig. et Reip. l. 2. Lutheri Opera, tom, 2.

Peace

Year of
Christ 1521.
War kindled
in Italy by
160.

His Death,

And Charac-
ter.

Peace was interrupted in the present Year by the Pope, who, being desirous of driving the Emperor *Charles* out of *Italy*, entered into a private Alliance with *Francis I.* King of *France* to attack, with their joint Forces, the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the Emperor offering him better Conditions, he secretly concluded a Treaty with him against the King; and thus was *Italy*, after a Three Years Peace, involved in a most destructive War. The *French* lost by it the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Pope gained the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*. It was chiefly to recover these Cities to the Church that *Leo* kindled this War. For when the Cardinal *de Medicis* endeavoured to divert him from it, he told him, that he was determined, at all Events, to put the Church again in Possession of Two such important Places, and whenever that happened he should die content; and he died on the 1st of *December* of the present Year, having received, a few Days before, the News of the Acquisition of *Piacenza*, and of the Surrender of *Parma* on the very Day he died. He was seized with a slow Fever in his Villa at *Magliano*, and being carried the next Day to *Rome*, he died of it in a very few Days, not without strong Suspicion of Poison having been administered to him by his Chamberlain *Barnabo Malaspina*, at the Instigation, as was conjectured, of the King of *France* ^b. He died in the Forty-sixth Year of his Age, having held the See Eight Years Eight Months and Twenty Days.

He was a Prince, says *Guicciardin*, worthy, on many Accounts, to be praised as well as blamed. He disappointed the Expectations conceived of him at his Promotion to the Pontificate, shewing himself endowed with much greater Prudence, but with much less Goodness than all had imagined. He was by Nature addicted to Idleness and Pleasure, and averse, beyond Measure, to all Business, spending his Time with Musicians, Jesters, and Buffoons, and inclined, beyond the Bounds of Decency, to sensual Gratifications. His Mind was filled with the most exalted Notions of Splendor and Magnificence; in his Appearances and Donations he knew no Measure, nor Distinction, and thus not only dissipated, in a very short Time, the immense Treasure accumulated by his Predecessor *Julius*, but infinite Sums besides, accruing from Bulls, Briefs, &c. and the Sale of new Offices, and was daily contriving new Methods of exacting Money to support his Ex-

^b *Guicciard.* l. 14.

travagance c. *Jovius*, who has writ his Life, or rather his Panegyric, owns that he was naturally averſe to all Buſineſs; that they were the moſt careſſed by him, who were the moſt capable of entertaining him; that he took great Delight in the Company of Poets, Jeſters, Muſicians, and Buffoons, and ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed with their Jeſts, however inconfiſtent with Modeſty, nay, and with common Decency. The ſame Writer, after deſcribing the Magnificence of his Table, which far exceeded that of the greateſt Kings, adds, that *Quernus*, his Poet Laureat, who had been crowned Arch-Poet with great Solemnity, was preſent at all his Entertainments, but ſat at a ſeparate Table; that the Pope, after plying him with Cup after Cup of his beſt Wine, uſed, for the Diverſion of his Gueſts, to command him to make extemporary Verſes upon the Subject which he propoſed; and that having once ordered him to make ſome Verſes upon the Arch-Poet himſelf, he began thus;

Year of
Chriſt 1521.

Archipoeta facit verſus pro mille poetis:

But being at a Loſs how to proceed, the Pope immediately ſubjoined,

Et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit d.

A Poet having One Day preſented to him ſome *Latin* Verſes in Rhime, he returned the like Number of Verſes, all in the ſame Rhime; but as he gave him nothing elſe, the Poet, in departing, addreſſed him with the following Diſtich:

*Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dediſſet,
Non eſſet capiti tanta corona tua;*

Which he was ſo well pleaſed with, that he ordered a conſiderable Sum of Money to be paid him upon the Spot c. *Janus Nicius Erythraeus* tells us of a Perſon, who, wanting to aſk ſome Favour of the Pope, but finding he could not get Acceſs to him, bethought himſelf of pretending to be a Poet, and to have ſome of the fineſt Verſes, that were ever made, to ſhew to his Holineſs; that he was thereupon immediately introduced to him, when he ingenuouſly owned the Ar-

c Idem ibid.
Sagax Follie.

d Paulo Grovio in Elog. et vit. Leon.

e Anton. Spelte

Year of
Christ 1521.

tifice he had made use of to get Admittance, and obtained the Favour; which he came to sue for f. Many Instances are alleged by Authors of this Pope's trifling and nugatory Genius. But all allow him to have been a great Encourager of Learning, and a most generous Patron of the Learned, being himself as well acquainted with the liberal Sciences, and as elegant a *Latin* Writer as any of his Time. Poets were his chief Favourites; they had free Access to him, and if they brought any thing with them worthy of his Perusal, they never departed unrewarded: He is even said to have published a Bull in Favour of *Ariosto's Orlando Furioso*, threatening with Excommunication all, who should find Fault with that Performance g; which was exposing himself and his thus abused Authority to Contempt and Derision. *Orlando*, however mad and furious, acted not more mad a Part. *Leo* had but a very superficial Knowledge in Divinity, as is owned by Cardinal *Pallavicino* himself; and the Indifference he betrayed, with respect to the Interests of Religion, gave Occasion to some to charge him with Impiety, nay, and with Atheism. However, he did not neglect the grand Object, which most of his Predecessors had chiefly in their View, viz. the extending of the temporal as well as the spiritual Power of their See, and raising their Families; and these were the Motives that induced *Leo* to make War upon the Duke of *Urbino*, to disturb the Tranquillity of *Italy*, and more than once to betray his Allies.—By this Pope the Title of *Defender of the Faith* was conferred upon *Henry VIII.* for the Book he wrote against *Luther*, a Title, which his Successors wear to this Day, and have a much better Right to than he had, being the chief Supporters and Defenders, not of a superstitious, but of a rational Faith and Religion.

f Janus Nivius Eryth. Pinacoth. 2. c. 33.
Leon X.

g Blondel. Examen de la Bulle de

CHARLES V.
Emperor.

HADRIAN VI.

The Two Hundred and Sixteenth BISHOP of Rome.

LEO dying, as has been said, on the 1st of *December*, the Car-^{Hadrian}
dinals having performed his Exequies, according to Custom, and ^{electd.}
waited some time for the Arrival of their absent Brethren, shut ^{Year of} Christ 1522.
themselves up in the Conclave on the 27th of the same Month, and
on the 9th of the following *January* chose with One Voice Cardinal
Hadrian, Bishop of *Tortosa*, who did not change his Name, but stiled
himself *Hadrian VI.* As the Cardinals, in all Thirty-nine, could not
agree among themselves, some of them proposed Cardinal *Hadrian*,
not with a Design, says *Guicciardin*, to consent to his Election, but
only to waste away the Morning. But as some voted for him, the
Cardinal of *St. Sixtus* took Occasion from thence to make an Harangue
in his Praise, extolling his Learning, and the many excellent Qualities,
with which he was endowed. He gained by that Means the Suffrages
of some, and the Rest, One after another, more by Impulse than ^{How his}
Deliberation, followed their Example. Thus was *Hadrian* elected by ^{Election}
the unanimous Consent of the whole Conclave, none of those very ^{brought}
Persons, who had elected him, being able to account for their having ^{about.}
chosen, at so critical a Juncture, a Barbarian, that is a Stranger, ab-
sent in so distant a Country, One, who had never seen *Italy*, who was
utterly unacquainted with the Customs of the Court of *Rome*, had
never had an Opportunity of ingratiating himself with any of the
Cardinals, nay, and was scarce known to them by Name. The Car-
dinals, to excuse so extraordinary a Step, alleged the Inspiration of the
Holy Ghost, often moving them to elect One, whom they had never
once thought of before. Such is the Account *Guicciardin* gives us of
the Election of *Hadrian*. But from other Authors it appears, that
the greater Part of the Cardinals had privately engaged their Suffrages
to the Emperor *Charles* in Favour of his beloved Preceptor *Hadrian*,
and could have easily accounted, had they pleased, for so extraordinary
a Step, without recurring to any Inspiration of the Holy Ghost i.

^a Guicciard. l. 14. ^b Jovio vit. Hadrian. Clacon. tom. 3. Spond. ad ann. 1522.

Year of
Christ 1522.

His Birth,
Education,
Employ-
ments, &c.

Hadrian was a Native of *Utrecht*, of a plebeian and obscure Family. His Father, *Florentius Boyens*, according to some a Weaver, according to others a Brewer's Servant, not being able to give his Son a learned Education, though from his Childhood he shewed an uncommon Inclination to learn, procured him a Place in the Pope's College at *Louvain*, where poor Children were taught and brought up upon Charity. He soon distinguished himself above all his Fellow-Students; and such was his Thirst after Knowledge, that when the Rest were all in Bed, he used to spend great Part of the Night in Reading by the Light of the Lamp, that was kept constantly burning in the Church. Thus he became, in the Course of a few Years, a great Proficient in Philosophy and Divinity; but he was no Admirer of polite Literature. His First Preferment was a Rectory in *Holland*, conferred upon him by *Margaret*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, Governess of the *Low Countries*. In 1491 he took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, the same Princess bearing all the Charges incident to that Ceremony. He was afterwards made Professor of Divinity at *Louvain*, Dean of the Cathedral, and Vice-Chancellor of the University; and in the Discharge of these Employments he not only answered, but far surpassed the Expectation, that all had conceived of him. Being now become no less famous for his Learning and Abilities, than his Virtues, and his most exemplary Life, he was chosen by the Emperor *Maximilian* for Preceptor to his Grand-Son *Charles*, then Seven Years of Age, as of all the best qualified for so important a Trust. As the young Prince shewed a great Inclination to Arms, and none to Letters, the Emperor, who entertained the highest Opinion of *Hadrian's* Parts, and placed an entire Confidence in him, thought he could employ him better than in teaching his Grand-Son what he cared not to learn. He therefore sent him, with the Character of his Ambassador, to *Ferdinand* the Catholic, King of *Spain*, in order to efface the Prejudices, that had been artfully instilled into him by the Enemies of the *Austrian* Family, against *Charles*, his Grand-Son by the Mother. That Commission he executed with equal Fidelity and Success; and so pleasing was his whole Conduct to the Catholic King, that he conferred upon him the Bishopric of *Tortosa*, as a Testimony of the entire Satisfaction he had given him. *Ferdinand* died, in *January* 1516, at *Madrid*, then an obscure Village, and upon his Death, *Spain* and all the Dominions,

HADRIAN VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

421

Year of
Christ 1522.

minions, of which that vast Monarchy was composed, fell to the House of *Austria*. *Charles*, whom *Ferdinand* left his Heir, and who was then at *Brussels*, appointed Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, to govern the Kingdom till his Arrival, and nominated *Hadrian* for President of his Council. The Emperor *Maximilian*, to reward the eminent Services of so faithful a Minister, strongly recommended him to Pope *Leo*, and he was, upon his Recommendation, preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal on the 1st of *July* 1517, in the numerous Promotion made then by *Leo* of Thirty-four Cardinals. In the mean time the Emperor died at *Lintz* in the very Beginning of the Year 1519, and *Charles*, who was elected in his Room, being obliged to repair to *Germany*, to receive, according to Custom, the Imperial Crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he appointed *Hadrian* his Lieutenant, or Viceroy over all his *Spanish* Dominions; and in that high Station he received the quite unexpected News of his being preferred to a much higher, the sovereign Pontificate ^k.

That News *Hadrian* received at *Victoria*, a Town of *Biscay*, with the Acts of the Conclave, and a Letter from the Cardinals, earnestly entreating him to repair, with all Speed, to *Rome*, where the melancholy Situation of the Affairs of *Italy* made his Presence absolutely necessary. In Compliance with their Request, he embarked at *Tarragona* on the 2d of *August*, having first settled the Affairs of *Spain* in the best Manner he could, and, arriving at *Leghorn*, was there received by Cardinal *de Medicis*, Cousin to the late Pope, by the Embassadors of most of the *Italian* Princes, and by *Francis Gonzaga*, Commander in Chief of the Ecclesiastical Army. They all attended him to *Osia*, whence he was carried up the River to the Monastery of *St. Paul*, where he rested that Night. The next Day, the 29th of *August*, he made his public Entry into *Rome*, being attended by the College of Cardinals, by the Clergy in a Body, by the Magistrates, the Nobility, and immense Crowds of People, and was crowned the following Day in the Church of *St. Peter*, with the usual Solemnity. At his Arrival a Plague broke out at *Rome*, which greatly damped the public Joy, and was interpreted by many as a very bad Omen of the Pontificate of

His Departure from Spain, Arrival at Rome, and Coronation.

^k Jovio in vit. Hadrian. Ciacon. et Spond. ubi supra. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 2. Bayle Dict. Art. Hadrian.

Year of
Christ 1522.

Recovers
Rimini to
the Church.

one, who was alike unacquainted with the Affairs of *Italy* and those of the Court ^t.

The first Thing the new Pope undertook was to recover the City of *Rimini*, which *Sigismund* and *Pandolfo Malatesta*, the ancient Lords of that Place, had seized during the Vacancy of the See. In order to that he sent a Body of 2500 *Spanish* Infantry, which he had brought with him out of *Spain* to drive out the *Malatestas*. But they, not able to withstand so great a Force, opened their Gates to them, and put them in Possession both of the City and the Castle. *Hadrian's* next Care was to adjust the Differences, that had subsisted between his Two immediate Predecessors and the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*; and to both he granted a new Investiture of their Dutchies, upon their obliging themselves to assist the Church with a certain Number of Troops, when wanted for the Defence of the Ecclesiastical State. *Francis Maria della Rovere*, Nephew to Pope *Julius II.* was at this Time Duke of *Urbino*. He had been deprived of that Dutchy, as has been said, by Pope *Leo*, to make Room for his Nephew *Lawrence de Medicis*, but had recovered it, upon the Death of *Lawrence*, by Force of Arms. *Hadrian* not only re-invested the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Alphonso d'Esle*, with that Dutchy, but, to his great Disgrace, says *Guicciardin*, or to that of his Ministers, who imposed upon his Ignorance, left him in Possession of the Castles of *San Felice* and *Finale*, which he had taken in the Time of the late Vacancy ^m.

Endeavours
to stop the
Progress of
the Reforma-
tion.

Proceedings
of the Diet
at Nurem-
berg.

But what above all Things *Hadrian* had at Heart was to put a Stop to the rapid and astonishing Progress the Reformation made in most Parts of *Germany*. With that View he sent *Francis Cherepato*, with the Character of his Nuncio, to the Diet, that met, in the latter End of the present Year, at *Nuremberg*. The Nuncio was ordered to demand a vigorous Execution of the Imperial Edict, issued against *Luther* and his Followers at the Diet of *Worms*, and at the same time to declare, that his Holiness was ready to remove the many unwarrantable Practices, which he ingenuously confessed to have long prevailed in the Court of *Rome*. As the Emperor was not present, but resided at this Time in *Spain*, the Princes of the Empire, encouraged by that sincere Avowal, proposed the assembling of a general Council in *Germany*, in order to deliberate about the most effectual Means of bringing about a

^t Guicciard. l. 15.

^m Idem ibid.

general Reformation of the Church. At the same time they drew up a Memorial, containing an Hundred Grievances, which, they said, gave the *German* Nation just Occasion to complain of the Court of *Rome*, and which they desired his Holiness would take Care to redress, since they could not, nor any longer would tamely submit to such unconscionable Extortions. That Memorial they sent to the Pope, and, before they parted, prohibited, by a public Law, all Innovations in religious Matters till the assembling of a General Council^a. *Hadrian* frankly owned the Necessity of a Reformation, and looking upon the Complaints of the *German* Nation as just and reasonable, he immediately set about redressing them. But the Opposition he met with from the Courtiers and most of the Cardinals, obliged him to proceed slowly in so necessary a Work.

Year of
Christ 1522.

As in the latter End of the present Year the *Turks* had made themselves Masters of the City and Island of *Rhodes*, and threatened *Hungary* with an Invasion, the Pope, desirous of putting an End to the War in *Italy* between the Emperor and the King of *France*, which his Predecessor had kindled, and to unite them and all the other Christian Princes in a League against the common Enemy, sent Nuncios to the different Courts, entreating the Princes to come to an Agreement among themselves, and to send for that Purpose their respective Embassadors with full Powers to *Rome*. With that Request they all readily complied. But nothing was concluded, many unsurmountable Difficulties occurring against a Peace, and the Emperor refusing to consent to a short Truce, while the King of *France* would not agree to a long one. But though the Continuation of the War was equally owing to both, *Hadrian*, led by his Partiality for the Emperor, laid the whole Blame upon the King, and, his Penetration not being equal to his good Intentions, he suffered himself to be seduced into an Alliance with the Emperor and the King of *England* against *France*. This League or Alliance was signed by the Pope on the Third Day of *August* of the present Year, his Holiness expatiating, on that Occasion, upon the imminent Danger, to which all Christendom was exposed from the *Turk*, on Account, he said, of the *French* King's Obstinacy in refusing to conclude a Peace, or even to consent to a Truce with the Emperor. This

Hadrian enters into an Alliance with the Emperor against the King of France.

Year of
Christ 1523.

^a Frid. Georgii. Gravamino German. l. 11. Father Paul. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 1. Onuph. in vit. Hadriani. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 3.

Year of
Christ 1523.

Confederacy was to last during the Life of the Confederates, and a Year after the Death of any One of them; and each was to contribute the stipulated Quota both in Men and in Money °.

He dies.

Hadrian did not long survive the signing of this Confederacy. He was seized with a slow Fever the very Day on which he signed it, the Third of *August*, and his Illness increasing daily, with a total Loss of Appetite, he died on the 14th of the following *September*, when he had lived Sixty-four Years Six Months and Thirteen Days, and held the See One Year Eight Months and Six Days. His Death was a great Loss to the Confederates, who were thereby not only deprived of the Pontifical Authority, but at the same time of the Subsidies, which by the Articles of the Treaty he was engaged to furnish ^p.

His Character.

He left behind him, says *Guicciardin*, no great Opinion of his Abilities, either on Account of the Shortness of his Pontificate, or of the little Experience he had in Affairs ^q. He was, according to *Giovio*, who has writ his Life, a Man of great Candor, Integrity, and Simplicity of Manners, an Enemy to all Guile and Deceit, and utterly averse to all Pomp, Grandeur, and Magnificence, which his immediate Predecessor had so much affected; but, in all other Respects, far better qualified to govern a College in the University of *Louvain*, or a Parish, than the whole Church ^r. His Parsimony, his banishing all Delicacies from his Table, and admitting none to it but some few of his most intimate Friends, gave Occasion to the Author of his Life to compare the Apostolic Palace, in his Time, to a haunted House.——He was well skilled in Scholastic Divinity, and encouraged that Study in others; but was no Friend to the Muses, nor to the Lovers of polite Literature, calling them, by way of Contempt, *Terentians*. They had their Revenge, especially the Poets, *Genus irritabile*, in the many cutting and ingenious Satires, which they daily published against him, reflecting on his Birth, and misconstruing the best of his Actions.——*Hadrian* had many poor Relations; but left them all as poor at his Death, as they were at the Time of his Promotion. Some of them having travelled on Foot from *Flanders* to *Rome*, in Expectation of some considerable Preferment, he received them coldly, exhorted them to content themselves with the Station, in which Providence had placed them; and,

° Guicciard. l. 15.
Hadrian VI.

^p Idem ibid.

^q Idem ibid.

^r Giovio in vit.

Hadrian VI. BISHOPS of Rome.

425

at their Departure, presented each of them with a plain Suit of Clothes, and as much Money as would bear their Charges in returning to their own Country:—*Hadrian* created only One Cardinal, *William Eickenwort*, a *Fleming*, whom he had preferred before to the Bishopric of *Tortosa*, vacant by his own Promotion to the Pontificate. A little before his Death he canonized *Renno*, formerly Bishop of *Misnia*, and a great Stickler for the Papal Supremacy. Against that Canonization *Luther* published a Writing under the following Title; *Against the new Idol, and the new Devil, that is to be set up at Misnia.*—*Hadrian* was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, between *Pius II.* and *Pius III.* with the following short Epitaph. *Hadrianus VI. hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit.* But Cardinal *Eickenwort* afterwards erected, in the Church of *St. Mary* of the *Germans*, a most magnificent Monument to the Memory of his Benefactor, with an Inscription, rehearsing the chief Honours, or Employments, with which he had been distinguished. To that Inscription he added the following Distich;

Quo Romanorum Sextus Pater atque Sacerdos,

Hoc etiam Pietas conditur in tumulo.

To say, that Piety was buried in the same Tomb with *Hadrian* was, in Truth, to say, that he left no Piety upon Earth behind him, though the Author cannot be supposed to have meant it.—*Hadrian*, while Professor of Divinity at *Loirvain*, wrote and published the following Pieces, which have reached our Time; A Comment upon the Fourth Book of Sentences, Twelve Quodlibetic Questions, an Account of a Man at the Point of Death, and a Sermon upon Pride. We have some Letters, written by him after his Promotion to the Pontificate, and among them One to the Elector of *Saxony*, exhorting him, in a very friendly Manner, to abandon the Protection of *Luther*, and adhere to the antient Doctrine of the Church.

* Moringus vit. Hadrian. La Mothe, Le Vayer. tom. 11. p. 438.

Emperor,
CHARLES V.

CLEMENT VII.

The Two Hundred and Seventeenth BISHOP of Rome.

Clement VII.
elected.

HADRIAN dying on the 14th of *September*, the Cardinals, in all Thirty-nine, after performing the Funeral Obsequies of the deceased Pontiff, shut themselves up in the Conclave on the 23d of the same Month, in order to proceed without Delay to a new Election. But the Conclave being divided into Two pretty equal Parties, the One headed by Cardinal *de Medicis*, the other by Cardinal *Colonna*, and neither caring to yield to the other, the Election was protracted to the 19th of *November*, when Cardinal *Colonna* went, of his own Accord, to Cardinal *de Medicis*, and offered him his Interest. *Colonna* was a sworn Enemy to *de Medicis*, but being dissatisfied with the Cardinals of his own Party, obstinately refusing to chuse Cardinal *Jucorvacio*, a *Roman*, who entirely depended upon him, he took that unexpected Step to be revenged upon them, and at the same time to ingratiate himself with his Enemy and Competitor. *De Medicis*, overjoyed at so sudden a Change in One, who alone stood between him and the Pontificate, gave him instantly a Bond under his Hand, engaging to confer upon him the Dignity of Chancellor, then held by himself, and to make a Present of the most magnificent Palace, which *Raphael Riarius*, Cardinal of *St. George*, had built, and *Leo* had given to him upon that Cardinal's Death. This Coalition of the Two Parties, in favour of *de Medicis*, was no sooner known, than all the rest strove to be the foremost in offering their Service to him : And thus was he that very Night adored as Pontiff, and the next Morning, the 19th of *November*, unanimously elected in due Form, being then in the 45th Year of his Age. He was crowned the next Day, and on that Occasion took the Name of *Clement VII* ^a.

Some Account
of him before
his Promo-
tion.

He was the posthumous and natural Son of *Julian de Medicis*, who was murdered in the Conspiracy spoken of above ^b. As his Illegitimacy was, by the Canons, an Obstacle to his Preferment in the Church, he betook himself to the Profession of Arms in the Military Order of the Knights of *Rhodes*, and being Grand Prior of *Capua* when *Leo*, his

^a Guicciard. l. 15.

^b See above, p. 308.

Clement VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

427

Cousin German, was elected Pope, he carried the Standard of the Order, armed Cap-a-pe, at his Coronation, and was that very Day, while yet in Armour, preferred by him to the Archiepiscopal See of *Florence*. As to his Illegitimacy, Witnesses were produced, who preferring the Favour of Men, says *Guicciardin*, to Truth, deposed that his Mother had obtained of his Father a Promise of Marriage before she admitted him to her Embraces; and that Promise was by *Leo* declared sufficient to legitimate his Birth^c. As if a Promise of Marriage had been equivalent to Marriage itself. He was soon afterwards promoted by the same Pope to the Dignity of Cardinal, and raised to the high Post of Chancellor of the holy *Roman Church*. In that Employment he exercised the whole Power of the Pontificate, *Leo* himself being utterly averse to all Business, and wholly addicted to his Diversions and Pleasures.

Year of
Christ 1523.

Clement was scarce warm in his Chair when Embassadors were sent to him both by the Emperor and the King of *France*, then at War in the *Milaneſe*, to engage him in their Interest. But his Holiness, hearkening to neither, returned to both the same Answer, that it was incumbent upon him, as the common Father of all Christian Princes, not to join the one against the other, but to use his utmost Endeavours to dispose them all to Peace. Accordingly, he sent soon afterwards Nuncios to the Courts of the Emperor, and the Kings of *France* and *England*, to persuade them to lay down their Arms, and enter into a Treaty of Peace, or at least to agree to a Truce. But the King of *France* being averse to a Peace, and the Emperor to a Truce, the Negotiations proved all unsuccessful, and the War was pursued with more Vigour than ever in the *Milaneſe*, till the *French* were every-where driven out of that Dutchy, and forced to repass the Mountains. But the King having obliged the Imperialists, who had invaded *Provence* and besieged *Marſeilles* both by Sea and Land, to abandon that Enterprize and quit his Dominions, crossed the *Alps* again this very Year, and, getting into the Dutchy of *Milan* before the Enemy, made himself Master of that Capital, and laid Siege to *Pavia*. The Pope no sooner heard that the King had got Possession of *Milan*, than, being desirous of securing his own Affairs, he dispatched to him the Bishop of *Verona*, his Datary, one in whom he placed an intire Confidence, to exhort him, as was

Resolves to stand neuter between the Emperor and the King of France.

Year of
Christ 1524.

Concludes a Treaty with the King of France.

^c Guicciardin. l. 12.

Year of
Christ 1524.

Whose Army
is defeated,
and he him-
self made
Prisoner.

Year of
Christ 1525.

League form-
ed against
the Emperor.
Year of
Christ 1526.

pretended, to a Peace, but his real Business was to conclude an Agreement with the King; and it was soon brought to a Conclusion, his Holiness engaging, that neither he nor the *Florentines* should lend any Assistance to his Enemies; and the King, on his Side, taking them both into his Protection. In the mean time the Siege of *Parva* was carried on but slowly, the *French* were repulsed, with great Loss, in all their Attacks, and the Imperial Army being seasonably reinforced by a Body of 500 *Burgundian* Horse, and 6000 *German* Foot, under the Command of the famous Duke of *Bourbon*, who had raised them in *Germany*, they attacked the *French*, defeated them with great Slaughter, and took the King himself Prisoner. This memorable Battle was fought on the 25th of *February* of the present Year 1525, and the *French* are said to have lost above 80,000 Men, and about Twenty of the first Rank of the *French* Nobility. The King of *Navarre* was taken Prisoner, and with him almost all the General Officers, who were not killed. With this Calamity the King immediately acquainted the Queen by a Letter, that contained nothing but the following Words; *Madam, all is lost but Honour*.

The Pope no sooner heard of the King's Captivity than he sent the Bishop of *Pistoia* to comfort him in his Name; and, being not a little alarmed at an Event so favourable to the Emperor, he began privately to treat of an Alliance with the *Venetians*, and the other *Italian* States and Princes against him, representing to them, that as *Charles* was already Master of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and certainly would, after so signal a Victory, get Possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he would have it in his Power to bring all *Italy* under the Yoke; unless they all joined to oppose him. They were all alike sensible of the Danger they were threatened with, and an Alliance was soon concluded between the Pope, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, for the Security and Liberty of *Italy*. This Alliance was called the *Holy League*, because the Pope was at the Head of it. The King of *France*, having recovered his Liberty, but upon very hard Conditions, acceded to it, and so did the King of *England*, *Henry VIII.* being, on many Accounts, dissatisfied with the late Conduct of the Emperor towards him; and he was declared the Protector of the *Holy League*. Thus was the War, to which it was thought that the Capti-

^a Guicciardin. l. 15. Memoires du Bellay. l. 3. De Vera. hist. du Charles V.

Clement VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

429

vity of the King would have put an End, revived and carried on with the utmost Fury c. Year of Christ 1526.

The Confederacy, entered into by the Pope, was no sooner known at Rome, than the *Colonnas*, zealous Partizans of the Emperor, began Hostilities, ravaging all the neighbouring Country, and threatening Rome itself. As the Pope had sent most of his Forces into *Lombardy*, he was glad to come to an Accommodation with that powerful Family. Accordingly an Agreement was concluded on the 22d of *August* between his Holiness and *Vespasian Colonna*, in the Name of the whole Family. But they only intended to amuse the Pope; and he had no sooner disbanded the Troops he had levied to oppose them, than assembling their Forces, to the Number of 800 Horse and 3000 Foot, they marched to Rome with such Speed as to prevent all Notice of their coming, arrived at the Gates in the Night preceding the 20th of *September*, and entering through the Gate of *St. John Lateran*, advanced towards *St. Peter's*, and the Pontifical Palace. The Pope hearing they had surprised the City, and were proceeding strait to his Palace, resolved, after the Example of *Boniface VIII.* when insulted by One of the same Family, *Sciarra Colonna* ^f, to place himself in his Pontifical Ornaments in the Pontifical Chair and die there. But by the pressing Instances of the Cardinals he was, with much Difficulty, prevailed upon to take Refuge in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, with some of the Cardinals his particular Friends. He was scarce gone when the *Colonnas*, entering the Palace, plundered it of all its rich Furniture, nay, and the Church of *St. Peter* of all its sacred Ornaments, without any Regard to Religion, or to the Sacredness of the Place. As no One offered to stir in the Pope's Defence, he sent for Don *Hugh di Moncada*, the Emperor's Ambassador, in order to treat with him about an Accommodation. Don *Hugh*, having received the Two Cardinals *Cibo* and *Ridolfi*, the Pope's Grand Nephews, as Hostages for his Security, went into the Castle to confer with his Holiness; and the next Day, the 21st of *September*, an Agreement was concluded between them upon the following Terms: That for the Space of Four Months all Hostilities should cease between the Pope and the Emperor; that the Pope should withdraw his Troops from the Army of the Confederates, and should par-

Rome surprised by the *Colonnas*.

The Pope flies to the Castle of *St. Angelo*.

Is obliged to conclude a Four Months Truce with the Emperor.

c Guicciardin. l. 17. Memoires du Bellay. l. 3. ibid. p. 369.

f Vol. VI. of this Hist.

Year of
Christ 1526.

Takes Re-
venge upon
the Colonnas.

The Duke of
Bourbon re-
solves to
march to
Rome.

Arrives in
the Neigh-
bourhood of
that City.

Year of
Christ 1527.

don the *Colonnas*, and all who were concerned in the late Attempt, or had any way offended his Holiness. On the other Side, the *Colonnas* and the Imperialists were to withdraw from *Rome* and the whole State of the Church, and retire to *Naples*. They were no sooner gone than the Pope, not thinking himself bound to observe an Agreement extorted from him by Violence, pronounced the Sentence of Deposition against Cardinal *Pompey Colonna*, and at the same time sent all the Troops he had then in *Rome* and the neighbouring Castles into the Territories of the *Colonnas*, with Orders to destroy all before them with Fire and Sword. They took several of their Towns, dismantling some, burning others, and committing every-where such Devastations, as reduced great Part of the Country to a Desert &c.

The *Colonnas* and the other Friends of the Emperor soon had their Revenge. For the Duke of *Bourbon*, who commanded the Imperial Army against the Confederates in the *Milanese*, wanting Money to pay them, and purchase the necessary Provisions for their Subsistence, resolved to force his Way into the State of the Church, and let his Army live upon Plunder. Accordingly he took the Field in the latter End of the present Year, with an Intention to lead them to *Rome*; which he carefully concealed, lest the Pope should have Time to prepare for the Defence of the City, and the Army of the Confederates, then before *Milan*, should abandon that Enterprize, and follow him. It was a bold, not to say, a desperate Attempt. But *Bourbon* had no other Means, for Want of Money, of keeping his Troops together; and he well knew, that should the Attempt be attended with Success, should he make himself Master of *Rome*, and take the Pope himself Prisoner, the powerful Confederacy of so many Princes against the Emperor would be broken, and he be put in a Condition of obliging the Confederates to agree to his own Terms. He allowed his Men to plunder several Towns, through which he passed, promising them, without naming any Place, much better Booty. When they had got beyond *Arezzo*, they plainly saw that he was conducting them to *Rome*, and, forgetting all past Fatigues, they marched with great Alacrity and such Speed, that, notwithstanding their Want of Provisions, and the heavy Rains that fell for some Days, they arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, when the Pope had hardly received any certain Advice of their coming.

Clement VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

431

His Holiness had, a little before, concluded a new Truce with *Charles di Lanoja*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and engaged him to stop *Bourbon's* ^{Year of Christ 1527.} March. But the Soldiery were so bent upon the Sacking of *Rome*, and enriching themselves with the Plunder of so opulent a City, that the Person, whom the Viceroy sent to acquaint *Bourbon* with the Truce, and require him to halt and forbear all Hostilities, would have been murdered by them, had he not saved himself by Flight. The Duke being therefore obliged, agreeably to his own Inclination, to pursue his March, encamped, on the 5th of *May*, with his whole Army in the Meadows about *Rome*, and, without any Regard to the Pontifical Dignity, sent a Trumpet to the Pope to demand a Passage for himself and the Army through *Rome* in their Way to the Kingdom of *Naples*. His Demand being rejected, he attacked the Suburb next Morning by Break of Day on the Side of the *Mount of the Holy Ghost*. But fancy- ^{Attacks it and is killed in the Attack.} ing, that the *German* Foot showed themselves somewhat backward in the Attack, he put himself at their Head, and received that Instant a Shot, from an Arquebus, which killed him upon the Spot. Upon his Death *Philibert* of *Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, took the Command, and the Assault was carried on by the Soldiery, enraged at the Loss of their General, with a Valour next to Fury. At last they made themselves Masters of the Quarter beyond the *Tiber*, and the same Evening, an Hour before Night, they entered the City by the Bridge of *Sixtus*.— No Instances occur in History of Cruelty, Lust, Avarice, and Con- ^{Rome is taken and sacked.} tempt of every Thing that is sacred, which were not practised, on this Occasion, by the bigotted *Spaniards* as well as by the *Germans*, who were for the most Part *Lutherans*, and Enemies to *Rome*. They, who relate the Particulars, agree all in this, that though *Rome* had been frequently taken, and plundered by the Barbarians, it had never seen, since its Foundation, so dismal a Day.

The Pope, instead of leaving *Rome*, and retiring, as many advised ^{The Pope retires to the Castle of St. Angelo.} him, to some Fortress of the Ecclesiastical State, fled to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, which was immediately invested by the Prince of *Orange*. In the mean time the Army of the Confederates advanced to the Relief of the Pope, and even came within Sight of *Rome*. But the Duke of *Urbino*, General of the Confederate Army, urging many Difficulties

* Guicciard. l. 18. Memoires du Bellay. l. 7. Giornale del Rosso. Summont. tom. 4. Raynald. ad ann. 1527.

against

Year of
Christ 1527.

against their attempting to raise the Siege of the Castle, they marched back. And now the Pope, destitute of all Hopes of Relief, found himself obliged to come to an Agreement with the Imperialists; and accordingly an Agreement was concluded, on the 6th of *June*, upon the following Terms: That the Pope should pay to the Imperial Army Four hundred thousand Ducats, One hundred thousand immediately, Fifty thousand within Twenty Days, and Two hundred and Fifty thousand within Two Months; that he should deliver up the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and some Cities, to the Emperor, who should keep Possession of them so long as he thought fit; that he should continue Prisoner in the Castle with all the Cardinals, who were with him, being Thirteen in Number, till the first One hundred and Fifty thousand Ducats were paid; that he should give Hostages to the Army for the Payment of the rest; and, lastly, that he should absolve the *Colonnas* from the Censures they had incurred. As soon as this Convention was signed, one *Alercon*, a *Spanish* Officer, entered the Castle with Three Companies of *Spanish* and Three of *German* Foot, being charged with the Guard of the Pope: And by him he was most strictly guarded, was confined to a very small Apartment, and allowed but very little Liberty^b.

How treated
during his
Confinement.

Pretended
Concern of
the Emperor
at his Im-
prisonment.

When News was brought to the Emperor of the Sacking of *Rome*, and the Imprisonment of the Pope, he expressed the deepest Sorrow and Concern for his Holiness's Misfortune, stopt the Rejoicings, that were then making all over *Spain* for the Birth of Prince *Philip*, his eldest Son, put himself and all his Court into Mourning, ordered public Processions to be made, and Prayers to be put up in all the Churches for the Deliverance of their common Father; and Christ's Vicar upon Earth; as if he had been in the Hands of the *Grand Turk*, when his Deliverance depended wholly and solely upon himself. The Pope's Nuncio having presented himself before the Emperor with Ten Bishops, all in deep Mourning, and demanded the Pope's Liberty, in the most submissive Terms, he returned no other Answer to them than, that he *desired it more than they*. In a Grand Council that was held, on this Occasion, the Duke of *Alba* declared, that if the Pope were not a Temporal Prince, if he had not made War upon his Imperial Majesty, and by his Authority united so many Princes in a League against him, he

^b. Guicciard. l. 18.

would advise his Majesty to restore him, without Delay, to his Liberty; but as he had forfeited, by his hostile Conduct as a Temporal Prince, the Veneration that was due to him in his Spiritual Capacity, he was of Opinion, that he should be detained in his Prison, till he learned, at his own Expence, to be wiser.¹ Year of Christ 1527.

The Grief, expressed by the Emperor, for the Sacking of Rome and the Captivity of the Pope, was mere Dissimulation, and the grossest Hypocrisy. But that of the Kings of France and England was more sincere. For upon the first Intelligence they received of that great Event, they sent jointly Embassadors to the Emperor to demand the Pope's Liberty, as a Matter, that concerned all Christian Princes. The Emperor, being unwilling to disoblige Two such powerful Princes, immediately dispatched into Italy the General of the Franciscans, and one *Veri di Migban*, with an Order for *Charles di Lanoja*, Viceroy of Naples, to agree with the Pope, and set him at Liberty. But *Lanoja* dying, the Affair was negotiated with *Hugh di Moncada*, whom the Viceroy had substituted in his Room, and, on the last Day of October, an Agreement was concluded upon the following Conditions: I. That the Pope should take no Part in the War, that was then carrying on by the French, in the *Milanesè*, under the Command of the brave *Oden de Foix*, Marshal of *Lautrech*, nor in that which the Kingdom of Naples was threatened with. II. That his Holiness should grant to the Emperor a Tenth of the Ecclesiastic Revenues in all his Kingdoms. III. That he should deliver up to the Imperialists the Cities of *Ostia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Civita Castellana*, and the Citadel of *Forli*, as cautionary Places, and his Two Nephews, *Hippolytus* and *Alexander*, for Hostages. He was, besides, to pay immediately to the Germans Seventy-seven thousand Ducats, and Thirty-five thousand to the Spaniards, upon their leaving him at Liberty to come out of the Castle, and go out of Rome. Another like Sum he was to pay to the Germans a Fortnight after his Departure from Rome, and the Rest, to the Amount of Three hundred and Fifty thousand Ducats and upwards, within Three Months more. To raise these Sums the Pope was obliged to recur to extraordinary Ways and Means, which he had been utterly averse to before. He created some Cardinals for Money, Persons altogether unworthy of that Dignity, granted a Power to alienate some Church Lands, and mort-

Kings of France and England employ their good Offices in behalf of the Pope.

Is restored to his Liberty, and upon what Conditions.

¹ Giornale del Rosso. Bellegarde Hist. General d'Espagne, tom. 7.

Year of
Christ 1527.

gaged the Tythes in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Payments being thus settled and secured at the fixed Times, the 9th Day of *December* was appointed for his Deliverance, when the *Spaniards* were to guard and conduct him to some Place of Safety. But his Holiness apprehending, that *Hugh di Moncada*, who was now Viceroy of *Naples*, and had been always against his Release, might start new Difficulties, and play him some Trick, he went the Night before out of the Castle, in the Disguise of a Merchant, and retired to *Orvieto*, which City he entered before Day-break, not One of the Cardinals accompanying him. Thus did *Clement* recover his Liberty on the 8th of *December*, when he had been kept closely confined ever since the 6th of *May*, and treated by his Guards with all the *Spanish* Pride and Insolence^k.

Progress of
the Reforma-
tion in Ger-
many.

While these Things passed in *Italy*, the Reformation was carried on, with wonderful Success, in *Germany*, several of the *German* Princes, and most of the Imperial Towns having embraced the new Doctrine, and allowed it to be freely preached within the Limits of their respec-

Diet of Nu-
remberg.

tive Jurisdictions. As a Diet was to be held at *Nuremberg* in the Beginning of the Year 1524, *Clement* dispatched, soon after his Election, Cardinal *Campegius*, a Man of great Address and Abilities, to assist at that Assembly with the Character of his Legate. His Instructions were to represent to the Princes the fatal Consequences, that would inevitably attend their suffering new Doctrines, or rather old Heresies to take Root in their Dominions, and from thence he was to take Occasion of exhorting them to cause the Edict of *Worms* to be executed as it had been approved, and enacted by themselves^l. But the Legate found, to his great Mortification, most of the Members of the Diet to be rather Friends than Enemies to the Reformation. For, taking no Notice of the Edict of *Worms*, they insisted on the Pope's redressing, before all other Things, the many Grievances, which the *German* Nation had so long and so justly complained of, renewed their Demands of a General Council, and left all other Matters in Dispute to be decided at the Diet, that was to meet, in a short Time, at *Spire*. On the other Hand, the Legate, returning to *Ratisbon*, with the Bishops, and such of the Princes as favoured the Cause of *Rome*, prevailed upon them to promise a strict Compliance with the Edict of *Worms*, and to agree to several Regula-

Assembly of
Ratisbon.

^k Guiccard. l. 18. Jovius, l. 25. Ciacon. vit. Clement. VII.
p. 415.

^l See above,

tions, calculated to prevent the Reformation from taking place in their Dominions. At the same time the Pope procured a Letter from the Emperor to all the Members of the Empire, commanding them, in virtue of their Allegiance, to cause the Edict of *Worms*, and every Article of that Edict to be strictly observed in their respective Dominions, on Pain of being deemed guilty of High Treason, of being put under the Ban of the Empire, and forfeiting their Estates and all the Privileges granted to them by his Predecessors. This Letter is dated at *Burgos* the 15th of *July* 1524. But the Emperor being wholly taken up in settling the distracted State of his Dominions in *Spain* and *Italy*, and not at Leisure to attend to the Affairs of *Germany*, his Commands were by very few complied with; nay, in the Diet, that met at *Spire* in 1526, it was carried by a great Majority, that the Execution of the Edict of *Worms* should be suspended till the Doctrines, which had given Occasion to it, were examined, and either condemned or approved by a General Council. At the same time it was agreed, that a solemn Address should be presented to the Emperor, entreating him to assemble One without Delay, and that, in the mean while, every Prince should be at Liberty to regulate Ecclesiastical Matters, in his own Dominions, as he should think expedient. And now the *German* States and Princes, who were Friends to the Reformation, being thus delivered from all Restraint, made it their Business to banish the Superstitions of Popery out of their Dominions, and introduce genuine Christianity in their Room. This Liberty they enjoyed for the Space of Three whole Years, and, improving it to the Advantage of their Cause, they introduced, during that Time, the Reformation among their Subjects quite unmolested. But the Resolutions of this Diet of *Spire* were revoked, at the End of Three Years, by another held in the same Place, and every Change in Religion was declared unlawful till authorized by the General Council, that was soon to meet. Against that Declaration Four Princes of the Empire and Thirteen Imperial Cities entered a solemn *Protest*; and hence arose the Denomination of *Protestants*, that has thenceforth been given to all who renounce the Errors of *Rome*.

And now to resume the Thread of our History with respect to the Conduct of the Pope after his Deliverance; he had been but a few Days at *Orvieto*, when he was earnestly pressed by the Embassadors of the Kings of *France* and *England* to enter into the Confederacy, and declare for them

Year of
Christ 1527.
Letter from
the Emperor.

Diet of
Spire.

Favourable
to the Re-
formation.

The Pope de-
clines enter-
ing into a
Confederacy
with the

Year of
Christ 1528.
Kings of
France and
England.

But concludes
an Agree-
ment with
the Emperor.

Year of
Christ 1529.

against the Emperor. But to both he returned the same Answer, viz. that having neither Men, nor Money, nor Authority, his Declaration could be of no Service to them, and would be of great Prejudice to himself. But as his Family, exercising a Kind of sovereign Power in the free State of *Florence*, had been driven out of that City upon the News of his Captivity, and the popular Government had been restored, his Holiness, thinking the Emperor better able to reinstate them in their former Grandeur, than either of the Kings, entered privately into a Treaty with the Imperial Ministers; and the following Year an Agreement was concluded at *Barcelona* upon Terms very advantageous to the Pope. Of these Terms the most material were: That the Emperor should give in Marriage his natural Daughter *Margaret* to *Alexander de Medicis*, the Pope's Nephew, with a Dowry of Twenty thousand Ducats yearly Revenue, and should reinstate the said *Alexander* in the same Grandeur, that the Family had enjoyed before their Expulsion: That the Emperor should take Care, as soon as possible, by Arms, or by some other more convenient Means, to put the Pope in Possession of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, without Prejudice to the Right of the Empire: That the Pope should grant to the Emperor the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, reducing the Tribute to a white Horse, and should allow him the ancient Nomination to Twenty-four Cathedrals in that Kingdom, concerning which there had been some Dispute: That the Pope and the Emperor should have a personal Conference, when his Imperial Majesty passed into *Italy*: That neither the Pope, nor the Emperor, should make new Leagues with respect to the Affairs of *Italy* to the Prejudice of this Confederacy, nor observe those contrary to it, which they might have already made: And lastly, That both the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, now King of *Hungary*, should use all possible Endeavours to reduce the Heretics to the true Way, and, if they persisted in their Obstinacy, should employ their Arms against them. This Agreement was signed at *Barcelona* on the 29th of *June* 1529, and solemnly sworn to by the Embassadors of the Two contracting Powers, before the High Altar of the Cathedral of that City m.

The Emperor
comes into
Italy.

The Emperor, soon after the Conclusion of this Treaty, set out for *Italy*, in order to have a personal Conference with his Holiness, and,

Clement VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

437

at the same time, to receive the Imperial Crown at his Hands. He embarked at *Barcelona*, being attended by a very numerous Fleet, and in a Fortnight arrived at *Genoa*, the Place where his Holiness and he had proposed to meet. But *Bologna* appearing to both far more convenient, they repaired thither in the latter End of the present Year. The Pope, who came the first, received the Emperor with all the Marks of the most sincere Friendship. They lodged in the same Palace, had Rooms contiguous to each other, and from the Familiarity that appeared between them, one would have thought that they had ever lived in perfect Harmony. The chief Subject of their Conferences was the restoring of the Family *De Medicis* to their former Power and Dignity in *Florence*; and it was agreed that the Imperial Army, which had already entered that State, should pursue the War with the utmost Vigour, and the Pope should pay monthly Sixty thousand Ducats to the Prince of *Orange*, Commander in Chief of the Imperial Forces, the Emperor being, as he declared, in no Condition to support so great an Expence. These and some other Articles being agreed to, the Pope had prevailed upon the Emperor to repair with him to *Siena*, in order to be near at Hand to favour the Enterprize against *Florence*, which his Holiness had above all Things at Heart. But while they were upon the Point of setting out, the Emperor received Letters from the Electors and other *German* Princes, pressing him to hasten into *Germany*, in order to assist at the Diet, that was soon to be held at *Augsburg*. Giving therefore over all Thoughts of proceeding further, he received the Imperial Crown at *Bologna*, on the 24th of *February* 1530, the Festival of *St. Matthias*, the Day on which he was born, and had taken the King of *France* Prisoner. From *Bologna* the Emperor set out for *Germany* on the 22d of *March*, and the Pope for *Rome* on the last Day of the same Month.

Year of
Christ 1529.

Has a Conference with
the Pope at
Bologna.

Year of
Christ 1530.

Where he receives the
Imperial
Crown.

In the mean time the City of *Florence*, after a Siege of Eleven Months, was obliged to submit, being reduced to the greatest Straits for Want of Provisions. At this Siege the Prince of *Orange* was killed, while he rather performed the Duty of a private Man than of a General. He had often expressed his Detestation and Abhorrence of the Pope's Ambition and Injustice, in enslaving his own Country, in causing so much Blood to be shed, and so famous a City to be destroyed, in

Florence reduced by the Imperialists, and delivered up to the Family De Medicis.

Year of
Christ 1531.

^a Idem, l. 19, 20.

Year of
Christ 1531.

order to raise his Nephew to the Rank of a Prince. The Surrender of the City put an End to the Liberty of that famous Republic. For the Emperor ordered, that *Alexander de Medicis*, his own Son-in-Law, and the Pope's Nephew, should be at the Head of the Government, with a Right of transmitting it to his Descendants, and, if he had no Issue, to his collateral Relations, and the nearest of Kin to his Family. Thus was the Family *De Medicis* raised to that State of Grandeur and Power, which the Grand Dukes of *Tuscany* have enjoyed to our Days. One of the Articles, upon which the City surrendered, was, that all, who had injured the Pope, or his Friends, should be forgiven. But his Holiness, to weaken the opposite Party, and prevent their raising any new Disturbances, caused, by an open Breach of that Article, Six of the leading Men among them to be beheaded, and sent all, whom he suspected of Disaffection to his Family, into Exile °.

Diet of Aug-
sburg.

The Emperor set out from *Bologna* on the 22d of *March*, with a Design, as has been said above, to assist at the Diet, which had been appointed to meet at *Augsburg* on the 20th of *June*. Accordingly the First Session was held on that Day, being preceded by a Mass, celebrated with extraordinary Solemnity. The Emperor assisted at it with all his Court, and ordered the Elector of *Saxony*, as Sword-bearer of the Empire, to attend him, and carry the Sword of State before him. That the Elector declined at first, but the Divines, whom he consulted, declaring that on the present Occasion he might assist at Mass, being called to it, not as to a religious Ceremony, but as to a Function of his Office, he complied. As no regular System was yet composed of the Doctrines, embraced by *Luther* and his Followers, on the 25th of *June* was presented to the Diet a very distinct and particular Account of their religious Principles and Tenets. It was drawn up by *Melancthon*, and contains Twenty-eight Chapters, of which Twenty-one are employed in declaring the Opinions of the Reformers, and the remaining Seven in pointing out the Errors and Abuses, that gave Occasion to their Separation from the Church of *Rome*: And this is what has been since distinguished by the Name of *The Confession of Augsburg*. Some Copies of this Confession were delivered to the Emperor, signed, by Way of Approbation, by the Elector of *Saxony*, by Four Princes of the Empire, and some Imperial Towns. It was im-

*Confession of
Faith deli-
vered to the
Diet by the
Reformers.*

° Guicciardin. l. 20.

mediately

mediately answered by the *Roman Catholic* Divines, and their Answer being publicly read in the Diet, the Reformers drew up a Reply to it, and presented it to the Emperor. But he would not receive it. On the contrary, he forbade any new Writings to be published; which was forbidding any Reply to be made to the Arguments alleged by the *Roman Catholics* to support their own Doctrine, and impugn that of the Reformers. While the Diet was sitting several Conferences were held between the most eminent Men for Piety and Learning of both Sides, in order to find out some Method of terminating their Disputes. But all the Methods they could think of proving ineffectual, the whole Blame was laid upon the Friends of the Reformation; and on the 19th of November an Edict was issued by the Diet, confirming that of *Worms*, condemning all the Changes in Doctrine and Worship introduced by the Reformers, and commanding the Princes, States, and Cities, that had withdrawn their Obedience to *Rome*, to return to their Duty, on Pain of incurring the high Displeasure of the Emperor, and the Ban of the Empire.

Year of
Christ 1531.

Edict of
Worms confirmed in the
Diet of Aug-
sburg.

This Edict alarmed the Princes, who had embraced the Reformation, and in order to put themselves in a Condition of repelling Force, if any were offered, by Force, they met at *Smalcald* in the Landgraviate of *Hesse*, and there entered into a Confederacy in Defence of their Religion and Liberties. This Confederacy was highly displeasing to the Emperor; but as *Solyman*, Emperor of the *Turks*, entered at this Time the Kingdom of *Hungary* at the Head of a very numerous Army, and the Confederates refused to concur, in the Defence of that Country, either with Men or with Money, unless the Emperor revoked the Edicts of *Worms* and of *Augsburg*, or, at least, suspended their Execution, he was obliged to come to an Agreement with them. Accordingly, on the 13th of July 1532, a Peace was concluded at *Nuremberg* upon the following Conditions: That the Confederates should furnish the Emperor with the necessary Subsidies for the Defence of the Kingdom of *Hungary*; and the Emperor, on his Side, should suspend the Execution of the above-mentioned Edicts, and molest no Man on Account of his Religion, till the Points in Dispute were finally determined in a free General Council, which he should cause to be summoned within Six Months, and to be opened within a Year. A religious Truce being thus concluded to the inexpressible.

League of
Smalcald.

Peace of Nu-
remberg.
Year of
Christ 1532.

Year of
Christ 1532

preffible Joy of the Confederates, they sent, at their own Expence, ſuch powerful Reinforcements to the Imperial Army, commanded by the Emperor in Perſon, that, at his Approach, *Solyman*, though at the Head of Two hundred thouſand Men, thought it adviſeable to retire, and march quietly back to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his Retreat the Emperor returned to *Germany*, and, after a ſhort Stay there, proceeded to *Italy* to confer with the Pope about the Aſſembling of the promiſed General Council p.

A Second In-
terview at
Bologna be-
tween the
Pope and the
Emperor.

Year of
Christ 1533.

The Pope and the Emperor met again at *Bologna*, but the Emperor found his Holineſs extremely averſe to the Aſſembling of a Council; and the Reaſons he alleged againſt it were, That Peace was not yet well eſtabliſhed amongſt the Chriſtian Princes; that it was much to be feared that the *Turk* would invade *Hungary* anew, and it was not fit, that, at ſo critical a Juncture, *Chriſtendom* ſhould be employed in the Diſputes and Contentions of a Council; that they, who demanded a Council, made uſe of that Demand only as a Pretence to profeſs and propagate their Errors undiſturbed till the Council met, and would, as ſoon as their Errors were condemned, which certainly would happen, have Recourſe to ſome other Shift to elude the Sentence. Such were the Reaſons alleged by *Clement* to the Emperor againſt the Aſſembling of a General Council. But his Averſion to ſuch an Aſſembly was, in Truth, owing to his being apprehenſive, that, in order to remedy the many enormous Abuſes of the Court, they would curtail the Pontifical Power and Authority; that, as his Birth was certainly illegitimate, though his Predeceſſor *Leo* had impoſed the contrary upon the World, his Illegitimacy might be urged againſt the Validity of his Election, ſince no Baſtard had ever yet been preferred to the Pontifical Dignity; that the Simony, practiſed upon Cardinal *Colonna* in the Conclave, might be brought to Light, and his Election be, on that Account, declared null; and laſtly, that he might be called to an Account by the Council for the cruel War, which he had induced the Emperor to make upon the *Florentines*, and carry on with the Loſs of ſo many Lives, merely out of a criminal Ambition of aggrandizing his Family, and making them, contrary to all Juſtice, Sovereigns of a free and independent State. *Clement*, filled with theſe juſt Fears and Appre-

The Pope
averse to a
General
Council, and
why.

p Matheum. p. 50 — 56. Pallavicino. Father Paul, Concil. Trident. Sleidan. Burnet.
q See above, p. 426.

Clement VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

441

hensions, was determined, in his own Mind, never to consent to the Assembling of a Council. However, concealing his real Sentiments, from the Emperor, he promised to call one upon the following Conditions; that it should be celebrated in *Italy*, in *Bologna*, *Piacenza*, or *Mantua*; that the Emperor should assist at it in Person; that the *Lutherans* and other Heretics should promise to stand to its Decisions, and, in the mean time, should return to their Obedience to the Apostolic See. The Pope well knew, that the Protestants never would agree to such Conditions, and it was only to put off the evil Day that he proposed them. However, at the pressing Instances of the Emperor, he dispatched Nuncios to the Courts of the different Princes to invite them to the Council, which, he said, he intended to assemble, provided they all consented to it ^r.

Year of
Christ 1533.
His deceitful
Conduct.

At this Interview the Emperor proposed a Marriage between *Catherine de Medicis*, the Pope's Niece, and *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, in order to engage, by that Means, his Holiness in the Defence of that State against the *French*, should they ever attempt to recover it, and, at the same time, to break off the Treaty of Marriage, that was then negotiating between the said *Catherine de Medicis*, and *Henry*, Duke of *Orleans*, the King of *France's* Second Son. But the Match, proposed by the Emperor, was rejected by the Pope, alleging that he was under such Engagements with the King, as would not allow him, in Honour or Decency, to recede. The Emperor was very much dissatisfied with this Alliance; but not being able to divert the Pope from it, he left *Bologna*, and repairing to *Genoa*, embarked there on his Return to *Spain*. Upon his Departure, the Negotiations between the Pope and the King of *France* were resumed; and the Treaty of Marriage between the Pope's Niece, and the King's Second Son being concluded, it was agreed that the Pope and the King should have a personal Interview at *Nizza*; and that the Marriage should be solemnized in that City on the Borders of *France* and *Italy*. But the Duke of *Savoy*, Lord of *Nizza*, shewing himself unwilling to accommodate his Holiness with the Castle, lest he should thereby disoblige the Emperor, the City of *Marseilles* was, to the great Satisfaction of the King, chosen for the Place of their Meeting. The Pope arrived there, with his Niece, on board the *French* Fleet on the 4th of *October*,

The Emperor
proposes a
Match be-
tween the
Duke of Mi-
lan and the
Pope's Niece.

Marriage
concluded be-
tween her
and the King
of France's
Second Son.

The Pope in
France.

^r Guicciard. l. 20. Father Paul. Concil. Trident. l. 1.

Year of
Christ. 1533.

and landing under the Discharge of Three hundred Pieces of Cannon, lodged that Night in the Palace of the Duke of *Montmorency*. The next Day he made his public Entry into the City, in all the gaudy Attire of High Pontiff, being carried in his Chair upon Mens Shoulders, while a white Horse, carrying the Host, was led by Two Men with filken Reins before him, then followed the Cardinals in their Habits, mounted upon their Mules richly caparisoned, and after them came the Bride, loaded with Jewels and precious Stones, and attended by the Flower of the *Italian* and *French* Nobility. The next Day the King, who came the first, and had paid his Holiness a Visit by Night, made his public Entry, and waiting upon his Holiness was received by him with all possible Marks of Esteem and Affection. The Marriage Ceremony was performed a few Days afterwards by the Pope himself with the utmost Pomp and Magnificence, the Bride being in the Thirteenth Year of her Age, and the Bridegroom in his Sixteenth *. The Pope and the King lodged in the same Palace, had daily private Conferences, and the Pope negotiating, with consummate Art, his Affairs with the King himself, entirely gained his Confidence and Affection. He had solemnly engaged his Word to the Emperor, at their Interview in *Bologna*, to make no new Confederacy or Agreement with any Prince without his Knowledge and Consent. But as it was customary with him to keep his Word no longer than he found his own Account, or that of his Family in keeping it, he secretly concluded an Agreement with the King, by virtue of which they were to fall unexpectedly upon the State of *Milan* with their joint Forces, and put his Niece and Nephew-in-Law in Possession of that Dutchy †. Thus would all *Italy* have been involved in a new War, and all the Calamities attending it. But, fortunately for that Country, the Pope died before his ambitious Designs could be carried into Execution.

How received
there.

The Mar-
riage solemn-
ized.

Confederacy
between the
Pope and the
King.

The Pope re-
turns to
Rome.

The Pope, having staid about a Month at *Marseilles*, departed on board the same Gallies, that had brought him thither. But, putting no Trust in the Skill of the *French* Mariners, on his Arrival at *Savona* he sent them back, and was conveyed from thence to *Civita Vecchia* on board the Gallies of *Andrew Doria*, the most experienced Sea-Officer of that Age. From *Civita Vecchia* he returned to *Rome*, highly pleased and elated with his good Fortune in having obtained for his natural

* Guicciard. l. 10. *Memoires du Bellay*.

† Du Bellay Memoir. l. 7. p. 141.

Nephew

Clément VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

443

Nephew (*Alexander de Medicis*, the natural Son of his Brother *Lawrence*, formerly Duke of *Urbino*) the natural Daughter of the Emperor, and for his legitimate Niece the legitimate Son of the King of *France*, though his Family was of little more than a private Rank.

Year of
Christ 1533.

But he did not long enjoy his good Fortune. For a few Months after his Return to *Rome* he was seized with a violent Pain in his Stomach, and a slow Fever, which put an End to his Life on the 25th of *September* 1534, when he had lived Fifty-six Years and Four Months, and governed the Church Ten Years Ten Months and Seven Days. He died hated by the Court, suspected by the Princes, and generally reputed a Man of no Faith, and naturally averse from doing any Man a good Office. He was grave, circumspect in all his Actions, much Master of himself, a great Dissembler, endowed with excellent Parts, and uncommon Penetration. But the extreme Timidity, to which he was subject ever after his Imprisonment, seldom allowed him to make a free Use of his own Judgment ^u.

His Illness
and Death.
Year of
Christ 1534.

He was greatly embarrassed, during the Seven last Years of his Pontificate, with the famous Divorce of our *Henry VIII*. But that whole Affair has been so fully related by all our Historians, with all the Circumstances and Consequences attending it, and is so well known to all, who know any thing at all of the History of *England*, that I may well be allowed to wave so trite a Subject. However, I cannot help observing, that from the whole Conduct of the Pope it evidently appears, that in this Affair, an Affair of Conscience, his Holiness was entirely swayed by worldly Views, or Motives of Policy, without any the least Regard to the intrinsic Merits of the Cause; that he was only restrained, by the Awe he stood in of the Emperor, from declaring *Henry's* Marriage with *Catherine* null; and that it was only to gratify, or rather not to provoke so powerful a Prince, of whose Indignation he had already felt the Effects with a Witness, that he delayed coming to any Resolution, till the King, tired with Delays, Apologies, Pretences, and vain Promises, cut the Knot, which his Holiness would not untie, putting away *Catherine*, and taking *Anne Bullen* to his Royal Bed in her Room. This was openly renouncing the Pope's Jurisdiction and Supremacy, and delivering himself and his Kingdom from the Tyranny of *Rome*. But this Renunciation was attended with very little

His Conduct
in the Affair
of the Di-
vorce of
Henry VIII.

^u Guicciard. l. 20.

Year of
Christ 1534.

Benefit to the Cause or the Friends of the Reformation during the King's Life-time. For *Henry* being, on the 3d of *November* 1534, declared by the Parliament *Supreme Head, on Earth, of the Church of England*, he thought himself, by virtue of that Title, Master of the Religious Sentiments of his Subjects; and as he still retained most of the grossest Errors of Popery, and with them the persecuting Spirit of that Church, they, who denied any of them, met with no better Treatment from the King, than they did from the Pope. And thus Matters continued in *England* during the whole Reign of *Henry VIII.* — *Clement* left a great many Jewels in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, but very little Money. — He created, at different Times, Thirty-one Cardinals, but not one of that Number, except his Nephew *Hyppolitus de Medicis*, of his own spontaneous Choice. The Rest he raised to that Dignity, against his Will, to gratify those, who recommended them, especially the Emperor and the King of *France.* — He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*; but his Body was soon afterwards translated by his Family to the Church of *St. Mary super Minervam*, and being deposited there, near the Remains of *Leo X.* his Cousin, a stately Monument of Marble was erected over it, which is to be seen to this Day.

CHARLES V.
Emperor.

P A U L III.

The Two Hundred and Eighteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Election of
Paul III.

His Birth,
Education,
and Employ-
ments before
his Promo-
tion.

IN the Room of *Clement*, deceased on the 25th of *September*, was unanimously elected, on the 13th of *October*, by the Thirty-four Cardinals, who composed the Conclave, *Alexander Farnese*, Cardinal Bishop of *Osia*, who took the Name of *Paul III.* He was come of a noble and an ancient *Roman* Family, and is therefore said to have been by Birth a *Roman*, though he was born at a Place in *Tuscany*, called *Carino*, which his Ancestors had long possessed. He studied, in his Youth, at *Florence*, under the most famous Professors of that Age invited thither by the *De Medicis*, great Encouragers of Learning, and had early distinguished himself, above all his Fellow-Students, by his

Paul III. BISHOPS of Rome.

445

his Application and Proficiency in every Branch of polite Literature. Upon his Return to *Rome* he was made Apostolic Prothonotary by *Innocent VIII.* and by *Alexander VI.* preferred first to the Bishopric of *Montefiascone*, and soon afterwards, that is, in 1493, to the Dignity of Cardinal, being then but Twenty-six Years of Age. *Julius II.* translated him to the Bishopric of *Parma*, and *Leo X.* to that of *Tusculum*, and he was, by his immediate Predecessor *Clement VII.* successively appointed Bishop of *Palestrina*, *Sabina*, *Porto* and *Ostia &c.* He was recommended to the Cardinals by the same Pope, on his Death-Bed, as the most worthy of the whole College to succeed him; and they readily concurred in his Election, as he was in the Sixty-seventh Year of his Age, and reputed to be of a bad Constitution, which Opinion he promoted with some Art^b. Thus *Guicciardine*, who terminates his excellent History of *Italy* with the Death of *Clement*, and the Election of *Paul*.

Year of
Christ 1534.

The new Pope was not, or, at least, pretended not to be, so averse to a General Council as his Predecessor. On the contrary, in a general Congregation of the Cardinals, held on the 16th of *October*, but Three Days after his Election, and before his Coronation, he named Commissioners to deliberate about the Time, the Place, and the Manner of Proceeding in the Council, with Orders to make their Report to him in the First Consistory after his Coronation. He was crowned on the 3d of *November*, and in the First Consistory, held on the 13th of the same Month, he appointed Six Cardinals and Three Bishops to draw up a Plan for the Reformation of the Church in general, and of the Church of *Rome* in particular. At the same time he sent for *Kerger*, his Nuncio in *Germany*, and being informed by him, that nothing but a General Council could put an End to the Disturbances, that continued to reign in most of the Provinces of the Empire, he remanded him with Orders to prevent a National Council from being convened in *Germany*, and propose the assembling of a General One at *Mantua*, to be opened in that City on the 27th of *May* of the following Year 1537. The Proposal was agreed to by the Catholic Princes. But the Protestants at a Meeting at *Smalcald*, consisting of Fifteen Princes, and Thirty Deputies of Imperial Cities, declared against a Council held any-where without the Borders of the Empire, and much more against

Not averse
to a General
Council.

A Plan for
the Reforma-
tion of Rules.

Mantua
named for
the Place of
the Council.

Year of
Christ 1536.

^a Onuph. in Paulo III. Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trid. l. 3.

^b Guicciard. l. 20.

Year of
Christ 1536.

But objected
to by the Pro-
testants.

One held in *Italy*, and in a City subject to a Prince, whose Brother was a Cardinal. Besides, the Duke of *Mantua* himself was not inclined to receive so many Guests at once, and some of them very turbulent ones, into the Place of his Residence, unless his Holiness furnished him with a large Sum of Money to maintain a numerous Garrison. That the Pope would not agree to, either on Account of the Expence, or because he apprehended that the Protestants would take Occasion from thence to pretend that the Council was not free ⁱ.

The Council
appointed to
meet at Vi-
cenza.

Year of
Christ 1537.

The Design of assembling the Council at *Mantua* being thus laid aside, the Pope, by a Bull, dated the 20th of *May* 1537, prorogued it till the Beginning of *November*, without naming the Place where it was to be held. But a Ten Months Truce being, in the mean time, concluded between the Emperor and the King of *France*, then at War for the Dutchy of *Milan*, claimed by both upon the Death of *Francis Sforza* the last Duke, the Pope, by a Bull of the 8th of *October* 1537, appointed the Council to meet at *Vicenza* on the 1st of *May* of the following Year. At the same time, to remove all Obstacles to the Council, he undertook to negotiate, in Person, a Peace between the Emperor and the King, and, with that View, invited them to a personal Conference with him at *Nizza*. Both complied with the Invitation, and the Pope, who arrived at the appointed Place the first, received both with the greatest Marks of Friendship and Esteem, but could not prevail upon them to see and embrace one another. His Holiness therefore, taking upon him the Office of Arbitrator, heard the Complaints, Demands, and Claims of both. But he found so many difficult and knotty Points to be determined, that laying aside all Thoughts of a Peace, he proposed a Ten Years Truce, and in the End persuaded both Princes to agree to it. In the private Conferences, which the Pope had, on this Occasion, with the Emperor, a Marriage Treaty, that had been some time on Foot, was at last concluded between *Ostavius Farnese*, the Pope's Nephew, and *Margaret*, the Emperor's natural Daughter, now a Widow, her Husband, *Alexander de Medicis*, having been lately murdered by One of his own Family. The Pope, wholly intent upon aggrandizing his Family, proposed a Match, in his Conferences with the King of *France*, between his Grand-daughter *Vittoria*, and the Duke of *Vendome*, One of the Princes of the

Interview
between the
Pope, the
Emperor,
and the King
of France.

Year of
Christ 1538.

ⁱ Father Paul. et Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident.

Blood. But it was opposed by the other Princes, and the *French* Nobility in general. Some Writers tell us, that it was to promote these Marriages, and thus raise his Family, that the Pope proposed an Interview with the Two Princes, thinking he should better succeed therein by treating with them in Person, than by Nuncios, or Legates, and that the procuring of a Peace was but a Blind or mere Pretence. The Pope, on his Return from *Nizza*, was attended by the Emperor to *Genoa*, and from thence he proceeded, partly by Sea, partly by Land, to *Rome*. Soon after his Arrival there, he dispatched Cardinal *De Medicis* with a grand Retinue to *Florence*, to attend Princess *Margaret* from thence to *Rome*. She made her public Entry into that City in the latter End of *October*, was received by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility of both Sexes, with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, and the Nuptials were celebrated on the 3d of *November* k.

In the present Year 1538 was at last published the Bull of Excommunication against *Henry VIII*. It had been drawn up in 1535, on Occasion of the Execution of Cardinal *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, had been submitted to the Judgment of the Cardinals, and approved by most of them in a full Consistory. However the Pope, flattering himself that an Accommodation with *England* might still be brought about, delayed the Publication of it till the present Year, when finding an Agreement with the King quite desperate, he published it with the usual Solemnity, and caused it to be set up on the Doors of all the chief Churches of *Rome*. By that Bull the King was deprived of his Kingdom, his Subjects were not only absolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, but commanded to take Arms against him, and drive him from the Throne, the whole Kingdom was laid under an Interdict, all Treaties of Friendship or Commerce with him or his Subjects were declared null, his Kingdom was granted to any who should invade it, and all were allowed to seize the Effects of such of his Subjects as adhered to him, and enslave their Persons, &c. But these were all *Bruta Fulmina*; and the King, provoked beyond Measure at the Insolence of the Pope, continued to persecute, with more Severity than ever, all without Distinction, who refused to renounce the Papal Supremacy, and acknowledge his own l.

Henry VIII.
excommunicated.

* Jovius Hist. l. 37. Onuph. ex Paulo III. Ciaconius, tom. 3. Valer. Paul Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident.
† Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. l. 3. Pallavicin. l. 4. Sanders de Schif. l. 1.

Year of
Christ 1538.

*Diets held in
Germany for
reconciling
the Religious
Differences.*

In the mean time several Diets were held in *Germany* to terminate the religious Disputes, and the Divisions arising from them among the Members of the Empire, at a Time when they ought all to unite against their common Enemy, who had again invaded *Hungary* with a formidable Army, and even reduced the strong City of *Buda*. But in those Diets nothing could be concluded on Account of the Opposition they met with from the Pope's Legates, pretending that all religious Disputes ought to be determined by his Holiness alone, or by his Holiness and a General Council. In a Diet, held at *Ratisbon* in *March* 1541, at which the Emperor assisted in Person, and all the Princes of the Empire either in Person, or by Proxy, great Advances were made towards an Union of the Two Parties. But the Pope's Legate, Cardinal *Contarini*, objecting to some of the Articles, that both Parties were inclined to agree to, the Diet was divided; and upon that Division the Emperor concluded, that the final Decision of their Debates ought to be referred to a General Council, or if a General Council could not be so soon obtained, to a National One, or to the next Diet of the Empire. He added, that he should, in a very short Time, go into *Italy*, should press the Pope to convoke, without Delay, the so often promised Council, and if its Meeting should be prevented by any unforeseen Obstacles, he should, within the Space of Eighteen Months, assemble a General Diet for finally determining all Disputes. He forbade the Protestant Princes to solicit any, in the mean time, who were not their Subjects, to embrace their Religion. But as he stood in great Need of their Assistance against the *Turk*, he gave them Leave to receive all, who should unsolicited, and of their own Accord, chuse their Religion, and suspended all Prosecutions in the Imperial Chamber against those of their Persuasion ^m.

*Interview of
the Pope and
the Emperor
at Lucca.*

The Diet broke up on the 28th of *July*, and the Emperor soon afterwards set out for *Italy*, in order to proceed from thence upon his intended Expedition against *Algiers*. The Pope met him at *Lucca*, as it had been agreed before-hand between them. They had several Conferences and Consultations concerning the so much wanted General Council, and the War against the *Turks*, threatening *Germany* itself with an Invasion. On this Occasion the Pope informed the Emperor, that the *Venetians* would not suffer the Council, which he had ap-

^m Father Paul et Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident. l. 1.

pointed to meet at *Vicenza*, to be held in that City, or in any other of their Dominions, alleging, that a Peace having been lately concluded between them and *Solyman*, they apprehended, that the Meeting of a Council in One of their Towns for uniting the Christian Princes in a Confederacy against him, would be looked upon by that Prince as a Breach of the Peace, and bring on a new War, which they were in no Condition to support. The Pope, after complaining to the Emperor of this Disappointment, which obliged him to put off the Meeting of the Council to a farther Day, assured his Imperial Majesty, that upon his Return to *Rome* he should, before all Things, settle, with the Advice of the Cardinals, the Time when, and the Place where, it should assemble, and send immediately Notice thereof to his Majesty, as well as to the other Christian Princes ⁿ.

Year of
Christ 1541.

In the Beginning of the following Year 1542, a Diet was held at *Spire*, *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, presiding at it in the Absence of the Emperor. To this Assembly was sent by the Pope *John Morone*, Bishop of *Modena*, with Orders to declare, that his Holiness, mindful of the Promise he had made to the Emperor and the *German* Nation, was determined to assemble a General Council, and that *Trent*, upon the Borders of *Germany* and *Italy*, should be the Place of its Meeting, if the Diet had no Objection to that City. *Ferdinand*, and the Princes of the Popish Party, agreed to the Proposal. But the Protestant Princes objected both against a Council summoned by the Pope, who had no Authority of summoning One, but what he had usurped by encroaching upon the Rights of the Emperor, and against the Place appointed for its Meeting, as being too near to *Italy*, and rather in *Italy* than in *Germany*. They added, that the Pope, in his Bull of 1536, summoning the Council to meet at *Mantua*, had made himself a Party, openly professing, that he convoked it, to root out the *Lutheran* Heresy, and consequently that they could not, in Justice, be required to acknowledge him for a lawful Judge, nor to countenance, with their Presence, a Council, called on Purpose to condemn them. However, the Pope, paying no Regard to their Remonstrances, by a Bull, dated the 22d of *May*, appointed the Council to meet at *Trent* on the 1st Day of the ensuing *November*, commanded all the Bishops to repair to it, and earnestly entreated the Emperor, the most Christian

The Council
appointed to
meet at
Trent.

Year of
Christ 1542.

The Protestants object
both to the
Council and
the Place.

ⁿ *Idem*.

Year of
Christ 1542.
*Legates sent
to preside at
the Council.*

King, and the other Kings and Princes, to attend it in Person, or send proper Persons to represent them, and assist at it in their Room. He sent soon afterwards the Three Cardinals, *Peter Paul Parisio*, *John Merone*, and *Reginald Pole*, to preside at the Council, and open it, when they should think proper; but they were to proceed to no publick Act without giving previously Notice thereof to his Holiness. The Emperor immediately dispatched to *Trent* *John Mendoza*, *Nicholas Granvelle*, and his Son the Bishop of *Arras*, with the Character of his Embassadors, to represent him at the Council. They pressed the Legates, in the Emperor's Name, to open the Council without Delay. But, as very few Bishops were yet come, and the War between the Emperor and the King of *France* prevented others from coming, the Legates, after waiting some Time, in vain, for a sufficient Number of Bishops to compose a General Council, retired from *Trent*, and the Pope, by a Bull, dated the 6th of *July* 1543, put off the Meeting of the Council to a farther Day °.

*Which is put
off to a far-
ther Day.*

*Interview of
the Pope and
the Emperor
at Bullseto.*

Year of
Christ 1543.

The following Year the Pope being informed, that the Emperor intended to pass through *Italy* in his Way from *Spain* to *Germany*, his Holiness resolved to lay hold of that Opportunity to have a personal Conference with him. Accordingly, he set out from *Rome* on the 26th of *February* 1543, and having, notwithstanding his advanced Age and the Severity of the Season, visited most of the Cities of the Ecclesiastical State, he repaired to *Bologna*, to wait there till he heard of the Emperor's Arrival. *Charles* landed at *Genoa* on the 26th of *May*, which the Pope no sooner understood, than he dispatched, in all Haste, *Octavius Farnese*, his Grand-Son, who had married the Emperor's Daughter, as has been said above, to congratulate his Imperial Majesty upon his safe Arrival, and at the same time to propose a Conference between him and his Holiness upon Affairs of the utmost Importance to both. To that Proposal the Emperor returned Answer, that he well knew, that his Holiness's only Business was to mediate a Peace between him and the King of *France*, but that he was determined to hearken to no Terms of Accommodation with One, who had made it his Business to cross all his Designs, partly by open Force, and partly by Treachery, had seduced several of the *German* Princes from the Obedience they owed him, as the Head of the Empire, and

° F. Paul, ubi supra. Bulla Pauli in Sleidan, l. 14. Concil. Labbe, tom. 14.

had even entered into a Confederacy with the *Grand Turk* against him, to the great Disgrace of the Christian Name. *Charles*, however, was afterwards, with great Difficulty, prevailed upon by Cardinal *Alexander Farnese*, another of the Pope's Grand-Children, to consent to the proposed Interview; and it was agreed, that the Pope should meet him at *Busseto*, a small Town between *Parma* and *Piacenza*, through which he was to pass in his Way to *Germany*. At that Place the Pope arrived on the 21st of *June*, and the Emperor the Day following; they both lodged in the same Castle, and spent in private Conferences the Three Days the Emperor continued there. The Pope pretended, when he left *Rome*, that it was only to mediate a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, and thus remove all Obstacles to the Council, that he undertook, in the Depth of Winter, so long and so fatiguing a Journey. That the Emperor himself, it seems, believed. But it soon appeared that his Holiness had something else in View, and much more at Heart, the aggrandizing of his Family. For knowing that the Emperor stood in great Want of Money to carry on the War against *France*, the First Thing he proposed to him was his disposing of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which he offered to purchase for *Octavius Farnese*, his own Grand-Son, and the Emperor's Son-in-Law. He engaged to pay him for it 150000 Ducats, to enter into an Alliance with him against *France*, to create a certain Number of Cardinals at his Nomination, and to leave him in Possession of the Castles of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But the Emperor demanding a much larger Sum, and *Cosmus*, Duke of *Florence*, offering, at the same time, to supply him with 200000 Ducats, upon Condition that he withdrew all his Garrisons out of the Castles and Strong-Holds of that State, he closed with him. The Pope, finding his Ambition thus disappointed, began to treat with the Emperor of a Reconciliation with *France*, lest it should be thought, that it was only to promote the Grandeur of his Family, that he had given himself so much Trouble, and had undertaken so long a Journey. But the Emperor broke off the Conference abruptly, declaring that it was not consistent with his Dignity to conclude either a Peace, or a Truce with so perfidious an Enemy, till he had fully revenged the many unpardonable Injuries, which he had received at his Hands.

The Subject
of their Con-
ferences.

Year of
Christ 1544.

Diet of
Spire.

Resolutions of
the Diet fa-
vourable to
the Prote-
stants.

The Council
appointed
anew to meet
at Trent.

The following Year a Diet was held at *Spire*, at which the Emperor, his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, the Seven Electors, and most of the Princes of the Empire assisted in Person. It met on the 20th of *February*, and sat till the 10th of *June*. As the Emperor had called it to procure extraordinary Supplies from the Protestant, as well as the *Roman Catholic* Princes, against the victorious *Solyman*, he gave his Assent, contrary to all Expectation, to the following Resolutions, highly favourable to the Cause of the former: I. That the Protestant as well as the Catholic Churches should enjoy their Revenues quite undisturbed. II. That the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, which is the supreme Court in *Germany*, should consist of an equal Number of Catholics and Protestants. III. That no Man should be molested on Account of his Religion, but all Prosecutions, on that Score, be suspended till the Meeting of a General Council; which was granting, in the mean time, to all Liberty of Conscience. These Resolutions were, as we may well imagine, highly displeasing to the Pope; and they were no sooner communicated to him, than he wrote to the Emperor, reproaching him, in very sharp Terms, with betraying the Cause of the Church, and even threatening to employ against him the Arms, that Christ had put into his Hands as his Vicar upon Earth. This Brief, or Letter, the Emperor answered with great Temper; and having concluded a Peace with the King of *France* at *Crespi* in *Valois* on the 14th of *September* of the present Year, he acquainted his Holiness therewith, begging, in the King's Name, as well as his own, that, as there were now no Wars to prevent the Meeting of the Council, he would assemble it without Delay, and begin with reforming the Abuses, that had given Occasion to the present Disputes and Divisions. The Pope, though not a little mortified at the Peace being made without his Interposition, and even without his Knowledge, expressed great Joy at so happy an Event, and by a Bull of the 19th of *November* of the present Year, appointed anew the Council to meet at *Trent* on the 15th of *March* of the following Year. On the 6th of *February* 1545 he named the Legates, who were to preside at it in his Name, viz. *John Maria del Monte*, Cardinal Bishop of *Palestrina*, *Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Presbyter of the *Holy Cross*, and *Reginald Pole*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary in Cosmedin*. They repaired immediately to *Trent*. But the Opening of the Council was, for several Reasons,

Reasons, put off from the 15th of *March* to the 6th of *May*, and again from the 6th of *May* to the 13th of *December*. On the 11th of ^{Year of Christ 1545.} that Month arrived, at last, a Messenger from *Rome* with a Bull, dated ^{Is opened in that City.} the 4th, ordering the Legates to open the Council at the Time last appointed, the 13th of *December*. It was, accordingly, opened on that Day, though no more than Twenty-five Bishops were yet come, and they either *Spaniards* or *Italians*. However, the Legates, attended by them in their Pontifical Habits, by the Clergy of the Place, by the Religious, and an immense Crowd of People, walked in solemn Procession from the Church of the Trinity to the Cathedral, where the Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by the First Legate, and a Sermon was preached by *Cornelius Musso*, Bishop of *Bitonto*, One of the most celebrated Preachers of his Time, upon the Words of the Epistle of the Day, *Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again I say rejoice*, (Philip. iv. 4.) adding the following Words to them from the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the *Corinthians*, Chap. vi. 2. *Behold, now is the accepted Time; behold, now is the Day of Salvation*. When he had done, the Fathers took their Places, and the Council began.—As a Detail of the Transactions of this Council would prove a long and a tedious Work too, and they have been related, with great Care and Exactness, ^{Entirely regulated by the Will of the Pope.} by several eminent Writers both Popish and Protestant, especially by the celebrated Father *Paul Soave*, in his well known History, I shall refer the curious Reader to them, and only observe here, that all Things were determined in that Assembly by the arbitrary Will of the Pope; that the proposing of all Matters to be treated of was reserved to his Legates; that they proposed nothing, till they had sent to *Rome* to know his Holiness's Pleasure, and received his Directions, whence Couriers were seen flying constantly backwards and forwards between *Trent* and *Rome*, which gave Occasion to the famous Sarcaſm of the Cloak Bag; that in all controverted Points the Pope was sure of a Majority, the *Italian* Bishops, who surpassed in Number those of all other Nations together, being either his Dependents, or Pensioners: In short, from the whole Conduct of the Fathers of *Trent* it manifestly appears, that they were but the Tools of the Pope, and consequently, that the Decrees they issued ought no more to be received as an ultimate Rule of Faith, than if they had been issued by him alone^m.

^m F. Paul. l. 2.

Year of
Christ 1545.
*Confederacy
formed by the
Pope and the
Emperor
against the
Protestants.*
Year of
Christ 1546.

*The Prote-
stants entire-
ly defeated.*
Year of
Christ 1547.

*The Pope en-
ters into a
Confederacy
with France
against the
Emperor.*

*Diet of Aug-
sburg.*

While the Fathers at *Trent* thundered out their Anathemas against all, who received not their Decrees, and, on the other hand, the Protestant Princes, assembled in a Diet at *Ratisbon*, protested against their Authority, the Pope and the Emperor entered privately into a Confederacy against them, in order to crush them by a sudden Blow, and thus put an End, by dint of Arms, to the Disputes, that could not be decided by Force of Argument. By virtue of this League or Confederacy, the Pope was to furnish the Emperor with 12000 *Italian* Foot and 500 Horse, to pay him, at Two different Payments, 200,000 Ducats, and grant him One half of the Ecclesiastical Revenues of *Spain*, during the Course of the present Year 1546. With this Supply of Men and Money the Emperor was enabled to take the Field early next Spring. But the Protestants, whom he intended to have surprized, having received timely Intelligence of his Design, appeared in the Field, as early as he, under the Command of *John Frederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip*, Landgrave of *Hesse*. The Two Armies engaged on the 24th of *April*, when that of the Elector and the Landgrave was entirely defeated, and both were made Prisoners. Had the Pope and the Emperor improved this Advantage, they might have either entirely ruined the Cause of the Reformation, or greatly retarded its Progress. But the Pope, jealous of the growing Power of the Emperor, and apprehending that, should he get the better of the Protestants, his Ambition would tempt him to carry his victorious Arms into *Italy*, not only recalled the Ecclesiastical Troops, under various Pretences, from his Army, and with-held the stipulated Subsidies, but entered into a Confederacy with the new King of *France*, *Henry II.* against him. *Charles*, provoked beyond Measure at the Perfidiousness of the Pope, as he stiled it, at his thus preferring his private Interests to those of the Church, and the Indifference he shewed with respect to the religious Disputes, that divided the whole Empire, resolved to compose those Differences by his own Authority, quite independent of that of the Pope or his See. Accordingly he appointed a Diet to meet at *Augsburg* on the 1st of *September* of the present Year, and assisting at it in Person with his victorious Army at hand, he proposed the settling of some Articles, which all, Protestants as well as Catholics, should agree to, and Peace thus be maintained in religious Matters, till all their Dif-

▪ Idem ibid. Sleidan. l. 17.

ferences were, by some other Means, finally determined. *Julius Paelagius*, Bishop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *John Agricola*, a *Lutheran*, were charged with the drawing up of those Articles. As the Articles, or Formulary, drawn up by them, was to serve, not as a permanent, but only as a temporary Rule of Faith and Worship to both Parties, it was called the *Interim*. It contained all the essential Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, but artfully softened, and in a Manner disguised; and it was therefore disapproved and rejected by the Protestant Party. However it was, by the Emperor's Command, published with great Solemnity, and all were enjoined, upon the most grievous Penalties, to conform, in Practice, to this Imperial Creed; which produced in *Germany* most deplorable Scenes of Violence and Bloodshed. As by this Formulary all were left at Liberty to use the Cup, or abstain from it, and the Clergy were allowed to embrace a State of Marriage, or a State of Celibacy, as they should think fit, it was no better received by the Popish, than it was by the Protestant Party. The Pope, highly offended at the Emperor's taking upon him to prescribe Laws, by his own Authority, concerning the Doctrine or the Discipline of the Church, and looking upon such an Attempt as derogatory, in the highest Degree, to the Majesty of the Pontificate, condemned the *Interim* in the strongest Terms, and would have proceeded to Extremities against the Emperor himself, had not the Cardinals wisely interposed, putting his Holiness in Mind of the dreadful Consequences, that had lately attended the too hasty Proceedings of his Predecessor against the King of *England* ^a.

Year of
Christ 1547.

The famous
INTERIM.

Displeasing
both to the
Papists and
Protestants.

The Misunderstanding Between the Pope and the Emperor was greatly heightened the ensuing Year on the following Occasion. The Pope had ever since the Year 1545 invested his natural Son, *Pier-Luigi Farnese*, with the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, though both were unquestionably Imperial Fiefs. But the new Duke having, by his unheard-of Debauchery and tyrannical Government, incurred the Detestation and Hatred of all his Subjects, he was by them assassinated in his City of *Piacenza* on the 10th of *September* of the present Year. As *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Governor of *Milan* for the Emperor, had advanced with a Body of Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Piacenza* a little before the Conspiracy was executed, and had seized on that City

Pier-Luigi
the Pope's
natural Son
murdered.

Year of
Christ 1548.

^a F. Paul et Sleidan. *ibid.* Osiander. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 3.

Year of
Christ 1548.

Paul III.
dies.

Year of
Christ 1549.

His Cha-
racter.

The Order
of Jesuits
founded in
his Time.

in his Master's Name, as soon as it took place, the Pope concluded the Emperor to have been privy to the Murder, and, bent on revenging it at all Events, he dispatched immediately a Nuncio into *France*, to treat with that King of an Alliance against him. But being, in the mean time, seized with a violent Fever, occasioned by his excessive Grief and Concern for the Death of his Son, and the Loss of *Piacenza*, he died of it the fifth Day, the 10th of *November* 1549, in the Eighty-second Year of his Age, when he had held the See Fifteen Years and Twenty-eight Days. His Body was carried from the Palace of *Monte Cavallo*, where he usually resided, to the Church of *St. Peter*, and interred with the usual Solemnity °.

The Character of this Pope has given Occasion to much Debate, even in our Days, between Cardinal *Quirini*, and *Schelborn*, *Kieling*, and others. The Cardinal, in a Piece under the Title of *Imago optimi Pontificis expressa in gestis Pauli III.* paints him as a Prince of great Merit and Probity, while the Two learned Authors, just mentioned, represent him as a perfidious Politician, without either Faith or Conscience, as one wholly intent upon raising his Family, and ever ready to sacrifice the Good of the Church to the Grandeur and Interests of his unnatural Brood †; and they advance nothing but what they prove with incontestable Facts. *Paul* had an unnatural Son, *Pier-Luigi Farnese*, whom he created Duke of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, as has been said, and an unnatural Daughter, named *Constantia*, who was married into the *Sforza* Family; and their Offspring, *Alexander Farnese* and *Guido Ascanius Sforza*, he created Cardinals soon after his Election, though they had scarce yet attained to the Years of Discretion. The numerous Tribe of his other Grand-children, and all, who were, at what Distance soever, related to him, he took Care to prefer and enrich, either at the Expence of the Church or the State.—He created, at different Promotions, no fewer than Seventy-one Cardinals; a far greater Number than had been ever yet preferred to that Dignity by any Pope, and he had Four of them for his immediate Successors, viz. *Julius III.* *Marcellus II.* *Paul IV.* and *Pius IV.*—In this Pope's Time was founded the Order of *Jesuits* by *Innigo* or *Ignatius of Loyola*, a Native of the Province of *Guipuscoa* in *Spain*, who, being a

° Onuph. in vit. Pauli III. Ciaconius, Pallavicin. &c.
et Kieling. Ep. de Gestis Pauli III.

† See Schelhorn, Ep. 2.

Soldier,

Soldier, gave it the Military Name of *The Company of Jesus*, and from thence they are called *Jesuits*. To the Three Vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, common to all religious Orders, they add a Fourth, that of implicit, blind, and unlimited Submission to the Pope; and thus are they at his absolute Disposal, always ready, at a Moment's Warning, to repair to what Part of the World he shall think fit to send them. The present Pope, *Paul III.* confirmed their Order by a Bull, dated the 27th of *September 1540*, but upon Condition that it should not exceed the Number of Sixty Persons. This Restraint the same Pope took off by a Second Bull, of the 14th of *March 1543*, leaving them at Liberty to admit as many as they pleased. Thus they became in the Space of 136 Years a very numerous and formidable Body. For in 1543 the whole Order consisted of no more than 80 Persons, and in 1675, when their last Catalogue was printed at *Rome*, they were increased to the Number of 17,655, and are supposed to be, at this Time, in all about 20,000. It may be said with Truth, that this Order alone has contributed more, than all the other Orders together, to confirm the wavering Nations in the Faith of *Rome*, to support the tottering Authority of the High Pontiff, to check the Progress of the Reformation, and to make Amends for the Losses their Holinesses had sustained in *Europe*, by propagating the Gospel, and with it a blind Submission to the Holy See, among the *African, American, and Indian* Infidels. The *Jesuits* are hated by most other Orders, especially by the *Benedictines* and the *Dominicans*; by the former, because they have been enriched at their Expence; by the latter, for supplanting them, and engrossing to themselves the Favour and Confidence of Sovereign Princes: For till the Institution of this artful and insinuating Order, the *Dominicans* alone directed the Consciences of all the Kings and Princes of *Europe*.—In the Pontificate of *Paul III.* and at his Institution, the Emperor attempted to introduce the Inquisition, which he had established in his *Spanish* Dominions, into the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the *Neapolitans* of all Ranks and Conditions flying to Arms upon the first Steps that were taken towards the Execution of such a Design, obliged the Viceroy, *Don Pedro di Toledon*, to drive out of *Naples* all, who belonged to that bloody Tribunal. The same Attempt was made by the Court of *Rome* during the Reigns of *Philip III. Philip IV. Charles II. and Charles VI.* But it was always opposed with the same

Year of
Christ 1549.

Some Account
of that fa-
mous Order.

*Paul III. at-
tempts in
vain to in-
troduce the
Inquisition
into the
Kingdom of
Naples.*

Year of
Christ 1549.

Resolution and Vigour; and the Kingdom of *Naples* is the only State in *Italy*, where the Inquisition has not, to this Day, got the least Footing, all Causes, relating to Faith, being tried there by the Archbishops and Bishops, agreeably to an Edict of the Emperor *Charles VI.* dated at *Barcelona* the 15th of *September 1709*.——*Paul III.* is said by *Onuphrius* to have been well versed in most Branches of Literature, and a generous Encourager of Learning. He wrote a Comment upon *Cicero's Epistles to Atticus* before his Promotion to the Pontificate, and after it some Letters, in a polite *Latin* Stile, to his particular Friend.——In the First Year of his Pontificate he laid the Foundation of the sumptuous Building in *Rome*, called the *Palazzo Farnese*, one of the most stately Edifices in all *Europe*. It was begun by *Antonio Gallo*, a celebrated Architect, and finished by the famous *Michael Angelo Buonarota*,

JULIUS
III. the
219th Bishop
of Rome.

Paul III. died, as has been said, on the 10th of *November*. But the Cardinals, waiting for some of their absent Brethren, did not enter the Conclave till the 28th of that Month. As they were divided into Three Parties or Factions, the Imperial, the *French*, and the *Farnese*, consisting of the Creatures of the late Pope, the Election was prolonged till the 7th of *February 1550*, when at length they united in the Person of *John-Maria Giocci*, who took the Name of JULIUS III. and was crowned on the 22d of the same Month with the usual Solemnity. He was a Native of *Rome*; but as his Family came originally from *Monte Sausarino* in *Tuscany*, he changed the Name of *Giocci* for that of *del Monte*. He was created Cardinal by *Paul III.* in 1536, and having acquired, in sundry Legations, the Reputation of a Man of great Application and uncommon Abilities, he was chosen by the same Pope in 1545 to preside, as his First Legate, at the Council of *Trent*.

His Election.
Year of
Christ 1550.

Creates his
Monkey-
keeper a Car-
dinal.

——*Julius* was scarce warm in the Papal Chair, when, to the great Astonishment of all, he preferred a Boy, named *Innocent*, to the Dignity of Cardinal, though he was come of the very Scum of the People, and had no other Employment in his Family but that of his Monkey-keeper. Such a Promotion was looked upon by the Cardinals as a gross Affront offered to them. But when they complained to his Holiness of his introducing so unworthy a Member into the sacred College, One quite

Marcellus II. BISHOPS of Rome.

459

destitute of all Virtue, Learning, and Merit, he confounded and silenced them, asking *what Virtue or Merit they had found in him that could have induced them to prefer him to the Pontifical Chair?* His extraordinary and unaccountable Kindness to so mean and so despicable a Person gave just Grounds to suspect, that he was kept by the Holy Father for other Uses, than that to look after his Monkies^a.——*Paul III.* had removed the Council from *Trent*, where the Plague broke out, or was said to have broken out, to *Bologna*. But *Julius*, at the pressing Instances of the Emperor, ordered the Fathers to return to *Trent*; and the Council was there opened a Second Time on the 1st of *May* 1551. But the War, that was kindled in *Germany* the following Year, between the Emperor and *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, afforded the Pope a plausible Pretence for suspending it; and he suspended it, accordingly, for the Space of Ten Years. And now *Julius*, delivered, for the present, from the Apprehensions he was under from the Council, abandoned himself wholly to his Diversions and Pleasures, rioting and feasting in his Gardens with some select Friends, Men of the same Stamp with himself. This indolent and voluptuous Life he continued to lead till Death put an End to it; which happened on the 23d of *March* 1555, when he had held the See Five Years One Month and Sixteen Days. He left behind him a most infamous Character, branded with the most flagrant Debauchery, with the Sin against Nature, and Blasphemy.

Year of
Christ 1549.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 1555.
His Character.

In the Room of *Julius III.* was elected, on the 5th of *April*, and crowned the next Day, *Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Presbyter of the *Holy Cross in Jerusalem*, who changed not his Name, but called himself *MARCELLUS II.* He was a Native of *Fano*, or *Monte Fano*, in the *March of Ancona*, was created Cardinal by *Paul III.* in 1536, and appointed to preside at the Council of *Trent* with the Two Cardinals mentioned above. He is said to have been a Man of an irreproachable Character, of invincible Resolution and Constancy, and to have formed great Designs with respect to the Reformation of the Court and the Clergy. But Death prevented him from carrying them into Execution. He died on the 1st Day of *May*, the Twenty-first of his Pontificate^b.

MARCELLUS II. the
220th Bishop
of Rome.

His Death
and Character.

^a Thuan. l. 6. et 15. Sleidan Hist. l. 21. Hottinger Hist. Eccles. l. 5. ^b F. Paul l. 5. Burnet Hist. of the Reform. l. 11. Spond. ad ann. 1555. Polliodar in vita Marcelli II.

Year of
Christ 1555.

PAUL IV.
the 221st
Bishop of
Rome.

Quarrels
with the Em-
peror and
Ferdinand,
and why.

Invites the
French to
the Conquest
of the King-
dom of Na-
ples.

His Severity
towards his
Nephews.
His Death.

Year of
Christ 1559.

On the 23^d of May was chosen, and crowned on the 26th of the same Month, *John-Peter Caraffa*, come of a noble Family of *Naples*, and formerly Archbishop of that City, but, at the Time of his Election, Cardinal Bishop of *Ostia*. He was created Cardinal by *Paul III.* in 1536, and, to show his Gratitude, assumed the Name of his Benefactor, stiling himself *PAUL IV.*—Nothing could equal the Pride and Arrogance of this haughty and impetuous Pope. In the very Beginning of his Pontificate he quarrelled both with the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, on Account of the *Religious Peace*, as it is commonly called, concluded on the 25th of *September* of the present Year 1555, in the famous Diet of *Augsburg*. For by the Articles of that Peace the Subjects of the Empire were allowed to judge for themselves in Matters of Religion, and full Liberty was granted to all to conform to that Church which they thought the purest, and the most agreeable to the true Spirit of Christianity^c. This Peace, and the Protection granted, by the Duke of *Alva*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to the *Colonna* Family, which this furious Pope had resolved to extirpate, provoked him to such a Degree, that he invited the *French* to the Conquest of *Naples*, and assisted them, in that Undertaking, with all the Forces of the Church. But the Two famous Victories gained over the *French* at *St. Quintin* and *Gravelines*, obliged their King to recall his Troops out of *Italy*, and the Pope to conclude a disadvantageous and dishonourable Peace^d. In 1557 and 1558 *Paul* quarrelled at the same time with his Ally *Henry II.* of *France*, and with *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, with the former, for somewhat abating the Persecution against his Protestant Subjects, with the latter for accepting without his Consent the Imperial Crown, resigned to him, with the Approbation of the Electoral College, by *Charles* his Brother.—This Pope, in the close of his Life, gave a remarkable Instance of his Severity in punishing Crimes without Distinction of Persons. For being made acquainted with the many Enormities, of which his Nephews, Cardinal *Caraffa*, the Duke of *Pagliano*, and the Marquis of *Montebello* were guilty, he turned them out of their Employments, drove them from *Rome*, with their whole Families, and forbad them, upon

^c Mosheim, l. 4. c. 4, sect. 1.
Hist. Civil di Napoli, l. 33. c. 1.

^d Thuan. l. 27. Mezerai, tom. 4. Giannon. in

Paul IV. BISHOPS of Rome.

461

Pain of Death, ever again to set Foot in that City *. He died on the 18th of *August* 1559, when he had lived Eighty-three Years, and governed the Church Four Years Two Months and Twenty-seven Days. Year of Christ 1559.

I find nothing laid to the Charge of this Pope but an excessive Severity, and a Zeal, at this Time very unseasonable, to assert the usurped Pre-rogatives and Claims of his See. He was universally hated by the People of *Rome*; and they no sooner heard, that his Recovery was despaired of, than they rose in a tumultuous Manner, and flying to the Capitol, struck off the Head of a Statue erected to him there but *His Character.*

Three Months before, dragged it with a thousand Insults through all the public Streets of the City, and even applauded with loud Acclamations a *Jew*, who had the Boldness to put upon the Head of the Statue the yellow Hat, which this Pope had ordered all of that Nation to wear, and they wear it to this Day throughout the whole State of the Church. The Populace having thus vented their Rage upon the Statue, crowded to the Prison of the Inquisition, broke open the Doors, released 1700 Prisoners, only requiring them to swear that they were good Catholics, and then set fire to the Building, which soon reduced it to Ashes with all the Processes, Papers, and Records of that Court. They did not stop here, but spreading themselves all over the City, broke or defaced every Monument bearing the Name of *Caraffa*, or the Arms of that Family †. The mutilated Statue being accidentally found, and dug up in 1708, *Clement XI.* then Pope, caused it to be restored, and placed again in the Capitol with the following Inscription *Hated by the Roman People, and insulted after his Death.*

Paulo IV. Pont. Max.

Scelerum. Vindici integerrimo

Catholicæ Fidei acerrimo Propugnatori

Statuam olim a S. P. R. in Capitolio erectam

Ac diu obscuro loco jacentem

Clemens XI. Pont. Max.

Restitui jussit

Ann. Salut. MDCCVIII.

* Magius, et Caraccius in vit. Paul. IV. F. Paul et Pallavicin. Hist. Concil. Trident.
 † Thuanus, l. 23. F. Paul. Hist. l. 5. Mezerai, tom. 5.

The

Year of
Christ 1559.

PIUS IV.
the 222d
Bishop of
Rome.

His Election.

Year of
Christ 1560.

The late
Pope's Ne-
phews tried,
condemned,
and executed.

The Council
of Trent
opened again.

Year of
Christ 1562.

How received
by the Catho-
lic Princes.

The Death of *Paul IV.* was followed by a Vacancy of Four Months and Seven Days, occasioned by the Intrigues of the different Parties.

But on the 28th of *December* they all unanimously concurred in the Election of *John-Angelo de Medicis*, Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Prisca*, who was crowned on the 6th of the following *January* 1560, and called himself *PIUS IV.* He was a Native of *Milan*, come of a Family remotely, if at all, related to the illustrious Family reigning at *Florence*, was created Cardinal by *Paul III.* in 1549, and had acquired

under that Pope and his Successor the Reputation of a Man of great Parts, and no less Integrity. He began his Pontificate with granting a general Pardon to all, who had been concerned in the late Riot. But so many and so enormous were the Crimes laid to the Charge of the deceased Pope's Nephews, that he could not help calling them to an Account. They were accordingly tried, and, being found guilty, condemned to forfeit their Lives as well as their ill-acquired Wealth. The

Cardinal was strangled, and his Two Brothers, the Duke of *Pagliano* and the Marquis of *Monte-bello*, were beheaded, with several other Persons of Rank, their Accomplices &c.—In the Conclave the Cardinals had

laid an Obligation on the future Pope to restore the Council, which had been suspended, as has been said above. With this Obligation the Pope was no ways inclined to comply; but not being able to withstand the pressing Instances of the new Emperor *Ferdinand*, of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and most other Catholic States, he took off

the Suspension, and the Council was opened, or rather began to be continued, on the 18th of *January* 1562, and sat from that Time till the 3d of *December* 1563, when the 25th or last Session was held.

The Pope by a Bull, dated the 26th of *January* 1564, confirmed all the Definitions and Decrees, without Exception, that had passed in that Assembly, during the Pontificate of his Two Predecessors, and his own; and well he might, as they had been all previously communicated to him, and approved by his Privy-Council at *Rome*^b. The Decrees of this Council were received in some Catholic Countries without any Limitation whatever, but in *Spain* and all the *Spanish* Dominions with the Clause, *Saving the Rights of the Crown, and the Privi-*

leges of the Subjects, but in *France* the Decrees, relating to Discipline and the Government of the Church, have been strenuously opposed

^s Onuph. in vit. Pii IV.

^b F. Paul. Hist. l. 8.

and rejected to this Day, as derogatory to the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and the Rights of the Crown.—In 1564 Pope *Pius* published a thundering Monitory against *Joan d' Albret*, Queen of *Navarre*, accused of *Calvinism*, summoning her to appear, in Person, within Six Months, before the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition at *Rome*, on Pain of forfeiting her Crown, her Kingdom, and all her Dominions. But the *French* King, *Charles IX.* highly provoked at the Presumption of the Pope in summoning to *Rome* the Widow, and Mother of the Two first Princes of the Blood Royal of *France*, obliged him to suppress the Monitory, and drop the Prosecutionⁱ. By this Pope was granted, at the pressing Instances of the Emperor *Maximilian II.* the Use of the Cup to the Laity of *Austria* and *Bohemia*. But his Holiness could, by no Means, be prevailed upon to consent to the Marriage of the Priests, though no less earnestly requested by the Emperor, and the other Catholic Princes of *Germany*, declaring, that they could no longer bear with the impure Celibacy of the Clergy^k. The Bull, granting the Use of the Cup, as above, is dated at *Rome* the 16th of *April* 1564.—*Pius* died on the 9th of *December* of the following Year, having presided in the See Six Years, wanting Seventeen Days. *Onuphrius*, who was intimately acquainted with him, and had the Honour of being frequently admitted to his Table, gives him the following Character, that he was, while Cardinal, or seemed to be, possessed of every Virtue, that could render him worthy of the high Station, to which he was raised, but that he was no sooner raised to it, than he abandoned himself, without Restraint, to all the opposite Vices, sticking at nothing to accumulate Wealth, wherewithal to enrich and aggrandize his Relations and Nephews^l.

Year of
Christ 1562.

Pius's Monitory against
Joan Queen
of Navarre.

Grants the
Use of the
Cup to the
Laity of Au-
stria and Bo-
hemia.

Year of
Christ 1564.

His Death.

Year of
Christ 1565.

His Character.

Upon the Demise of *Pius IV.* *Michael Ghislieri*, Cardinal of *St. Mary super Minervam*, was chosen on the 8th of *January* 1566, and crowned on the 17th of the same Month, when he took the Name of *PIUS V.* He was a Native of *Boschi*, a small Town in the Territory of *Alessandria della Paglia*, was come of an obscure Family, and had, from his early Years, embraced a religious Life in the Order of *St. Dominic*. In 1557 he was created Cardinal by *Paul IV.* and appointed Commissary

PIUS V.
the 223d
Bishop of
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1566.

ⁱ Varillas Hist. de Charles IX. tom. 2.
Thuan. Hist. l. 36

^k Leonardi de laudibus, Pii IV. p. 73.

^l Onuph. in vit. Pii IV.

Year of
Christ 1566.

A furious
Persecutor
of pretended
Heretics.

Signal Vic-
tory gained
by the Chris-
tian Fleet
over that of
the Turks.

Erects the
Dutchy of
Florence into
a Grand
Dutchy.

Year of
Christ 1569.

Excommuni-
cates Queen
Elizabeth.

He dies.

Year of
Christ 1572.

General of the Court of Inquisition at *Rome*. That Office he exercised with the utmost Barbarity, and being actuated by the same persecuting Spirit when raised to the Popedom, he spared none, who were but suspected of approving the new Doctrine. *Peter Carnesecchi*, a Man of Distinction in *Florence*, was, by his Order, condemned to the Flames, being convicted of corresponding with some of the Reformed Religion in *Germany*, and in *Italy* with *Victoria Colonna*, and *Julia Gonzaga*, who were both suspected of Heresy. *Antonius Palearius*, One of the best Writers of his Age, underwent the same Fate, for saying, that in some Things the *Lutherans* were excusable, and that the Inquisition was the Bane of all Learning ^m.—*Pius*, not satisfied with thus clearing *Italy* of all Persons, whose Faith was suspected, encouraged *Charles* the Ninth of *France* to make War upon his Protestant Subjects, and, in order to put him in a Condition of utterly extirpating them, he sent the Ecclesiastical Army to join the King's, and by a Bull, dated at *Rome* the 24th of *November* 1568, allowed the Estates of the *Gallican* Church to be alienated, to the Amount of 150,000 Crowns of yearly Revenue, for, carrying on this holy War ⁿ.—This Pope exerted no less Zeal against the common Enemy of the Christian Name, and with much better Success, than against the pretended Heretics. For by his Means was concluded an Alliance between himself, the *Venetians*, and *Philip* of *Spain*; and One of the most signal Victories, that we read of in History, was gained by the Christian Fleet over that of the Infidels ^o.—In 1569 *Pius* bestowed the Title of *Grand Duke of Tuscany* upon *Cosmus de Medicis*, Duke of *Florence*, who went to *Rome* to receive the Crown at his Holiness's Hands. But, as *Tuscany* was a Fief of the Empire, *Maximilian* highly resented the Presumption of the Pope in granting that Title, and would never acknowledge it ^p.—On the 25th of *February* of the same Year *Pius* thundered out a Bull of Excommunication against our excellent Queen *Elizabeth*, absolved her Subjects from all Subjection to her, and damned all, who should thenceforth acknowledge or obey her. This Bull was privately put up at the Gate of the Bishop of *London's* Palace. But the Commo- tions it raised were soon quelled, and they, who raised them, made to

^m Thuan. l. 39. Hieron. Catena in vit. Pii. V.
Charles IX. tom. 2.

ⁿ Thuan. l. 40. Varillas vie de
^o See Du Verdier Abregé de l'Hist. de Turcs, tom. 3.
^p Thuanus, ibid. et Maffei in vit. Pii V.

undergo the Punishment their Treason deserved, as is related at length by all our Historians.——*Pius* died on the 1st Day of *May* 1572, Year of Christ 1572. when he had sat in the See Six Years Three Months and Twenty-three Days. He was by Principle, a Principle which he had imbibed in the horrid School of the Inquisition, as bloody a Persecutor as He dies. a *Nero* or a *Dioclesian*, and a most zealous Assertor of the pretended Privileges of his See. But in all other Respects he led a most irreproachable Life, and was therefore beatified by *Clement VIII.* and canonized in 1712 by *Clement XI.* By *Pius V.* was issued, in 1567, the famous Bull *In Coena Domini*, which is every Year published on *Maunday-Thurday* at *Rome*. Author of the famous Bull In Coena Domini. It is calculated to ascertain the extravagant Claims of the Pope, to deprive the Princes of the Sovereignty of their Dominions, and make them and their Subjects entirely dependent on the Will of his Holiness. But that Bull has been no-where received to this Day, except in *Italy*. The Popes dare no longer exert against Sovereign Princes the Power, of which they made so unhallowed an Use in the dark Ages. But their publishing yearly that Bull, excommunicating Princes in sundry Cases, plainly shews, that they still claim the same Power.

The Cardinals had scarce been shut up Five Hours in the Conclave, GREGORY XIII. the 224th Bishop of Rome. when, by the Intrigues and the Interest of Cardinal *Granville*, then Viceroy of *Naples*, *Hugh Buoncompagno*, Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, was unanimously elected. His Election fell on the 13th of *May*, and he was crowned on the 25th of the same Month 1572, taking, on that Occasion, the Name of *GREGORY XIII.* He had acquitted himself with great Integrity, and general Satisfaction, in different Employments under *Paul III.* *Julius III.* *Paul IV.* and *Pius IV.* and was, in 1565, preferred by the latter to the Dignity of Cardinal.—*Gregory's* first Care after his Exaltation, was to pursue the War against the common Enemy. But after some fruitless Attempts, the *Venetians*, departing from the Alliance, concluded a Truce with the Infidels. This good Pope was an Enemy to all Strife and Contention, as appears from the Two following Facts. A Criminal, who had robbed a Church in *Naples*, was apprehended by the Officers of the Archbishop, pretending that it belonged to him to take Cognizance of the Crime of Sacrilege. But, as the Criminal was a Layman, the Viceroy, Cardinal An Enemy to all Strife and Contention. Two Instances of his pacific Disposition.

Year of
Christ 1572.

Gramville, insisted upon his being tried and punished by him, and upon the Archbishop's refusing to deliver him up, he caused his Prison to be broke open, the Criminal to be taken from thence, and, as soon as found guilty, to be publicly hanged. The Archbishop ordered his Vicar to excommunicate all, who were any-ways concerned in executing the Viceroy's Orders; which was done accordingly, and the Sentence was posted up in all public Places of the City. But the Cardinal ordered all the Copies of it to be daubed over with Ink, ordered the Vicar to quit the City of *Naples* within Twenty-four Hours, and the Kingdom as soon as he possibly could, imprisoned all the Archbishop's Officers, and sequestered all his Revenues, even his Patrimonial. The good-natured Pope, instead of espousing the Cause of the Archbishop, privately agreed with the Cardinal, that the Affair should be dropt, and all Things restored to the Condition they were in, before the Quarrel broke out ⁹. We have another remarkable Instance of *Gregory's* pacific Disposition in an Affair of much greater Importance, that of the Succession to the Kingdom of *Portugal*. For *Sebastian*, King of that Country, being cut off, with the Flower of his Nobility, in his unhappy Expedition into *Africa*, many Pretenders to that Crown started up, as *Sebastian* died without Issue, and, among the Rest, *Philip* of *Spain* and the Pope. *Philip* maintained, that he was the sole lawful Heir to the deceased King, and the Pope that the Kingdom was a Fief of the Church, that as such it was devolved to the Apostolic See, and consequently that he was at Liberty to keep it, or dispose of it to whom he pleased. But *Philip*, paying no Regard to the Claims and Remonstrances of the Pope, ordered the famous Duke of *Alba* to enter the Kingdom of *Portugal* at the Head of 30,000 Men, who soon reduced the whole Country. Of this *Gregory* was no sooner informed, than apprehending, that to quarrel at this Time with so powerful a Prince might prove highly prejudicial to the Catholic Cause, he ordered Cardinal *Riario*, whom he had sent to divert the King from that Undertaking, to congratulate him, in his Name, upon the Success that had attended his Arms in carrying it on ^r.—We are indebted to this Pope for the new Calendar: For it was in his Pontificate, and by his Order, that the Calendar was rectified, and the *New Style*, as they

The Reformation of the Calendar in 1582 owing to Gregory.

⁹ Giannoni Hist. di Napoli. l. 34. c. 1.
tom. 7. Amelot du la Houssaye Mem. Polit. tom. 2.

^r Bellegarde Hist. General d'Espagne,

Gregory XIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

467

call it, introduced. - It first took Place in the Month of *October* 1582, ^{Year of} and was immediately received in all Catholic Countries, but rejected ^{Christ 1582.} by the Protestants, chusing rather to continue in their Error, than to be set right by the Pope. It has been adopted, within these few Years, by the *British* Parliament, and now, if I mistake not, it universally prevails.—*Gregory* is charged by some with having approved the Massacre at *Paris*; and indeed it is true, that great Rejoicings were made, on that Occasion, at *Rome*; but it does not appear that they were made by his Order, or with his Consent.—This Pope received, a little ^{He receives} before his Death, a solemn Embassy from Three Princes, or Kings, ^{a solemn Em-} of the Islands of *Japan*, where the Labours of the *Roman* Missionaries, ^{bassy from} Japan. especially the Jesuits, were crowned with amazing Success. The Embassadors, Four in Number, and all young Men of the First Rank, ^{Year of} were sent by their respective Sovereigns, who had embraced the Christian Religion, to pay their Obeisance to the Pope. They embarked ^{Christ 1585.} at *Nangasagui* in the Island of *Bungo* on the 20th of *February* 1582, being attended by Father *Valignani*, a Jesuit, but they did not reach *Rome* till the 22d of *March* 1585. They were received at the Gate by the Senate, the Magistrates, and all the Nobility, and conducted, amidst the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks, to the House of the professed Jesuits, where they lodged during their Stay at *Rome*, and were most magnificently entertained at the Expence of the Pope. The next Day they went with the same Attendance to wait on the Pope, who received them, in a full Consistory, with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem. They kissed his Holiness's Foot with the greatest Submission and Modesty, and delivered to him, on their Knees, the Letters, which they were charged with by the Princes, who sent them. *Gregory* ordered the *Te Deum*, &c. to be sung in all the Churches of *Rome*, and Rejoicings to be made throughout the City for several Days together. But their Joy was soon damped and turned into Grief by the unexpected Death of the Pope, who died of a Quinsy ^{Gregory's} on the 10th of *April* of the present Year 1585, after a Pontificate of ^{Death and} Thirteen Years and One Month, wanting Three Days. He was of ^{Character.} a pacific Disposition, utterly averse to all violent Measures, and as much beloved for the Mildness of his Government, as his Two immediate

* Varen. Descript. Japan. 1. 3. Cicarella in vit. Greg. XIII. Bartoli Hist. di Japan.
 † 4. Cicarell. in vit.

Year of Christ 1585. Predecessors were hated for the Severity of theirs. He was a great Friend to the Jesuits, granted them a great many Privileges, built for their Use and richly endowed the *Roman College*, One of the most stately Edifices this Day in all *Rome*, founded and endowed no fewer than Twenty-seven Seminaries in different Parts of the World, Four even in *Japan*, for the Instruction of Youth in the *Roman Catholic Religion*; and all under the Direction of the Jesuits. I find nothing laid to the Charge of this Pope, but his having had a natural Son before he was Cardinal, *John Buoncompagno*, whom he created Cardinal as soon as he was preferred to the Popedom, and his raising him, as well as the Rest of his Relations, to the First Honours both in the State and the Church ^u.

Not free from
Nepotism.

SIXTUS V. In the Room of *Gregory* was elected on the 24th of *April*, and crowned on the 1st of *May* of the present Year 1585, *Felix Peretti*, Cardinal of *St. Jerome*, who took the Name of **SIXTUS V.** He was a Native of *Le Grotte*, a Village in the *March of Ancona*, and brought up at *Montalto*, another Village in the same Province. His Father was by Profession a Vine-dresser, his Mother of as mean a Condition, and both so poor, that not being able to maintain him, they placed him, when Nine Years old, with a Farmer of the same Village to look after his Swine. As he was thus employed One Day in the Fields, a *Franciscan* Friar, who was going to *Ascoli*, and had missed his Way, called him to him to know which was the right Road to that City. *Peretti* offered to go along with him, and his Offer being accepted, the Friar was so charmed with his civil and obliging Behaviour, far above that of a Swine-herd, that he took him with him to the Convent, as he expressed, on the Road, a great Desire of embracing a religious Life, and recommended him to the Guardian. His Answers to the Questions, put to him by the Guardian, were so satisfactory, that he was admitted into the Convent, in the Quality of a Servant, or a Lay-brother, till he had learnt the Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue, which One of the Friars was appointed to teach him. Having acquired, in Two Years Time, a sufficient Knowledge of that Language, he was received into the Order, and there pursued his other Studies, especially the Study of Divinity, with such Success, that in

V. the 225th
Bishop of
Rome.

His Birth,
Education,
Preferment,
&c.

^u See Ciappi et Maffei vit. Greg. XIII.

a few Years he was preferred to the Degree of Doctor in that Faculty. In Process of Time he was raised to the First Employments of the Order; and having artfully insinuated himself into the Favour of *Pius V.* he was by him first created Bishop of *St. Agatha*, and afterwards Cardinal of *St. Jerome*; but he is commonly called Cardinal *Montalto* from the Place of his Education. He was no sooner vested with that Dignity, than, depending upon the good Fortune that had hitherto attended him, he began to aspire at the Popedom. As for the various Artifices, which *Sixtus* is said to have made use of to cloak his Ambition, and disguise his real Temper, in order to attain to that Dignity, I shall refer the Reader to the well-known *History of Pope Sixtus V.* by *Gregorio Leti*, and confine myself to a brief Account of the most remarkable Transactions of his Pontificate.—*Sixtus* found the whole Ecclesiastical State over-run with Robbers, Assassins, and Banditti; which was chiefly owing to the Mildness of the late Pope's Government. But the new Pope, by the excessive Rigor he exerted against them, as well as against those who employed or protected them, soon obliged them to quit his Dominions, and fly for Shelter to the neighbouring States. It was customary at the Election of a new Pope to throw open the public Prisons, and set all the Prisoners at Liberty. But *Sixtus*, instead of complying with that Custom, ordered, as soon as he was crowned, Four Persons, upon whom prohibited Arms had been found a few Days before his Election, to be hanged. There is not One single Instance of his pardoning a Criminal; but many Instances occur of his deposing, and other ways punishing such of the Judges, as had shewn any Mercy; nay, he declared it criminal to intercede for a Criminal, and ordered all, who interposed in Behalf of a Convict, to be treated as his Accomplices. Thus was an entire Stop put to the Murders and Robberies, that were become so frequent in the late Pontificate, and were either connived at, or but slightly punished.—*Sixtus* found, at his Accession to the Chair, the Kingdom of *France* involved in the utmost Confusion on Account of the League, formed there by the Catholic Party, with the Duke of *Guise* at their Head, chiefly to exclude *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, from that Crown. Their Agents at *Rome* spared no Pains to gain over the Pope to their Party. But *Sixtus*, looking upon the League as a dangerous

Year of
Christ 1585.

Clears the
State of Rob-
bers, Assas-
sins, and
Banditti.

His Severity
against Cri-
minals.

☞ *Leli*, l. 5. *Maffei Hist.* ab excessu *Greg. XIII.* l. 1. *Cicarella in vit.* Sixti V.

Year of
Christ 1585.

Would grant
no Assistance
to the Catho-
lic League in
France.

Excommuni-
cates Henry
King of Na-
varre.

The King's
Conduct on
that Occasion.

Monitory
issued by Six-
tus against
Henry III.
for the Mur-
der of the
Cardinal of
Guise, &c.

Year of
Christ 1589.

Conspiracy, calculated to extirpate the Royal Family, as well as the Protestant Religion, could by no Means be prevailed upon to countenance it, or be concerned any-ways in it. However, he thought it incumbent upon him to pursue such Measures, as he should judge proper or necessary to prevent the establishing of the Protestant Religion in *France*, and its becoming the reigning Religion by the Promotion of an heretical Prince to the Throne. He therefore published a Bull against *Henry heretofore* King of *Navarre*, and his Brother, *stiled* Prince of *Condé*, excommunicating both these Princes, depriving them and their Heirs of all their Estates, and particularly of the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*, and not only absolving their Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, but involving in the same Sentence all, who acknowledged or obeyed them. This Bull is dated the 10th of *September* 1585, and was signed by Twenty-five Cardinals. The King of *Navarre* wanted not Friends at *Rome*; and to be revenged on the Pope, he got a Paper set up, by their Means, on the very Gates of the *Vatican* Palace, wherein he shewed the Injustice and Nullity of the Sentence, appealed from the Pope to a General Council, and to the Parliament, and implored the Assistance of all sovereign Princes, as in a Cause common to them all *. We are told that *Sixtus*, instead of resenting this Insult, commended the King for his Resolution and Intrepidity, and that he was frequently heard to say, that he had no great Esteem for any of the Christian Princes, except *Henry* of *Navarre*, and *Elizabeth* of *England*, whose Prudence, Courage, and Steadiness he could not but admire.—*Sixtus* did not approve, as has been said, of the Catholic League in *France*, but, on the contrary, looked upon it as a dangerous Conspiracy; and therefore took no Notice of the Death of the Duke of *Guise*, when slain, as is well known, by the King's Order. But what provoked his Holiness beyond all Measure against the King, *Henry* III. was his causing the Cardinal of *Guise* to be killed the very next Day, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Archbishop of *Lions*, to be arrested and closely confined. This *Sixtus* no sooner understood, than, fired at so open a Violation of the Ecclesiastical Immunity, he sent for the *French* Ambassador, the Marquis *Pisani*, and desired him, in great Wrath, to let his Master know, that he was no longer a poor Friar, but sovereign Pontiff, ready

* Cayet Dialogue, tom. 2.

Sixtus V.

BISHOPS of Rome.

471

to defend, cost what Blood and Treasure it would, the Honour and Rights of the Church. The *French* Embassador, and the King's other Friends at *Rome*, did all in their Power to appease the Pope, and excuse the King's Conduct. But *Sixtus*, deaf to all they could offer, issued, on the 5th of *May* 1589, a Monitory, requiring and commanding the King to set the Cardinal and the Archbishop at Liberty within Ten Days after the Monitory was notified to him, and declaring him excommunicated, if he did not comply within the prefixed Term. The King was determined to assert his Right of punishing his Rebel Subjects, of what Condition soever, as he should think fit. But he was, in the mean time, barbarously murdered, and by his Death the fatal Consequences were prevented, that would, at so critical a Juncture, have attended a Rupture between him, and so assuming and resolute a Pope y. In *Henry III.* ended the Race of *Valois*, and Room was made for the Family of *Bourbon* in the Person of *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, descended from *Robert*, Lord of *Bourbon*, the Fifth and Last Son of *Lewis IX.* or, as he is commonly called, *St. Lewis*. *Sixtus* had excommunicated that Prince, and deprived him of the Right of Succession to the Crown, as has been said. But being pressed by the Agents of the League to renew that Sentence upon the Death of the King, he declined it, saying, that no Prince was more worthy of a Crown, and that he would order public Prayers to be put up for his Conversion.—*Sixtus* entertained no small Jealousy of the overgrown Power of *Philip* of *Spain*, and was therefore glad to keep on good Terms with *Queen Elizabeth*, declining, under various Pretences, to lend any Assistance to *Philip* against her, besides his useless Anathemas, which he could not well refuse, and which he knew would do the Queen very little Hurt.—*Sixtus* had, from the very Beginning of his Pontificate, formed a Design of conquering the Kingdom of *Naples*, and uniting it to the Dominions of the Church. This Design he resolved to carry into Execution upon the First News he received of the total Defeat of the *Spanish* Armada in 1588, and ordered with that View 25,000 Men to be raised with all possible Expedition. But in the mean time Death put an End to all his Designs on the 27th of *August* 1590, when he had governed the Church Five Years Four Months and Three Days. His Death at this Juncture gave Occasion

Year of
Christ 1589.

Upon the
Death of
Henry III.
Sixtus re-
fuses to con-
firm the Sen-
tence against
the King of
Navarre.

Declines as-
sisting King
Philip a-
gainst *Queen*
Elizabeth.

Sixtus dies.
Year of
Christ 1590.

Year of
Christ 1590.

His Charac-
ter.

His many
public Works
to improve
the Splendor
of Rome.

to suspect, that it was not natural.—*Sixtus V.* is represented by all, who speak of him, as a Man of the greatest Abilities, that ever was raised to the Chair, as One, who in Magnificence, Intrepidity, and Strength of Mind, surpassed by far all his Predecessors. He had a thorough Knowledge of the Interests of his See, and chose the most effectual Means to promote them. He was a most zealous Assertor of the Pontifical Authority, and, on several Occasions, shewed himself ready to maintain it even at the Expence of Religion itself.—

The City of *Rome* owes more to *Sixtus* alone than to all his Predecessors together, for the many stately Edifices, new Streets, Aqueducts, and other Ornaments, with which he improved and beautified it above all the Cities of the known World. The Four famous Obelisks, that had lain many Ages buried under Ground, were, by his Order, and at his Expence, dug up and erected in the Places where they still stand, viz. in the great Squares before the Churches of *St. Peter*, of *St. Mary the Greater*, of *St. John Lateran*, and *St. Mary del Popolo*. A great Number of Hands were employed for a whole Twelve-month, under the Direction of the celebrated Architect *Dominico Fontana*, in digging up the first of these Obelisks, in transporting it from the Place, where it lay buried, and erecting it anew. It was dedicated by *Augustus*, in whose Time it was brought out of *Egypt*, to the *Sun*, but by *Sixtus*, to the *Cross*. The restoring of these Four Obelisks cost an immense Sum of Money. But *Sixtus* grudged no Expences to transmit his Name to Posterity. There is scarce a Street in all *Rome* that cannot show some noble Monuments of this Pope's Munificence. By him were raised from the Foundations, and brought to the State they are still to be seen in, the *Lateran* Palace, spacious enough to lodge conveniently the Pope himself, and the whole College of Cardinals, the present *Vatican* Library with all the Buildings annexed to it, the Hospital near *Ponte Sisto*, capable of receiving, and sufficiently endowed to maintain 2000 Persons, whom old Age or Infirmities had rendered incapable of earning their Bread, and many other most sumptuous Edifices still to be seen in every Quarter of *Rome*. But the most stupendous of all *Sixtus's* Works was his collecting a great Number of small Springs into One Stream, at the Distance of Thirteen Miles from *Rome*, and building an Aqueduct to convey them to Mount *Quirinal*, now *Monte Cavallo*, that stood in great Want of that necessary Commodity.

modity. This great Work *Sixtus* undertook in Spite of the many Difficulties that were urged, as quite unsurmountable, against it; and employing constantly Two thousand Workmen, and often Three and Four thousand, he completed it in the Space of Eighteen Months, to the inexpressible Joy of all the Inhabitants of that Quarter of the City.

Year of
Christ 1590.

The magnificent Temple of the Virgin *Mary* at *Loreto* was likewise the Work of this extraordinary Pope; and he had begun another, no less magnificent, at *Montalto*, the Place where he was educated, but the Foundations, that are still to be seen, were scarce laid, when the Death of the Founder put a Stop to that Undertaking.

In these public Works *Sixtus* is said to have expended some Millions; and at his Death he left Five Millions of Crowns in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, requiring his Successors, by a special Bull, to make use of them only for the Service of the Church against the *Turks* and Heretics, or to relieve the People in the Time of a Famine or Plague.——*Sixtus* was not more free from Nepotism than any of his Predecessors. His Sister *Camilla* he raised to the Rank of a Princess. She had by her Daughter Two Grand-Sons, and as many Grand-Daughters. One of her Grand-Sons he preferred, though yet very young, to the Dignity of Cardinal, under the Name of Cardinal *Montalto*, and allowed him the yearly Income of One hundred thousand Crowns. The other he raised to the first and most lucrative Employments of the State, and left him several Lordships at his Death, obliging him to take the Name of *Peretti*. His Two Grand-Nieces he married, with great Fortunes, into the *Orfini* and *Colonna* Families, the Two First Families in *Rome*.

Leaves Five
Millions at
his Death.

His Nephew.

—He fixed the Number of Cardinals at Seventy, and ordered, by a special Bull, that Four of that Number, at least, should be Doctors of Divinity, chosen out of the Religious Orders.——He was no Friend to the *Jesuits*, could not bear that they should be called by that Name, as if their Order had been founded by *Jesus* himself, was for having them stiled *Ignatians*, from the Name of their Founder *Ignatius*.

Fixes the
Number of
Cardinals at
Seventy.

—He was no Friend to the *Jesuits*, could not bear that they should be called by that Name, as if their Order had been founded by *Jesus* himself, was for having them stiled *Ignatians*, from the Name of their Founder *Ignatius*.

Was no
Friend to
the Jesuits.

I shall conclude with observing that the Life of this extraordinary Pope has been written, with great Exactness, by *Casimir Teinpesti*, and published at *Rome* 1755 in Two Volumes, *Quarto*. As for his Life by *Gregorio Leti*, it has more of the Romance than of the

* See Bocca de Sixti Aedificiis.

* See Robardi Gesta Quinquennialia Sixti V. et Teinpesti Storia della Vita e Geste di Sisto Quinto.

Year of true History, and I have therefore advanced nothing upon his Authority alone.
 Christ 1590.

URBAN VII. *the 226th Bishop of Rome.* In the Room of *Sixtus* was chosen, on the 27th of *September*, *John Baptist Castagna*, Cardinal of *St. Marcellus*, a *Roman* by Birth, but of a *Genoese* Family. He took the Name of *URBAN VII.* and died on the Twelfth Day of his Pontificate, the 15th of *September* of the present Year ^b.

GREGORY *the 227th Bishop of Rome.* *Urban* was succeeded by *Nicholas Sfondrati*, Cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, under the Name of *GREGORY XIV.* He was elected on the 5th of *December*, and crowned on the 18th of the same Month. As he was by Birth a *Milaneze*, and consequently a Subject of *Philip* of *Spain*, to gratify that Prince he declared for the Catholic League in *France*, excommunicated King *Henry*, under the Name of *Henry of Bourbon*, and assisted his Enemies, to the utmost of his Power, both with Men and with Money. But in *France* his Bull was declared scandalous, seditious, contrary to the Canons and the Rights of the *Gallican Church*, and ordered to be torn and publicly burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner ^c. But his Time was short; for he died on the 15th of *October* 1591, after a Pontificate of Ten Months and Ten Days ^d.

INNOCENT IX. *the 228th Bishop of Rome.* Upon the Death of *Gregory*, *John Antony Facchinetti*, a Native of *Bologna*, was raised to the Chair, on the 29th of *October*, by the Name of *INNOCENT IX.* was crowned on the 12th of *November*, and died on the 30th of *December*.

CLEMENT VIII. *the 229th Bishop of Rome.* *Hypolitus Aldobrandini*, Cardinal of *St. Pancras*, a *Florentine*, succeeded under the Name of *CLEMENT VIII.* He was chosen on the 30th of *January* 1592, and crowned on the 2d of *February*. The Pontificate of *Clement* is remarkable chiefly for the Three following Events; the Conversion, Absolution, and Reconciliation of *Henry IV.* of *France* in 1595^e; the Reversion of the Dutchy of *Ferrara* to the Apostolic See upon the Death of Duke *Alphonfus II.* in 1597, he being

^b Arrighi vit. Urbani VII. l. 100. ^d Arrighi in vit.

^c Perefiz, Hist. Henry IV. Mezerai. tom. 6. Thuan. ^e Ossat. ep. 32. Thuan. l. 110. Mezerai. tom. 7.

the last lawful Prince of the Family of *Esse*; and the Peace, concluded at *Vervins* in 1598, between *France* and *Spain*, by the Mediation of *Clement* ^{Year of Christ 1592.} ^{Events of his Pontificate.} ^{An Account of the famous Controversy between the Dominicans and Jesuits concerning Grace, Free Will, &c.} *f.*—The famous Controversy between the *Jesuits* and the *Dominicans*, concerning *Grace*, *Free Will*, and *Predestination*, arose in the Time of this Pope, and was likely to produce fatal Divisions in the Church. *Lewis Molina*, a *Spanish Jesuit*, Professor of Divinity in the University of *Ebora*, first gave Occasion to it, by a Book, published in 1588, to shew, that the Operations of *Divine Grace* are entirely consistent with the Freedom of *human Will*. In order to that he maintained, that the Decrees of God, relating to the Salvation or Reprobation of Men, are founded upon that Divine and unlimited Knowledge, by which God foresaw the Merits and Demerits of every Individual. Thus, according to *Molina*, the Divine Decree of the Election or Reprobation, with respect to each particular Person, is posterior to and depending upon his foreseen co-operating or not co-operating with the *sufficient* Grace afforded to all Men to work out their Salvation. On the other hand, the *Dominicans* asserted the *eternal Decrees* of God to be absolute, arbitrary, and quite independent of any foreseen Merits or Demerits whatever. This the *Dominicans* pretended to be the true Doctrine of St. *Austin*, and of their Leader and Oracle *Thomas Aquinas*; and laying hold of this Opportunity to vent their Rage against the *Jesuits* for the Ascendant they had gained over them in the Courts of all the Christian Princes of *Europe*, they charged them (for they all embraced the Doctrine of their Brother *Molina*) with renewing the condemned Errors of the *Semipelagians*, and the Alarm of Heresy was every-where sounded against them. This theological War was carried on with true theological Fury and Rage till the Year 1594, when *Clement* imposed Silence on the contending Parties, promising to examine himself the Points in Dispute. He accordingly appointed a particular Congregation, consisting of Three Bishops and Seven Divines of different Religious Orders, with Cardinal *Madrucci*, Bishop of *Trent*, at their Head, to hear and weigh the Arguments offered by the opposite Parties in favour of their respective Opinions. This Congregation was called *De Auxiliis*, or of Aids, on Account of the principal Point in Debate, the Efficacy of the Aids of Divine Grace. As nothing had yet been determined by the Congregation in 1602, the Pope resolved

^f Thuan. l. 129. Mezerai. tom. 6. Bellegarde Hist. Gener. d'Espagne, tom. 7.

Year of
Christ 1592.

to preside at it in Person, and accordingly heard both Parties with the greatest Attention and Patience. But both defended their Cause with so much Zeal and Dexterity; that *Clement*, wisely avoiding to make use of his Infallibility, lest he should thereby disoblige either of the Two most learned Orders of the Church, left the final Decision of the Points in Dispute to his Successor. He died on the 3d of *March* 1605, having presided in the See Thirteen Years One Month and Three Days.

Clement's
Death.

Year of
Christ 1605.

Clement VIII. is represented by the contemporary Writers as a Man of uncommon Abilities; of great Discretion and Prudence. It was at the pressing Instances of this Pope that the Restoration of the *Jesuits*, who had been banished *France* upon the Murder of *Henry III.* was brought about in 1603 by his Successor *Henry IV* g.——In *Clement's* Time a solemn Embassy appeared at *Rome*, with Professions of Obedience from *Gabriel*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*. But that Embassy is looked upon, even by several *Roman Catholic* Writers, as a mere Imposture, or Stratagem of the *Jesuits* to persuade the *Abyssinians* to follow the Example of their Brethren of *Alexandria*, and to submit to the Pope ^b.

LEO XI.
the 230th
Bishop of
Rome.

The See being vacant by the Death of *Clement*, the Cardinals, after some Disagreement between the *Spanish* and the *French* Factions, unanimously concurred in the Election of *Alexander de Medicis*, of the illustrious Family reigning at *Florence*, who took the Name of *LEO XI.* He was elected on the 1st of *April*, was crowned on the 10th, and died on the 26th of the same Month. The famous Cardinal *Baronius* had a strong Party in the Conclave. But the *Spaniards*, exerting all their Interest against him, on Account of some of his Writings, procured his Exclusion ⁱ.

PAUL V.
the 231st
Bishop of
Rome.

Leo was succeeded, on the 16th of *May*, by Cardinal *Camillo Borghese*, who took the Name of *PAUL V.* and was crowned on the 29th of the same Month. His Ancestors were Persons of some Distinction in *Siena*, but he himself was a Native of *Rome*. He entertained so high an Opinion of the Papal Power and Authority, that he suffered himself to be publicly stiled, *Vice-god upon Earth, the Monarch of Christendom, and the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence.* Of his furious

^s See d'Ossat's Letters.
dying in vit. *Leon. XI.*

^b See Geddes Church History of *Alexandria.*

ⁱ Wad-

Zeal in asserting the pretended Privileges and Rights of his See he gave, when scarce warm in his Chair, a remarkable Instance in his Contest with the Republic of *Venice*. This Contest arose partly from Two Decrees of the Republic, calculated to prevent the immoderate Increase of Religious Houses in their Dominions, and to set some Bounds to the new Acquisitions of Wealth made daily by the Religious and Clergy, and partly from their refusing to deliver up to the Ecclesiastical Court Two Ecclesiastics, guilty of capital Crimes. *Paul*, highly provoked at such Proceedings, as manifest Encroachments upon his Authority, laid all the Dominions of the Republic under an Interdict, by a Bull dated at *Rome* the 17th of *April* 1606. On the other hand, the *Venetians*, declaring the Bull to be void and null, obliged the Clergy to perform Divine Service as usual, and banished from all their Dominions the *Capuchins* and *Jesuits*, the only Religious Orders that complied with the Bull. Preparations for War were making on both Sides, when an Accommodation, not very honourable to the Pope, was brought about by the Mediation of *Henry IV.* King of *France*. The *Capuchins* were restored without Difficulty; but the Senate could by no Means be prevailed upon to consent to the Restoration of the *Jesuits*, and the Pope was forced to acquiesce, though the *Jesuits* had distinguished themselves above all the rest by their Zeal in his Cause. The Two Prisoners were delivered up to the *French* Ambassador by One of the Secretaries of the Republic, with this Protest, That he consigned them to him merely to gratify his most Christian Majesty, without any Prejudice to the Right which the Republic had to pass Judgment upon Ecclesiastical Persons, and summon them before their Secular Tribunals of Justice^m. The History of this Interdict takes up the Fourth Volume of *F. Paul's Works*.—By this Pope was approved the impious Doctrine of the famous Jesuit *Suarez*, concerning the Murder of Kings, and the Power vested in the Pope of deposing them. But in *France* *Suarez's* Book was condemned by the Parliament of *Paris*, and ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner. This the Pope highly repented, but he could never obtain the Revocation of the Sentence, condemning the Book and the Doctrine it containedⁿ. We are told, that *Suarez* upon hearing of the Fate of

Years of
Christ 1606.

His Contest
with the Re-
public of Ve-
nice.

The Republic
put under an
Interdict.

The Jesuits
and Capu-
chins banish-
ed out of the
Dominions of
the Republic.

This Dif-
ference ad-
justed.

The Book of
Suarez con-
cerning the
Murder of
Kings.

^m See *F. Paul Istoria dell Interditto, et Bzovius in vit. Pauli IV. de Louis XIII. tom.*

ⁿ *Vasser Hist.*

his Book, repeated the Two following Verses out of *Ovid* with the Alteration of One Word :

*Parve, nec invideo, sine me, Liber, ibis in IGNEM
Hei mihi, quid domino non licet ire tuo.*

*An Embassy
to Paul from
the King of
Congo.*

*The Pope
dies.*

*Year of
Christ 1621.*

*His Charac-
ter.*

*Conclusion of
the Congre-
gation De
Auxiliis.*

*Paul's Ne-
potism.*

A little before the Pope's Death an Ambassador arrived at *Rome* from the King of *Congo*, to beg his Holiness would send Missionaries with the Ambassador, on his Return, to preach the Gospel to his Subjects. But the Ambassador died a few Days after his Arrival, and the Pope did not long survive him. He died on the 22d of *January* 1621, after a Pontificate of Fifteen Years Eight Months and Thirteen Days. He was a Man of very good Parts, and of no small Learning, and would have made a much better Figure in History, had he not suffered his impetuous Zeal for the Authority of his See to get the better of his Judgment, and lead him into Measures, which he could not support. In beautifying the City of *Rome* he even rivalled *Sixtus* himself, and had the Honour of completing, at last, the stupendous Fabric of the Church of *St. Peter*.—Under this Pope Eighteen Sessions were held of the Congregation *De Auxiliis*, and Sixty had been held under his Predecessor. But the Points in Dispute were so very obscure and intricate, that the Cardinals, Prelates, and Divines, who composed that Assembly, were at a Loss what to determine. At the same Time they apprehended, that a final Decision would only serve to inflame the Animosities already subsisting between the Two Orders; and they therefore resolved to come to no Decision. Thus, after so many Consultations, the contending Parties were left in the quiet Possession of their respective Opinions, with a strict Prohibition to cast any reproachful Reflections upon each other; and the same Doctrines are held to this Day by the Two rival Orders, and publicly taught in their Schools. —The great Estates, the sumptuous Palaces, and the magnificent Villas, still possessed by the *Borgbese* Family, are lasting Monuments of this Pope's scandalous Nepotism.

GREGORY XV. the 232d Bishop of Rome. The new Pope was *GREGORY XV.* called before his Election *Alexander Ludovisi*. He was a Native of *Bologna*, and, when elected, Archbishop of that City. He is represented in History as a Man of a mild Disposition; yet he suggested and promoted the most violent Measures

Measures against all who professed the Reformed Religion. The War made by *Lewis XIII.* King of *France*, upon his Protestant Subjects, was, in a great Measure, owing to his Exhortations and his Influence over that Prince. He assisted, to the utmost of his Power, the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* and *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, against the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Son-in-Law to our King *James I.* and was, upon that Account, presented by the Duke, upon his taking the City of *Heidelberg*, with the most valuable Part of the invaluable Library of the Counts *Palatine*, which *Gregory* caused to be removed to *Rome*, and placed in the *Vatican* Library.—By this Pope was founded at *Rome* in 1622, and richly endowed, the famous College *De Propaganda Fide*. By the same Pope the City of *Paris*, which till the present Year 1622 had been subject to the See of *Sens*, was, at the Request of *Lewis XIII.* erected into an Archiepiscopal See. *Gregory* was a great Friend to the *Jesuits*, and by him were canonized *Ignatius* their Founder, and the famous *Xavier*, stiled the *Apostle of the Indies*. He died on the 8th of *July* 1623, having held the See Two Years Five Months and Twenty Days. He was buried in *St. Peter's*, but his Remains were afterwards translated from thence to the Church of the *Roman* College, where his stately Tomb is still to be seen with a most pompous Epitaph.

Year of
Christ 1621.

Instances of
his Zeal a-
gainst those
of the Re-
formed Re-
ligion.

Founds the
College De
Propaganda
Fide.

Erects the
City of Paris
into an Arch-
bishopric.

Dies.

Year of
Christ 1623.

The next Election was carried, on the 6th of *August*, in favour of *URBAN VIII.* the 233d Bishop of *Rome*. Cardinal *Maffei Barberini*, a Native of *Florence*, who took the Name of *URBAN VIII.* He began his Pontificate with raising Two of his Nephews to the Dignity of Cardinals, and bestowing the Title of *Eminence* upon all of that Order, upon the Three Ecclesiastical Electors, and the Grand Master of *Malta*. But Kings and the Republic of *Venice* were dispensed from giving them that Title.—*Urban* was more inclined to *France* than to the House of *Austria*, but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon by *Lewis XIII.* to enter into an Alliance with him against the Emperor, but answered, when pressed to it by that Prince, that it was incumbent upon him, as the common Father of all Christian Princes, to adjust their Differences, and observe, in order to render his Mediation more effectual, a perfect Neutrality. Accordingly he

Gives the
Title of Emi-
nence to Car-
dinals.

Observes a
Neutrality
in the Dif-
ferences
between
Princes.

o Spanheim Memoires de le Electrice Palatine Louyse Julianne, de Mezerai Hist. de Louis XIII.

P Continuation
inter-

Year of
Christ 1632.

The Dutchy
of Urbino
reverts to
the Church.

The Book of
Janfenius,
intituled Au-
gustinus.

The Doctrine
it contained.

interposed his good Offices; and at his Interposition were concluded the Treaties of *Rivalte*, *Ratisbon*, and *Querasque* p. — In 1632 died *Francisco Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*, and by his Death, as he left no Male Issue behind him, that Dutchy, a Fief of the Church, devolved to the Apostolic See. — In 1641 the Pope, at the Instigation of his Nephews, and upon the most frivolous Pretences, sent an Army to seize on the City of *Castro*, belonging to *Odoard Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*. But the Duke being supported by the Republic of *Venice*, by the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Modena*, the *Barberini* were obliged, after an unsuccessful War, that is said to cost them Twenty Millions of Crowns, to restore *Castro*, and conclude a dishonourable Peace q. — As the Book of *Cornelius Janſenius*, Bishop of *Ypres*, intituled *Augustinus*, was first condemned by this Pope, it will be expected, that I should give here some Account of that Book, and the Principles it contains; Principles, that divided, and still continue to divide the Church of *Rome*, notwithstanding her boasted Unity, into Two, almost, as opposite Parties or Sects, as any Two of the Reformed Religion. *Janſenius* was, as is agreed on all hands, a Prelate of great Learning, of an exemplary Life, and an Enemy to all Strife and Contention. But disliking the Doctrine of the *Jesuits* concerning Grace and Free Will, spoken of above, he undertook to unfold the Sentiments of St. *Austin*, commonly called the *Doctor of Grace*, with respect to those intricate Points; a difficult Undertaking, as that good Father is not always consistent with himself, nor intelligible to others. We are told, that *Janſenius*, to attain to his true Meaning, read Ten Times over all his voluminous Books, and Thirty Times those upon Grace and Free Will. The End *Janſenius* proposed therein to himself was, not to give his own Sentiments concerning those important Points, but to shew how they had been understood and explained by St. *Austin*, whom the Church revered as her Oracle; and he therefore stiled his Book *Augustine*. It was not published till after his Death, which happened on the 6th of May 1638. The Sentiments it contained were diametrically opposite to those of the *Jesuits*. For the following Principles were there adopted as St. *Austin's*, that *there are no Remains of Purity or Goodness in Human Nature since its Fall*, that *the Impulse of Grace is irresistible*, that *in the Work of Conversion*

p Hist. des Traites de Paix, tom. 1. p. 933.

q Etat du Siege di Rome, tom. 1.

Urban VIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

481

and Sanctification all is to be ascribed to Grace, and nothing to Human Nature, and several others connected with these, which I shall have ^{Year of Christ 1632.} Occasion to mention in the Sequel. On the contrary, the Jesuits maintained, as they still do, that *Human Nature is far from being deprived of all Power of doing good; that Man, before he receives Grace, is capable of Faith and holy Desires; that the Operations of Grace offer no Violence to Human Nature, and consequently that MAN, BORN FREE, MAY RESIST THEM.* The Book of *Jansenius* no sooner appeared, than the Jesuits, looking upon it as an Attack upon their System, took the Alarm; and a Paper War was commenced, and carried on, with the utmost Fury, between them and the Friends of the deceased Bishop, till the Year 1641, when the Jesuits, adding to their Arguments the Interest they had at the Court of Rome, got the Book *Augustinus* prohibited by the Inquisition, and the following Year solemnly condemned ^{The Book condemned by the Pope.} by the Pope, as *reviving the Errors that his Predecessors had banished from the Church.* This Subject I shall occasionally resume more than once in the Sequel.—*Urban* died on the 29th of July, having held ^{Urban dies.} the See Twenty-one Years wanting Eight Days. ^{Year of Christ 1644.} In Nepotism he vied even with his Predecessor *Paul V.* bestowing upon his Nephews and other Relations all the most honourable and lucrative Employments both ^{His Character.} in the Church and the State. Two of his Nephews he created Cardinals, and purchased for the Third the Principality of *Palestrina*, which the Family enjoys to this Day with the stately Palace, built by him near *Monte Cavallo*, One of the most stately in all Rome. *Urban* is represented by the contemporary Writers as One endowed with as good Talents as any of his Predecessors, and charge upon his Nephews, in whom he blindly confided; all that was blame-worthy in his Pontificate. He was a generous Friend to the Learned, especially to the Poets, being no mean Poet himself. We have a Collection of his *Latin Poems*, which have undergone several Editions. He wrote most ^{His Poems.} of them when he was a Cardinal, and had no Occasion to be ashamed of them when he was Pope. His destroying some Roman Antiquities, (which the Barbarous Nations had spared when Masters of Rome) in order to employ the Materials for other Uses, gave Occasion to the famous Pasquinade, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecerunt Barberini.* *Urban's*

* Janus Nicias Erythræus in Pinacotheca, p. 152, &c.

Year of Christ 1644. stately Tomb in *St. Peter's* was erected by himself under the Direction of the famous Cavalier *Bernini*.

INNO-
CENT X.
the 234th
Bishop of
Rome.
His illicit
Commerce
with his Bro-
ther's Widow.

Persecutes
the Barbe-
rini.

The Five
famous Pro-
positions of
Janfenius
condemned by
Innocent.

Year of
Christ 1653.

To *Urban* was substituted, on the 15th of *September*, *John Baptist Pamfili*, a *Roman*, who took the Name of *INNOCENT X*. The new Pope had, before his Promotion, an unlawful Commerce with his Brother's Widow, the famous *Donna Olympia Maldachini*, a Woman of insatiable Avarice and boundless Ambition; and that Commerce he not only continued after his Elevation, but suffered her to govern the Church, the State, the Court, and himself, with an absolute Sway. All Benefices and Bishopricks, all Employments, whether Ecclesiastic, Civil, or Military, were disposed of by her, and, without any Regard to Friendship or Merit, bestowed only upon those, who came up to her Price. As the *Barberini* were possessed of immense Wealth, some say to the Amount of 260,000 Crowns of yearly Revenue, the Pope at the Instigation of *Donna Olympia*, who wanted to enrich her own Family at their Expence, began his Pontificate with a furious Persecution against them. But *France* interposed, and, espousing their Cause, obliged the Pope, much against his Will, to come to Terms with them^s.——The most remarkable Transaction of *Innocent's* Pontificate was his condemning by a Bull, dated the 31st of *May* 1653, the Five following Propositions, selected by the *Jesuits* out of *Janfenius's Augustinus*, as the most apt to discredit that Work. The Propositions were: I. *There are divine Precepts, which good Men, notwithstanding their Desire to observe them, are absolutely unable to obey; nor has God given them that Measure of Grace, which is absolutely necessary to render them capable of such Obedience.* II. *No Person in this corrupt State of Nature can resist the Influence of Divine Grace.* III. *In order to render human Actions meritorious, or otherwise, it is not requisite that they be exempt from Necessity, but only that they be free from Constraint.* IV. *The SEMIPELAGIANS admitted preventing Grace to be necessary to every Action, and their Herefy consisted in this, that they allowed human Will to be endowed with a Power of resisting that Grace, or complying with its Influence.* V. *Whoever says, that Christ died, or shed his Blood, for all Mankind, is a SEMIPELAGIAN^t.* This Condemnation afforded great

^s De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. p. 263.
p. 261.

^t Bullarium Roman. tom. 3.

Alexander VII. BISHOPS of Rome.

483

Matter of Triumph to the *Jesuits*. But it did not quite dishearten the *Year of Christ 1653.* *Jansenists*, who by a subtle Distinction, the Invention of the ingenious *Antony Arnaud*, screened themselves from it. They distinguished the *That Con-* Matter of *Doctrin*e from the Matter of *Fact*; that is, they owned the *demnation* Five Propositions to have been justly condemned, but maintained, that *how eluded* they were not to be found in the Book of *Jansenius* in the Sense, in *by the Jan-* which the Pope had condemned them, and consequently, that they *senists.* still might hold and defend them in the Sense in which *Jansenius* had understood them^u. This gave Rise to the famous Question, whether the Infallibility of the Pope extended to Matters of Fact, or only to Matters of Doctrin; a Question, which *Innocent* was prevented by Death from deciding. He died on the 7th of *January 1655*, having *Innocent dies.* held the See Ten Years and Four Months wanting Eight Days. To a *Year of Christ 1655.* profound Ignorance of all theological Matters this Pope joined the most shameful Indolence. In the Quarrels of Princes he would neither interpose nor so much as offer his Mediation, saying, that when they were tired with beating one another, they would agree of themselves. He built a magnificent Palace for his Family, and left them possessed of immense Wealth.

Fabio Chigi, a Native of *Siena*, was preferred to the vacant Chair, *ALEX-* on the 8th of *April*, under the Name of *ALEXANDER VII.* *ANDER* The new Pope had scarce taken Possession of the See, when he sent an *VII. the* express Command to *Donna Olympia* to leave *Rome* in Three Days, to *235th Bishop* retire to *Orvieto*, and remain there till further Orders. He intended to *of Rome.* have called her to an Account for the Money, that had passed through *Banishes* her Hands. But in the mean time she died of the Plague; and is said *Donna* to have left Two Millions of Crowns in Money, besides several Estates *Olympia* in Land, a magnificent Palace, and Moveables of inestimable Value. *from Rome.* She bequeathed the Whole to Prince *Pamfili*, the late Pope's Nephew, who was left by *Alexander* to enjoy it undisturbed, as he owed his Rise in the Church to his Uncle.——*Alexander* in the Beginning of his Pontificate declared in very strong Terms against Nepotism. But he soon became a *Man*, according to the ludicrous Phrase of the Time, filled all the best Employments, in the State as well as in the Church, with his Relations and Nephews, and, dismissing his old Friends, suf-

* Du Mas Hist. des Cinque Propositions, p. 158.

Year of
Christ 1655.

Alexander's
Bull against
the Janse-
nists.

Year of
Christ 1657.

Who are per-
secuted in
France.

The French
Embassador
insulted at
Rome.

Year of
Christ 1661.

ferred himself to be entirely governed by them ^w.——At the Request and Instances of this Pope, seconded by those of the *French King, Lewis XIV.* the *Jesuits*, who had been banished out of the Territories of *Venice* for observing the Interdict, were restored by a Decree of the Senate, dated the 19th of *January 1657* ^x.——*Alexander* not only confirmed, at the Instance of the *Jesuits*, the Bull of *Innocent*, condemning the Five Propositions, mentioned above, but by a new Bull, declared, that the said Propositions were the Doctrine of *Jansenius*, and were contained in his Book, nay, that they had been condemned in the *obvious Sense*, and the *Sense of the Author*; in *sensu obvio*, in *sensu ab Autore intento*. This Declaration was immediately opposed by the *Jansenists*, recurring to their usual Distinction, that in *Matters of Fact* the Pope was fallible, and consequently, that they were not bound to believe, that those Propositions were the Tenets of *Jansenius*, or that they had been condemned in the Sense, in which he had understood them. However, some of the more moderate among them offered to condemn the Five Propositions *wherever they were found*, and observe a profound Silence concerning *the Matter of Fact*. On the other hand, the *Jesuits* maintained, that when *Matters of Faith* were connected with, or depended upon *Matters of Fact*, the Infallibility of the Pope extended to both; nay, they procured, by their Influence in Cabinet Councils, a Mandate from *Lewis XIV.* commanding all within his Dominions to receive a *Formulary*, or Confession of Faith, in which the Doctrine, condemned by the Pope, was owned to be the Doctrine contained in the Book of *Jansenius* styled *Augustinus*. They, who refused to sign that *Formulary*, were deprived of their Livings, and either cast into Prison, or sent into Exile ^a. Thus Matters continued during the present Pontificate.—In 1661 a Quarrel broke out between *Alexander*, and the *French King, Lewis XIV.* on Occasion of an Insult, offered by the *Corficans* of the Pope's Guard, to the Duke of *Cregui*, the King's Embassador at *Rome*. This Affair is very differently related by different Authors, but in this all agree, that the *Corficans* fired at the Embassador, without any Regard to the Sacredness of his Character, as he appeared at the Window of his Palace, on Occasion of a Quarrel between them and some of his Domestics, and that a few

^w Memoires du Cardinal de Retz, tom. 5. ^x Nani Hist. de Louis le Grand, tom. 9.
^a Du Plessis d'Argentre Collect. Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus, tom. 3. p. 281—314.

Alexander VII. BISHOPS of Rome,

485

Days afterwards they fired at his Coach as he and his Lady passed by their Guard-Room, and killed One of her Pages. As the Pope delayed to give the required Satisfaction, the King seized on the City of *Avignon*, and ordered a Body of Troops to file off for *Italy*. *Alexander*, terrified at these Hostilities, thought it adviseable to submit, and implore the Clemency of the incensed Monarch. Negotiations were set on Foot, and in 1664 a Peace was concluded at *Pisa* upon the most inglorious and mortifying Conditions to the Pope. For the Conditions were, that the Pope should send his Nephew to *Paris* with the Character of Legate to give the King Satisfaction; that Cardinal *Imperiali*, who was Governor of *Rome* when the Insult was offered, should beg Pardon of the King in Person; that the Pope should discharge his *Corfican* Guards by a public Edict, should erect a Pyramid at *Rome* to preserve the Memory of so notorious a Breach of the Law of Nations, and of the Punishment that had attended it; and lastly, should restore *Castro* to the Duke of *Parma*, and *Comachio* to the Duke of *Modena*, both which Places he had seized, notwithstanding the Interposition of the King in Favour of those Princes ^b.—*Alexander* died on the 22d of May 1667, after a Pontificate of Twelve Years One Month and Fourteen Days. He is represented by the contemporary Writers as a Man of a mean Genius, full of Craft and Dissimulation, and on that Account distrusted and despised by the Christian Princes. However, he was a Lover of Learning, a generous Encourager of the Learned, took great Delight in reading the *Latin* Poets, and, as he knew most of them by Heart, he frequently quoted them, but, perhaps, never more properly than when the Cardinals came to congratulate him upon his Exaltation, answering them with the Words of *Virgil*:

Year of
Christ 1661.

That Insult
how revenged
by the King.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 1667.

———*Diem, quem semper acerbum
Semper honoratum (sic vos voluistis) habebo.*

—It was in the Pontificate of *Alexander* that *Christina*, Queen of *Sweden*, abjured the Protestant Faith, and embraced that of *Rome*. But the Life she led after her Conversion, as it was called, did no great Honour to her new Religion.

^b De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. 8. Napi, Rejacourt Contin. de Mezerai, &c.
* See Arckenholtz Memoires de la Reine Christine.

Alexander

Year of
Christ 1667.
CLEMENT IX. the
236th Bishop
of Rome.

Suspends the
Persecution
of the Jan-
senists.

His Death.
Year of
Christ 1669.

Alexander had for his Successor *Giulio Rospigliosi*, a Native of *Pistoia*. He was elected on the 20th of *June*, and took the Name of **CLEMENT IX.** He was no sooner elected, than hearkening to the Remonstrances of the *Jansenists*, who, in the late Pontificate, had refused to sign the above-mentioned Formulary, without proper Explications and Distinctions, he declared himself satisfied with their receiving and signing it *sincerely*, instead of *purely and simply*, as had been required by his Predecessor. This extraordinary Condescension in the Pope delivered the *Jansenists* from all their Scruples, since they were thereby allowed to believe, that though the Five Propositions were condemned, they might not be the Doctrine of *Jansenius*, nor extracted from his Book. They therefore signed the Formulary, and condemned the Five Propositions without Hesitation. Thus was the Fury of the *Jesuits* somewhat restrained, and Peace, commonly called the Peace of *Clement IX.* restored to the Church. But *Clement* died soon after he had established the so much wished for Tranquillity. His Death happened on the 9th of *December* 1669, when he had governed the Church Two Years Four Months and Twenty Days. The contemporary Writers speak of him as a Person, endowed with every Virtue, becoming the high Station, to which he was raised.

CLEMENT X. the 237th
Bishop of
Rome.

Dies.
Year of
Christ 1676.

After a Conclave, that lasted near Five Months, Cardinal *Aemilius Altieri*, come of a noble *Roman* Family, was elected on the 29th of *April* 1670. He assumed the Name of **CLEMENT X.** But as he was far advanced in Years, and a Lover of his Ease, he neither undertook nor performed any Thing worthy of Notice during the whole Six Years of his Pontificate. He died on the 22d of *July* 1676, when he had presided in the See Six Years Two Months and Twenty-three Days.

**INNO-
CENT XI.** the 238th
Bishop of
Rome.

The Election of the new Pope was prorogued by the Intrigues of the Cardinals, and foreign Ministers, till the 10th of *December*, when *Benedict Odescbalchi*, a Native of *Como* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, was preferred to the See under the Name of **INNOCENT XI.** He was a Man of an irreproachable Character, of uncommon Courage,

^d D'Argentre Collectio Judiciorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 336. Catechism Historique, &c. tom. 1. p. 352.

Innocent XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

487

austere in his Morals, and unfeignedly desirous of reforming the Abuses, that prevailed in the Church and his Court. He began with abolishing ^{Year of Christ 1676.} *Nepotism*: For when his Nephew came to congratulate him upon his Promotion, he told him, that he must not expect to have any Share ^{He abolishes Nepotism.} in the Government, and strictly enjoined him neither to receive, nor return any Visits as Nephew to the Pope. But at the same time, that he might not complain of his having got nothing by the Promotion of his Uncle, he made over to him his whole paternal Estate, amounting to Thirty thousand Crowns of yearly Revenue, saying, he could bestow upon him what was his own, but could not dispose of what was *St. Peter's*. As the *Franchises*, or *Right of Asylum*, enjoyed by ^{Suppresses the Franchises.} foreign Ministers residing at *Rome*, proved a Sanctuary for the greatest Criminals, and by screening them from Justice, encouraged them in their Crimes, *Innocent* resolved to suppress them, the rather, as the ^{Year of Christ 1677.} *Embassadors* had extended this Immunity to the Streets and Squares, where their Palaces stood. The Imperial and *Spanish* *Embassadors*, and even *Queen Christina*, readily acquiesced in this Regulation. But the *French* *Embassador*, *Marshal D'Etrees*, refusing to agree to it, the Pope allowed him to enjoy his ancient Right, during his Time. This Condescension in his Holiness to the *French* *Embassador* was owing to his being unwilling to quarrel with his Master *Lewis XIV.* whose Arms were become formidable to all *Europe*. However, he could not avoid ^{Quarrels with the King of France about the Regale.} quarrelling with that powerful Monarch the very next Year. The Subject of their Quarrel was a Right, called in *France* the *Regale*, by which the King claimed the Collation of all Benefices, that became ^{Year of Christ 1678.} vacant in the Diocese of a deceased Bishop till the Nomination of his Successor, and likewise the granting of the Investiture to every new Bishop, and requiring him, on that Occasion, to swear Allegiance to him as his Liege-Lord. These Claims were vigorously opposed by the Pope, and maintained with no less Vigour by the King. The Pope issued out Bull after Bull, and the King as many severe Edicts against all, who should bring into the Kingdom any Bulls, Mandates, or Monitories from *Rome*, or pay any Regard to them. During the Course ^{Four Propositions adopted by the Gallican Clergy.} of this long Dispute, the *French* Bishops, assembling by the King's Order at *Paris* in 1682, confirmed and adopted the Four following Propositions, as the ancient Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church. I. *That*

* Guarnacci Hist. Pontif. a Clement XI. ad Clement X. tom. 1. p. 1. et seq.

neither

Year of
Christ 1682.

neither St. Peter, nor his Successors, have received from God any Power to intermeddle, directly or indirectly, in civil or temporal Matters; and therefore that Kings and Princes are not liable in temporal Matters to the Ecclesiastical Power, nor can they be deposed by the Power of the Keys, or their Subjects be absolved from their Fidelity and Obedience to them, or their Oaths of Allegiance. II. That the Authority of a General Council is superior to that of the Pope, agreeably to the Fourth and Fifth Decrees of the Council of Constance. III. That the Rules, Customs, and Institutions, that have been received in the Gallican Church, are to be preserved inviolable. IV. That the Decisions of the Pope are not infallible without the Consent and Approbation of the Church. These Four Propositions were solemnly adopted by the whole Assembly, and proposed to the whole Body of the Clergy as an inviolable Rule of Faith. At the same time the King issued out a Declaration in the Form of an Edict, commanding all his Subjects to receive the said Propositions, and the Professors of Divinity and Canon Law to teach them in the Schools, with a strict Prohibition to assert or maintain the contrary Doctrine.

Conduct of
the Pope on
that Occa-
sion.

Innocent thought it not adviseable to proceed to Extremities against the whole Body of the Gallican Clergy, supported and backed by the King, and therefore contented himself with declaring all the Transactions of their Assembly void and null, with reprimanding the Bishops for abandoning the Cause of the Church, and employing Men of Learning to confute the above Propositions^f. But the Doctrine, which those Propositions contain, is held to this Day by the Gallican Church.

The Fran-
chises a new
Subject of
Quarrel be-
tween the
Pope and
the King.

Year of
Christ 1687.

—While this Contest between the Pope and the King was carried on with great Resolution and Warmth on both Sides, another unexpectedly broke out, that left no Room to hope for an Accommodation. The Pope had allowed, as has been said, the French Ambassador, Marshal D'Etrees, to enjoy the *Franchise* during his Time. He died in 1686, and the following Year the King appointed the Marquis De Lavardin to succeed him, with positive Orders not to give up, but to assert, if necessary, even by Force, the disputed Privilege. In Compliance with this Order, the Marquis made his public Entry into Rome with Two hundred Gentlemen, and Four hundred of the French Marine Guards. This the Pope highly resented, and when the Em-

^f See Cardinal Norris Istoria delle Investiture Ecclesiast. p. 547. et Heidegger Hist. Papalus Period VII. p. 555.

ambassador

Innocent XI. BISHOPS of Rome.

489

ambassador sent to demand an Audience, he refused to receive him till he publicly renounced the usurped Immunity, and even interdicted the Church of *St. Lewis*, where the Marquis used to assist at Divine Service. On the other hand the King, exasperated beyond Measure at the Treatment his Ambassador met with at *Rome*, arrested the Pope's Nuncio at *Paris*, Cardinal *Renucci*, caused his Parliament to appeal to a General Council against any rash Measures the Pope might be induced by the Enemies of *France* to pursue, and seized on *Avignon*. But the

Year of
Christ 1687.

Pope still continued inflexible, and the Contest was carried on with the greatest Animosity till the Death of the Pope, which happened on the 12th of *August* 1689, when he had presided in the See Twelve Years Six Months and Two Days. He is numbered by all, who speak

Innocent
dies.
Year of
Christ 1689.

of him, among the best Popes; and very deservedly, having made it the whole Business of his Pontificate to abolish the Abuses, which his Predecessors had thought it advisable to connive at, to reform the Manners of the Clergy, as well as the Laity, and restore, by many wise and salutary Regulations, the ancient Discipline of the Church. He carried his Zeal, perhaps, too far in commanding, on Pain of Excommunication, Women of all Ranks and Conditions to cover their Bosoms and Necks up to the Chin, and their Arms down to their Wrists, with some Stuff, that was not transparent, and absolutely prohibiting them the Learning of Music. *Innocent* having found, upon examining the Accounts of the Apostolic Chamber, that since the Pontificate of *Clement VIII.* who died in 1603, Nepotism had cost the Holy See Seventeen Millions, he drew up a Bull to suppress it for ever.

His Cha-
racter.

But the Cardinals, all to a Man, opposed its Publication &c.—It was in this Pope's Time, in the Year 1682, that *Michael de Molinos*, a

The Rise of
Quietism in
his Time.

Spanish Priest, published at *Rome* his *Spiritual Guide*, a Book, that gave great Offence to many, especially to the *Jesuits*. For the Whole of Religion was there placed in a perfect *Calm* and *Tranquillity* of Mind, absorbed in the Deity, and in a pure and disinterested Love of the Supreme Being, that is, a Love exempt from all Views of Interest, or Hopes of Reward. From the *Calm* and *Quiet* of Mind, which this Doctrine required, it took the Name of *Quietism*, and those, who embraced it, were called *Quietists*. As by such Principles all Kinds of external Worship were rejected as insignificant and quite useless,

Some Account
of that Sect.

* Etat du Siege de Rome. Guarnacci Hist. Pontif. p. 232.

Year of
Christ 1689.

the Adversaries of *Molinos*, not satisfied with refuting his Doctrine, as contrary to that of the Church, accused him to the Inquisition, as a Heretic, upon his refusing to retract it. He had many Friends and Disciples in *Rome* of Rank and Credit, and even some Cardinals, nay, and was highly esteemed by the Pope himself: Yet the *Jesuits*, his most bitter Enemies, being powerfully supported by the Cardinal *D'Etrees*, prevailed at last; and the Pope, in order to gratify them, was obliged, contrary to his own Inclination, to abandon a Man, to whom he had shewn particular Marks of his Favour. *Molinos* was taken up by the Inquisition in 1685, was obliged to own, and publicly renounce the Errors, of which he was accused, and was thereupon condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. That *Molinos* and his Followers were guilty of the many shocking Obscenities laid to their Charge; that they maintained that *the Sin of a Man, united to God, is no Sin, since God works in him, and with him, whatever he does*, has been asserted by some, and denied by others ^a.

ALEXAN-
DER VIII.
the 239th
Bishop of
Rome.

Upon the Decease of *Innocent*, Cardinal *Peter Ottoboni*, a Native of *Venice*, was preferred to the Chair, on the 6th of *October*, by the Name of ALEXANDER VIII. The King of *France* no sooner heard of the Election of the new Pope, than, being desirous of terminating the Differences that had subsisted between him and the Holy See, during the late Pontificate, he ordered the Duke de *Chaulnes*, his Ambassador Extraordinary at *Rome*, to give up all Claim to the *French* Franchises, and at the same time he restored the City and Territory of *Avignon*. But *Alexander* was not yet satisfied. He insisted upon the *French* Bishops revoking the Four Propositions, received by their Assembly in 1682; and upon their still maintaining them, he condemned the said Propositions by a Bull, dated the 30th *January* 1691, and threatened the Bishops, though supported by the King, with the Censures of the Church ⁱ. But the rising Storm was happily laid by the Death of the Pope. He died on the 1st of *February* 1691, after a Pontificate of One Year Nine Months and Twenty-six Days. The many wise and salutary Regulations, made by *Innocent*, were transgressed with Impunity in the Pontificate of *Alexander*, the antient Dis-

The Fran-
chises given
up by the
French King.

The Doctrine
of the Galli-
can Church
condemned by
Alexander.

He dies.
Year of
Christ 1691.

^a See Weismen. Hist. Eccles. Sec. XVII. p. 555. Colonia Bibliotheca Quietist. p. 455
—488. D'Argentre Collectio Judicorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 357. ⁱ Larrey Hist.
de Louis XIV. tom. 5. p. 392.

Innocent XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

orders were all revived, and Nepotism was carried to the most scandalous Height ^k.

491

Year of
Christ 1689.

The next Election was very slow, and fell at last upon Cardinal *Antony Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, and Archbishop of *Naples*. He was elected on the 12th of *July*, and took the Name of *INNOCENT XII.* ^{the 240th Bishop of Rome.} He undertook, in Imitation of the good Pope *Innocent XI.* the Reformation of the Church and the Court. As Nepotism had proved extremely prejudicial both to the Church and the State, he caused a Bull to be drawn up, in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, suppressing it for ever. The Bull was warmly opposed by most of the Cardinals. But *Innocent* was inflexible, he obliged all the Cardinals, who were then in *Rome*, to sign it, and thus signed it was published, in Spite of all their Remonstrances, with unusual Solemnity ^l.—In 1693 *Innocent* ^{He abolishes Nepotism. Year of Christ 1692.} condemned anew the Four Propositions concerning the Power and Fallibility of the Pope, which had been adopted by the *Gallican Church*, and condemned by his Two immediate Predecessors. On this Occasion the King abandoned their Protection to the great Surprise of the whole Kingdom; and they were forced to submit, and renounce the Doctrine, which they had so solemnly established but a few Years before ^m. At this Time the Pope was mediating a Peace between the King and the Emperor *Leopold*, and it was to gain the Favour and Good-will of his Holiness, that *Lewis* left the Bishops at his Mercy.—In 1699 was condemned by *Innocent* the Book, which the famous *de la Motte Fenelon*, Archbishop of *Cambray*, had published under the Title of *The Maxims of Saints*. In that Piece *pure and disinterested Love* was recommended and inculcated as alone becoming the *Saints*. As the Book made a great Noise, Recourse was had to the Pope, who appointed a particular Congregation to examine the Doctrine it contained. The Book was declared *unsound* by the Divines, who composed that Congregation: Twenty-three Propositions were judged erroneous, and the Pope condemned them by a Bull, dated at *Rome* the 13th of *March* 1699. That excellent Prelate not only acquiesced in the Sentence, but read it to his People in the Pulpit at *Cambray*, exhorted them to submit to it, and would not allow any of his Friends to defend what ^{And Archbishop Fenelon's Divine Love. Year of Christ 1699.}

^k Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 84.
Bulla 19.

^l Ibid. p. 110. et Bullarium

^m Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 146.

Year of the Pope had condemned¹. ——— *Innocent* died on the 27th of September 1700, having governed the Church Nine Years Two Months and Fifteen Days. He was universally beloved for his eminent Virtues, and is greatly commended by all the contemporary Writers for his zealous Endeavours to reform the Church and the Court, though they were not attended with all the wished-for Success.

CLEMENT XI. the 241st Bishop of Rome.

Greatly embarrassed in the War about the Spanish Succession.

Dispute between the Jesuits and other Missionaries about the Chinese Ceremonies.

Charge brought against the Jesuits.

The new Pope *CLEMENT XI.* a Native of *Urbino*, called before his Election *John Francis Albani*, was unanimously chosen on the 3d of *November*, though he was then only in the 51st Year of his Age. He declined at first the offered Dignity, alleging that he feared his extream Fondness for his Nephews, and the Rest of his Family, would betray him, to the great Dishonour of the Holy See, into a Transgression of the Bull against Nepotism, which he himself had drawn up, and zealously promoted. However he yielded the Third Day, to the great Satisfaction of the Cardinals, who entertained the highest Opinion of his Abilities, and his Skill in State Affairs. In the War that broke out in the Beginning of his Pontificate, between the Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, about the *Spanish* Succession, he resolved to stand neuter, and only act the Part of a Mediator. But his refusing to acknowledge either of the Two Competitors, *Philip V.* or *Charles III.* or to grant to either the Investiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, disoblged both, and involved the Ecclesiastical State in all the Calamities of a War. But *Clement* was not thereby diverted from attending to the Affairs of the Church. He hearkened to the Accusations, brought against the *Jesuits* by the *Dominicans* and other Missionaries in *China*. The grand Accusation was, that they tolerated in their Converts the idolatrous Practices of their old Religion, and thus introduced a motley Mixture of Christianity and Paganism. The Practices, that they connived at and their Adversaries branded them with Idolatry, were, I. That they permitted the new Christians to adore the same God, whom they adored before under the Name of *TIEN*, which Word in the *Chinese* Language signifies the *Heavens*. The *Chinese* Deity was, as the Adversaries of the *Jesuits* pretended, either the *material Heavens*, or a Deity infinitely inferior, in Excellence and Perfection, to the God of the Christians. Were that true, the Fathers of the Society would, without all Dispute, be guilty of the Charge brought against them.

¹ Toussaints Hist. de l'Englise de Meaux, l. 5. p. 485, et seq. Ramsay vie de Fenelon.

But they maintained, that the *Cbinese*, by their TIEN meant, not the *material Heaven*, but the *Lord of Heaven*, an eternal and all-perfect Being, the Creator and Governor of the Universe, and, in short, the same God, whom the Christians adore, with all the Attributes, which they ascribe to him. The *Cbinese* therefore were no Idolaters, according to the *Jesuits*, but knew, and worshipped the true God, and consequently their Order could not justly be accused of permitting Idolatry in permitting their Profelytes to adore the same God after their Conversion, as they had adored before it. II. The Rights and Ceremonies, that were performed yearly by the Learned among the *Cbinese* to the Memory of their great Lawgiver *Confucius*, and by every Family in Honour of their Ancestors, were tolerated by the *Jesuits*, but condemned by the other Missionaries as rank Idolatry. On these Occasions the *Cbinese* prostrate themselves before a Kind of Tablet, on which the Names of their Ancestors, and that of *Confucius* are written in golden Letters, make Offering to them of rich Perfumes, Victuals, Fruits, &c. and repeat a great Variety of Prayers, which being ended, the Person, who officiates, dismisses the Assembly with a Blessing. Are these Ceremonies only Civil Institutions, as was maintained by the *Jesuits*, or of a Religious Nature, as was asserted by the other Missionaries? The deciding of this important Question was, at last, referred to the *infallible* Heads of the Church; and, surely, nothing has ever more plainly shewn their total Want of that Prerogative, than their Decisions concerning it. In 1645 *Innocent X.* highly disapproved of the Conduct of the *Jesuits*, and stigmatized the Ceremonies, which they tolerated, with the Name of *Cbinese Superstitions*. In 1656 *Alexander VII.* allowed the *Cbinese* Converts to observe several of the Ceremonies, which *Innocent* had condemned. As the *Jesuits* had now One *infallible* Pope for them, and One no less *infallible* Pope against them, the succeeding Popes avoided, for some time, to come to any Determination, since they could come to none without contradicting that of One of their Predecessors. Thus the Contest was carried on with great Warmth in *Cbina*, to the inexpressible Prejudice of the Christian Religion, the more sensible among the *Cbinese* desiring the Missionaries to settle among themselves what was, and what was not to be believed and practised in their Religion, before they recommended it to others. In 1693 a *French Priest*, named *Charles Maigrot*, who had been sent into

Year of
Christ 1704.

The Ceremonies in Dispute.

Decisions of the Popes concerning them.

Cbina

Year of *China* with the Character of Apostolic Vicar, and was afterward consecrated titular Bishop of *Conon*, in that Empire, condemned, by a public Edict, the Opinions and Practices of the *Jesuits* as absolutely inconsistent with the Principles of the Gospel and the Purity of the Christian Religion. From this Sentence the *Jesuits* appealed to the Pope, *Innocent XII.* who, in 1699, appointed a Congregation to examine and finally decide this tedious Controversy. But *Innocent* dying in the mean

time, his Successor, *Clement XI.* forbade, by a solemn Decree in 1704, the Use of the Ceremonies in Question, and at the same time required the General of the *Jesuits*, by a private Brief, to see that this his Edict was punctually complied with by all under his Obedience. The *Jesuits* did not acquiesce in the Papal Decree, but explaining it, as forbidding these Ceremonies in a religious Sense, and not as political Institutions, in which Light alone, they said, they were considered by the *Chinese*,

they still maintained that they might be innocently observed by the new Christians, and continued, in spite of the Pope's Prohibition, to permit them. Thus was the War renewed between the *Jesuits* and their Adversaries, and on both Sides carried on, in *China* and in *Europe*,

with more Acrimony than ever. At last *Clement*, apprehending the Consequences of his provoking so formidable an Order as that of the *Jesuits*, thought it advisable to appease their Resentment by a new Decree; and, accordingly, he issued One in 1715, allowing the Missionaries and their *Chinese* Proselytes to use the Word *Tien* to express the *Divine Nature*, provided they added to it the Word *Тену*, these Two Words signifying the *Lord of Heaven*, and plainly shewing that they adored not the *material Heaven*, but the *Maker of Heaven*, whom the Christians adored. By the same Decree most of the Ceremonies, which *Innocent X.* had condemned, and *Clement* himself had forbidden, were permitted, upon Condition that they should be considered by those, who performed them, not as Religious but as Civil Institutions, or merely as Marks of Respect to their Ancestors and their Lawgiver. Thus the *Jesuits* triumphed in the End; and they have been suffered, ever since the Publication of this last Decree, to pursue unmolested their own Methods of Conversion.——In the Pontificate of *Clement*

The Controversy between the *Janseuists*

was revived the Controversy between the *Janseuists* and *Jesuits*, on Occasion of a Question, probably, proposed with that View, and commonly

only

monly called *The Case of Conscience*. The Question was, *Whether Absolution could be granted to a Man, who received PURELY AND SIMPLY the above-mentioned Formulary^b, and yet believed, in his Heart, that the Pope and the Church might be mistaken in Matters of Fact?* Or that the *Five Propositions* might not be found in the Book of *Jansenius*, in the Sense in which they had been condemned by the Pope? In Answer to this Question Forty Doctors of the *Sorbonne* gave it under their Hands, that Absolution might be granted to such a Person. As the Pope's Infallibility was thereby denied with respect to *Matters of Fact*, the *Jesuits* and their Friends, applying to his Holiness, procured a Bull, enjoining a Belief of *Matters of Fact*, as well as of *Matters of Doctrine* or Opinion, and at the same time declaring, that a respectful Silence was not sufficient with regard to the former, as was pretended by the *Jansenists*, but a positive Assent was absolutely necessary. This Bull begins with the Words *Vineam Domini*, and is dated the 20th of *October* 1705. It was sent by the King to the Assembly of the Bishops, then sitting at *Paris*, to the Parliament, and to the College of the *Sorbonne*, and by all received, for the Sake of Peace, *saving the Rights of the Bishops, the Liberties of the GALLICAN Church, and the Prerogatives of the Crown*. Thus was Tranquillity restored. But it was soon disturbed anew on the following Occasion. The famous *Pasquier Quenel*, a Priest of the *Oratory*, an intimate Friend of the celebrated *Arnauld*, and after his Death the leading Man of his Party, had published, in 1671, a Book of *Moral Reflections* upon the Text of the New Testament. This Piece he afterwards improved, with many Additions and practical Observations, calculated to awaken in the Reader the most lively Sentiments of Piety and Religion. It was received with universal Applause, and highly commended by several Bishops, nay, and by the Pope himself, *Clement XI*. But the *Jesuits* discovered in it the very Quintessence of *Jansenism*, which had escaped his Holiness's Infallibility, and was insensibly imbibed by those, who perused it. They publicly inveighed against it, as conveying the Venom of *Jansenism* under the specious Appearances of Piety and Devotion. They did not stop there, but having extracted from the Book 103 Propositions, they prevailed upon the King, by their great Interest at Court, to apply to *Rome* for a Bull, condemning the said Propositions, and the Book it-

Year of
Christ 1705.

and Jesuits
revived, and
upon what
Occasion.

Clement's
Bull *Vineam
Domini*, &c.

^b See above, p. 484.

Year of
Christ 1713.

His Bull Uni-
genitus how
received in
France.

He separates
himself from
the Commu-
nion of those
who refuse to
accept it.

Year of
Christ 1718.

Clement
quarrels
with the King
of Sicily.

Year of
Christ 1717.

self. *Clement* readily granted the King's Request, and in 1713 issued out the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, by which 101 Propositions were condemned in *Quenel's* Book, the very Book, upon which *Clement* himself had bestowed the highest Encomiums but a few Years before. It was accepted by Forty Bishops, and opposed by Seven, with Cardinal *Noailles*, Archbishop of *Paris*, at their Head. But the Bull being, notwithstanding their Opposition, registered, by the King's express Command, in the College of the *Sorbonne*, and in Parliament, it obtained the Force of a Law. It would be both tedious and foreign to my Purpose to relate the Disturbances that attended the Publication of this Bull in *France*, and the severe Treatment they met with from the King, who, instead of receiving it, appealed from the Pope to a General Council. I shall therefore only observe, that *Clement*, by a Pastoral Letter, dated the 8th of *September* 1718, and beginning with the Words, *Pastoralis Officii*, separated himself from the Communion of all, by what Dignity soever distinguished, who did not receive his Constitution; that thereupon Cardinal *Noailles*, on the 24th of the same Month and Year, published his Appeal, dated the 3d of *April* of the preceding Year, but was, at last, in 1728, prevailed upon to withdraw his Appeal, and receive the Constitution. Most of the Bishops and their Clergy followed his Example. Thus was the public Tranquillity restored. But in that Kingdom many, both of the Clergy and the Laity, still adhere to the Doctrine of *Jansenius*, and wait only for a favourable Opportunity of reviving the Controversy, and rekindling the Flame, that is covered, but not yet extinguished.—In 1717 *Clement* quarrelled with the new King of *Sicily*, the Duke of *Savoy*, about the *Sicilian Monarchy*, as it is called, and upon the King's refusing to give it up, he laid the whole Island under an Interdict. But the King, paying no Regard to the Interdict, ordered the Clergy to perform Divine Service as usual, and banished all, who refused to comply. Of the *Monarchy* of *Sicily* and its Origin I have spoken at length elsewhere.—*Clement* had the Misfortune to find himself constantly, we may say, between Two Fires: He could grant no Favour to either of the Pretenders to the *Spanish* Monarchy without disobliging the other, and was thus looked upon by both, and treated as an Enemy. To gratify *Philip V.* and avoid an open Rupture with the Court of *Spain*,

Innocent XIII. BISHOPS of Rome.

497

he conferred, much against his Will, the Dignity of Cardinal upon the famous *Alberoni*. That Promotion was highly resented by the Emperor, pretending that the new Cardinal kept up a Correspondence with the Rebels of *Hungary*, and had solicited the *Turk* to join them. The Menaces of the Emperor, and the seizing of *Comachio* by the Imperial Forces, obliged the Pope to levy Troops, in order to repel Force by Force. But at the Approach of the Emperor's Army, consisting chiefly of *Lutherans*, he was glad to conclude a Peace upon the Terms prescribed to him. In short, his Pontificate was, from the Beginning to the End, an uninterrupted Series of Troubles and cross Events; and he was frequently heard to say, that he wished he repented as sincerely of his Sins, as he did of his having suffered himself to be persuaded to accept of the Pontifical Dignity. Death put an End to his Life and his Troubles on the 19th of *November 1721*, after a Pontificate of Twenty Years Four Months and Sixteen Days. He was a Man of an untainted Character, was well skilled in State Affairs, and surpassed, in Sagacity, most of the preceding Popes, but was often brought into Difficulties by preferring the Judgment of others to his own. He was well acquainted with Scholastic Divinity, and a very elegant *Latin* Writer, as appears from his *Letters*, his *Brevia Selecta*, his *Orationes Confistoriales*, his *Homilies*, and his *Bullarium*, of which a magnificent Edition was published, after his Death, by his Nephew, Cardinal *Hannibal Albani*. He was not altogether free from Nepotism, but he never suffered it to lead him into those scandalous Excesses, that had, in latter Times, so disgraced the Pontificates of most of his Predecessors. Upon the whole, *Clement XI.* may deservedly be placed among the good Popes f.

Year of
Christ 1718.

Clement
dies.
Year of
Christ 1721.
His Cha-
racter.

In the Room of *Clement* was unanimously elected, on the 8th of *May*, *Michael Angelo Conti*, of One of the most illustrious Families of *Rome*, who took the Name of *INNOCENT XIII.* He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of an irreproachable Character, and had distinguished himself, when a Cardinal, above most of the Sacred College. But the Infirmities, to which he had been for some Years subject, prevented him from making any Figure as a Pope. Soon after

INNOCENT XIII. the 242d Bishop of Rome.

* Polidorus de vita et rebus gestis Clementis XI. Morci Ristretto della vita de Clemente XI.

Year of
Christ 1721.

Maintains
and defends
the Bull Uni-
genitus.

Invests the
Emperor
with the
Kingdom of
Naples.

Dies.
Year of
Christ 1724.

his Promotion he received a Letter, signed by Seven *French* Bishops, begging his Holiness would be pleased to revoke; or, at least, to modify the Bull *Unigenitus*, as surreptitious, and only calculated to keep those disunited, whom it was incumbent upon him to unite. In that Letter, dated the 9th of *June* 1721, they urged to many Arguments against the Bull, that it rather deserved the Name of a Book than a Letter. *Innocent* referred it to the Inquisition, and by a Decree of that Tribunal, dated the 29th of *March* 1722, it was condemned as *Schismatical*, and tending to promote *Heresy*, and all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to publish, to peruse, or to keep it by them.—*Innocent* consented, at last, to invest the Emperor, *Charles* VI. with the Kingdom of *Naples*, but solemnly protested against the Investiture of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, granted by that Prince to the Infant *Don Carlos*, pretending those States to be Fiefs of the Church, and not of the Empire. He acquitted the persecuted Cardinal *Alberoni*, received him into Favour, and died on the 7th of *March* 1724, having governed the Church Two Years and Ten Months. He left most of the chief Employments possessed by the very numerous Tribe of his Nephews and Relations, most of them Persons of the First Rank in *Rome*. The Day before his Death he was prevailed upon by the *French* Embassador to sign a Dispensation for the Prince *De Bullon*, eldest Son to the Duke of that Name, to marry the Princess of *Turenne*, his Brother's Widow &c.

BENEDICT
XIII. the
243d Bishop
of Rome.

Upon the Death of *Innocent* Cardinal *Vincenzo Maria Orsini*, a *Dominican* Friar, and Archbishop of *Benevento*, was raised to the Chair on the 29th of *May*. He was a Native of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the eldest Son of the Duke of *Gravina* of that Kingdom, but, being of a religious Turn of Mind, had, from his tender Years, embraced a monastic Life in the Order of *St. Dominic*. He was, in Consideration of his noble Descent, and exemplary Life, preferred by *Clement* X. in 1672, to the Dignity of Cardinal, and soon afterwards to the Archbishopric of *Benevento*. He was, with the utmost Difficulty, prevailed upon to accept of the Papal Dignity, alleging, that he was utterly unacquainted with State Affairs, and that it was too late for him to acquaint himself with them. But being forced to acquiesce

in his Election, he made it the whole Business of his Pontificate to reduce the Pleasures and Pomp of his Court, to suppress Abuses, and restrain the Licentiousness of the Clergy. With that View he held a Provincial Synod in the *Lateran* in 1725. But the *Jesuits*, of whom Three were, at this Time, Cardinals, highly provoked at his approving the Doctrine of the *Dominicans* concerning *Grace* and *Predestination*, found Means to render all his Endeavours ineffectual; nay, they took Occasion from his Enmity to *Perukes*, and his ordering the Clergy of all Ranks to wear their own Hair, to expose both him and his Council to Contempt and Ridicule. In 1727 *Benedict* published a Bull, beginning with the Word *Pretiosus*, to confirm the Bull *Unigenitus*. But as he adopted, in his Bull, the System of the *Dominicans*, the *Jesuits* pretended, that instead of condemning he had approved the Doctrine of *Jansenius*. Indeed the Doctrine of the *Dominicans*, with respect to *Grace* and *Predestination*, differs very little, if at all, from that of the *Jansenists*. But they now disguise their real Tenets with Terms and Distinctions, evidently borrowed from the Schools of the *Jesuits*, and have, on that Account, been severely reproached by the *Jansenists* with betraying the Cause of Truth ^b.—*Benedict* would never suffer any of his Relations to interfere in the Government. But his extraordinary Kindness to the famous *Nicholas Coscia*, the Confidence he placed in him, and his admitting him, at last, though of a very mean Descent, into the Sacred College, offended the Cardinals more than the most scandalous Nepotism could have done. They pretended, that the Dignity of Cardinal ought to be the Reward, not of private, but of public Services only; and even compared the promoting of *Coscia* to so high a Station to the Promotion formerly made by *Julius III.* of his Monkey-Keeper to the same Station. However, the Favourite was no sooner vested with his new Dignity, than the Courtiers all strove, and among them some Cardinals, who should be the foremost to congratulate him upon his Promotion, and recommend themselves to his Favour and Protection. From that Time he governed quite uncontrolled, while the good Pope was wholly employed in visiting Hospitals, and in such like Works of Charity, or in forming impracticable Schemes to unite all Christian Sects in One Church and One Faith.—One of the most remarkable Events of *Benedict's* Pontificate was the

Year of
Christ 1725.

Holds a Pro-
vincial Synod
in the Late-
ran.

Confirms the
Bull Uni-
genitus.

Year of
Christ 1727.

Confers the
Dignity of
Cardinal
upon his Fa-
vourite Cos-
cia,

Who governs
uncontrolled.

^a Lettres Provinciales, Lett. II.

Year of
Christ 1728.

The Bull
Unigenitus
received by
Cardinal
Noailles.

Year of
Christ 1728.

Benedict
dies.

Year of
Christ 1730.

His Charac-
ter.

Remarkably
kind to the
Poor.

An Enemy
to all Pomp
and Shew.

Submission of the aged Cardinal *Noailles*, who, in 1728, consented, at last, to receive, and to sign the Bull *Unigenitus*, to the inexpressible Joy of his Holiness; and he immediately notified it to the Cardinals in a full Consistory, called for that Purpose, requiring them all to write separately to him, and renew the so long interrupted Correspondence between them, and so worthy a Member of their College.—*Benedict* died on the 21st of *February* 1730, when he had presided in the See Five Years Eight Months and Twenty-three Days. He had ever led a most exemplary Life, had ever been remarkable for the Austerity of his Morals, and the Purity of his Manners, was possessed of every Christian Virtue in a most eminent Degree, and in Piety no-ways inferior to any of the Popes of the primitive Times. His Kindness to the Poor was quite extraordinary and striking. He used to call them his Nephews and Relations, ordered the Gates of the *Vatican* to stand ever open to them, admitted to his Presence all who presented themselves, and at all Hours of the Day, heard their Complaints, and never failed to relieve such of them as he found, upon Enquiry, to stand in real Need of Relief. In order to be better able to provide for them, without putting the Apostolic Chamber to any extraordinary Expences, he fixed the Expence of his own Table at Eight *Baiocchi* a Day, scarce *Six-pence English*, drinking no Wine, and living only upon Vegetables. He visited all the public Hospitals in Town, at least, Thrice a Week, frequently administered to the Sick their Medicines with his own Hand, and, when he found any of them at the Point of Death, he kneeled down by them, and prayed till they expired. He was an utter Enemy to all Pomp and Shew, and would even have dismissed his Guards, saying, that such Marks of Sovereignty became not the *Servant of Servants*, the Successors of a poor Fisherman, but was prevailed upon, not without much Difficulty, to lay aside that Resolution. However, he made very little Use of his Guards, but walked out in the Dusk of the Evening to visit his sick Friends, or went in a Coach, attended by One Servant only. Upon the whole, he was, with respect to his private Character, One of the best Popes we read of since the Foundation of the See of *Rome* to his Time. But if we view him in a public Character, we shall, perhaps, find him to have been One of the worst. He left the Government entirely in the Hands of *Coscia*, and his other Favourites, and entertained so high an Opinion of their Integrity,

Clement XII. BISHOPS of Rome.

501

tegrity, that he would hearken to no Complaints against them, though guilty of the most enormous and notorious Extortions. It must, farther, be owned, that this respectable Pope betrayed, in most of his Actions, some Foible, and that, after all, neither his Prudence nor his Abilities were equal to so high a Station i.

Year of
Christ 1730.

The new Election was protracted by political Intrigues, and the Disagreement of the different Parties, for the Space of near Five Months, that is, till the 12th of July, when the *Albani* Party, consisting of the Creatures of *Clement XI.* prevailed at last; and, by their Interest, *Laurence Corsini*, a Native of *Florence*, was raised to the Papal Chair, under the Name of *CLEMENT XII.* He began his Pontificate with obliging Cardinal *Casica*, and those, whom he had employed, to give an Account of their late Administration, and answer the many Accusations brought against them by Persons of all Ranks and Conditions. They were tried by a particular Congregation, appointed for that Purpose, and it plainly appearing, that they had defrauded the Apostolic Chamber of immense Sums, they were sentenced to make them good, which reduced them almost to Beggary. We are told, that a very small Share of the Sums which they were forced to refund, came into the Apostolic Chamber, his Holiness having privately disposed of it to his Nephews and Relations. — *Clement* refused at first to confirm the Infant *Don Lewis* in the Archbishopric of *Toledo*, but was in the End obliged to yield, and even to distinguish him, though but Eight Years old, with the Dignity of Cardinal. He quarrelled with most of the Christian Princes, especially with the Emperor *Charles*, claiming a Right to dispose of the *Dutchy of Parma*, as a Fief of the Empire, while his Holiness obstinately maintained it to be a Fief of the Church. — *Clement* died on the 6th of February 1740, when he had governed the Church Nine Years Six Months and Twenty-five Days. He was a Man of Learning, and an Encourager of the Learned, but left no Writings behind him besides some Bulls, and among these One, allowing the Protestants, who should embrace the *Roman* Catholic Religion, to continue in the Possession of the Church-lands, which they held before their Conversion. He improved the *Vatican* Library with a noble Collection of very scarce and valuable Books.

CLEMENT XII. the 244th Bishop of Rome.

Calls Cardinal Casica, and his Accomplices, to an Account.

Quarrels with most of the Christian Princes.

Dies. Year of Christ 1740.

Year of
Christ 1740.

BENEDICT
XIV. the
245th Bishop
of Rome.

His Zeal
for a Re-
formation
procures him
the Denomi-
nation of the
Protestant
Pope.

Benedict
dies.

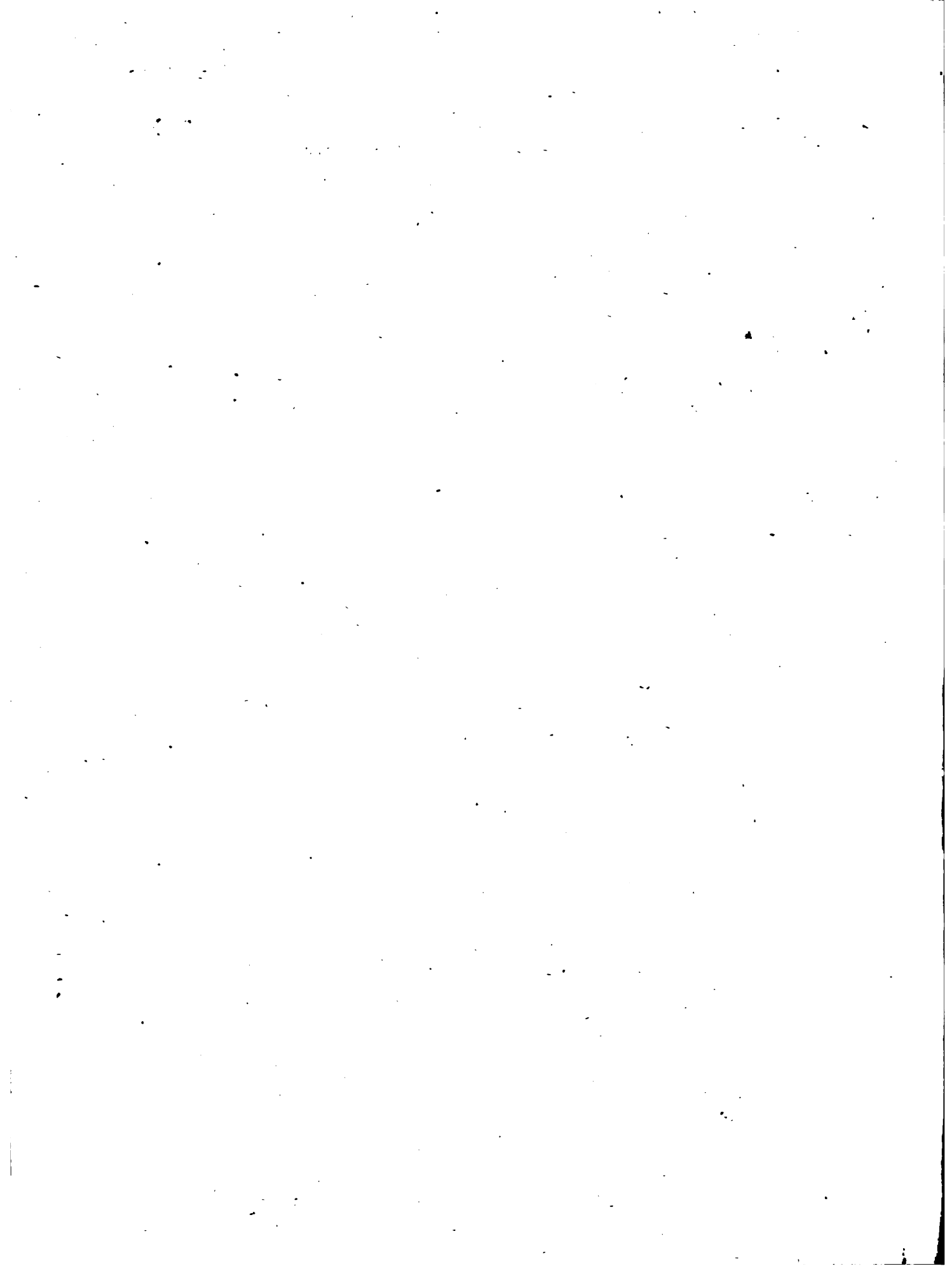
Year of
Christ 1758.

The College of Cardinals was, at this Time, divided into Two Parties, the One consisting of the Creatures of the *Albani*, and the other of those of the *Corfini* Family. As they were pretty equal in Numbers, and neither would yield to the other, the Contest lasted Six Months and some Days. During that Time, several Cardinals of both Parties, no longer able to bear their close Confinement in the Height of the Summer Heats, chose to quit the Field of Battle, and reserve themselves for a future Chance. At last, the *Albani* Party carried the Day, and by them was elected, on the 17th of *August*, *Prosper Lambertini*, a Native of *Bologna*, and Archbishop of that City, who assumed the Name of *BENEDICT* XIV. He was a Man of an untainted Character, of extraordinary Parts, and in every Respect worthy of and equal to so high a Station. He undertook, in the very Beginning of of his Pontificate, the *Herculean* Labour of cleansing the Church as well as the Court, and extirpating the many crying Abuses, that had taken deep Root in both. His zealous Endeavours were not quite destitute of Success. But his diminishing the Number of Festivals, his abolishing some vain and senseless Ceremonies, his Dislike of the grosser Superstitions, that prevailed in the Church, and his undisguised Disapprobation of the many pious, or rather impious Frauds, countenanced, or connived at by his Predecessors, gave great Offence to some bigotted Cardinals, and procured him the odious Denomination of the *Protestant Pope* from the deluded Multitude. He was a generous and munificent Encourager of Learning, and himself a most learned Writer. His Works, published at *Rome*, soon after his Death, in 12 Volumes Quarto, will be a lasting Monument of his extensive Knowledge and profound Erudition. But as the Actions of this Pope, who died on the 2d of *May* 1758, as well as those of the present Pope *Clement XIII.* elected in his Room on the 6th of *July* of the same Year, are sufficiently known to the present Generation, I shall leave those, who may hereafter undertake the Continuation of this Work, to transmit them to Posterity, and close *The History of the Popes from the Foundation of the See of Rome to the present Time*, the Result of above Twenty Years Labour.

It would betray an unpardonable Presumption in me to imagine, that in so voluminous a Work I have fallen into no Mistakes: But

I can say, with the strictest Truth, that I have spared no Pains, nor Labour, nor Industry to avoid even the smallest. How far my Endeavours may have been attended with Success, I shall leave those to judge, who judge with Knowledge, Candor, and Impartiality; but I flatter myself, that the Errors, which may occur, are neither numerous, nor important, and consequently that my Labours may prove, in some Degree, serviceable to the Protestant Cause, the Cause of Truth. I shall therefore conclude with offering the just Tribute of my Gratitude to the ALMIGHTY, who has enabled me, in my advanced Years, to pursue and complete so toilsome a Work, notwithstanding the violent and repeated Efforts of the Enemies of Truth, and their unnatural Allies to divert me from it. May the Detection of the many gross and pernicious Errors, which I have shewn, in the Course of this History, to have been engrafted, from time to time, upon the pure Religion brought down from Heaven by *the Author and Finisher of our Faith*, lead my Readers to reject *the Commandments and Doctrines of Men*, and place their sole Confidence in his Holy Word.

F I N I S.



OF THE
P O P E S,

**Foundation of the See of *Rome* to the present
Time, marking the Year of each Pope's
Election and Death.**

	Election	Death	Vol.	Page
A Deodatus —	672	—	676	3 90
Adrian, <i>see</i>				
Hadrian				
Agapetus I. —	535	—	536	2 340
Agapetus II. —	946	—	956	5 102
Agatho —	678	—	682	3 94
Alexander I. —	109	—	119	1 21
Alexander II. —	1061	—	1073	5 224
Alexander III. —	1159	—	1181	6 112
Alexander IV. —	1254	—	1261	6 255
Alexander V. —	1409	—	1410	7 123
Alexander VI. —	1492	—	1503	7 328
Alexander VII. —	1655	—	1667	7 483
Alexander VIII. —	1689	—	1691	7 490
Anacletus, <i>see</i>				
Cletus				
Anastasius I. —	398	—	402	2 277

U u u

Anastasius

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

		Election		Death	Vol.	Page		
Anastasius II.	—	496	—	498	2	236	—	245
Anastasius III.	—	911	—	913	5	88	—	89
Anastasius IV.	—	1153	—	1154	6	72	—	76
Anicetus	—	137	—	168	1	26	—	28
Anterus	—	235	—	236	1	47	—	—
Benedict I.	—	574	—	578	2	440	—	445
Benedict II.	—	683	—	685	3	137	—	140
Benedict III.	—	855	—	858	4	260	—	264
Benedict IV.	—	900	—	903	5	83	—	84
Benedict V.	—	964	—	965	5	114	—	117
Benedict VI.	—	972	—	974	5	122	—	123
Benedict VII.	—	975	—	984	5	124	—	125
Benedict VIII.	—	1012	—	1024	5	145	—	149
Benedict IX.	—	1033	Sells the Pontificate deposed	1045	5	156	—	158
Benedict X.	—	1058		—	5	211	—	214
Benedict XI.	—	1303	—	1304	6	373	—	376
Benedict XII.	—	1334	—	1342	6	446	—	453
Benedict XIII.	—	1724	—	1730	7	498	—	500
Benedict XIV.	—	1740	—	1758	7	502	—	—
Boniface I.	—	419	—	422	1	360	—	365
Boniface II.	—	530	—	532	2	327	—	332
Boniface III.	—	607	—	607	2	345	—	550
Boniface IV.	—	608	—	615	3	1	—	3
Boniface V.	—	619	—	625	3	6	—	9
Boniface VI.	—	896	—	896	5	72	—	—
Boniface VII.	—	Antipope	—	—	5	124	—	—
Boniface VIII.	—	1294	—	1303	6	345	—	370
Boniface IX.	—	1389	—	1404	7	69	—	90
Caius	—	283	—	296	1	79	—	80
Callixtus I.	—	219	—	223	1	42	—	44
Callixtus II.	—	1119	—	1124	6	8	—	18
Callixtus III.	—	1455	—	1458	7	282	—	287
Celestine I.	—	422	—	432	1	366	—	408
Celestine II.	—	1143	—	1144	6	51	—	—
Celestine III.	—	1191	—	1198	6	175	—	182
Celestine IV.	—	1241	—	1241	6	237	—	238
Celestine V.	—	1294	—	1296	6	338	—	248
Christopher	—	903	—	903	5	85	—	—
Clement I.	—	91	—	100	1	14	—	17
Clement II.	—	1046	—	1047	5	161	—	162
Clement III.	—	1187	—	1191	6	171	—	175
Clement IV.	—	1265	—	1268	6	269	—	282

Clement

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

		Election		Death	Vol.	Page	
Clement V.	—	1305	—	1314	6	380	409
Clement VI.	—	1342	—	1352	6	456	476
Clement VII.	—	1523	—	1534	7	426	442
Clement VIII.	—	1592	—	1605	7	474	476
Clement IX.	—	1667	—	1669	7	486	—
Clement X.	—	1670	—	1676	7	486	—
Clement XI.	—	1700	—	1721	7	492	497
Clement XII.	—	1730	—	1740	7	501	—
Clement XIII.	—	1758	still living	—	7	502	—
Cletus	—	78	—	91	1	11	13
Conon	—	686	—	687	3	144	146
Constantine	—	708	—	715	3	170	183
Cornelius	—	251	—	252	1	51	60
Damasus I.	—	366	—	384	1	179	229
Damasus II.	—	1048	—	1048	5	163	—
Deusdedit	—	615	—	618	3	4	5
Dionysius	—	258	—	269	1	74	78
Donus I.	—	676	—	678	3	91	94
Donus II.	—	975	—	975	5	123	—
Eleutherius	—	176	—	192	1	30	35
Evaristus	—	100	—	109	1	21	—
Eugenius I.	—	655	—	657	3	68	71
Eugenius II.	—	824	—	827	4	205	219
Eugenius III.	—	1144	—	1153	6	54	68
Eugenius IV.	—	1431	—	1447	7	238	275
Eutychianus	—	275	—	283	1	79	—
Eusebius	—	310	—	310	1	86	—
Fabianus	—	236	—	250	1	47	49
Felix I.	—	269	—	274	1	78	—
Felix II.	—	483	—	492	2	194	213
Felix III.	—	526	—	530	2	320	327
Formosus	—	891	—	896	5	66	71
Gelasius I.	—	492	—	496	2	216	225
Gelasius II.	—	1118	—	1119	6	1	7
Gregory I.	—	590	—	604	2	463	540
Gregory II.	—	715	—	732	3	183	294
Gregory III.	—	732	—	741	3	295	307
Gregory IV.	—	827	—	844	4	220	233
Gregory V.	—	996	—	999	5	133	138
Gregory VI.	—	1046	deposed	1046	5	159	—
Gregory VII.	—	1073	—	1085	5	239	291

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

		Election		Death	Vol.	Page	
Gregory VIII.	—	1187	—	1187	6	169	170
Gregory IX.	—	1227	—	1241	6	221	236
Gregory X.	—	1271	—	1276	6	284	301
Gregory XI.	—	1370	—	1378	7	17	38
Gregory XII.	—	1406	deposed	1409	7	100	121
Gregory XIII.	—	1572	—	1585	7	465	467
Gregory XIV.	—	1590	—	1591	7	474	—
Gregory XV.	—	1621	—	1623	7	478	479
Hadrian I.	—	772	—	795	4	39	137
Hadrian II.	—	867	—	872	5	1	35
Hadrian III.	—	884	—	885	5	59	60
Hadrian IV.	—	1154	—	1159	6	76	106
Hadrian V.	—	1276	—	1276	6	308	—
Hadrian VI.	—	1522	—	1523	7	419	424
Hilarius	—	461	—	467	2	141	157
Honorius I.	—	625	—	638	3	11	19
Honorius II.	—	1124	—	1130	6	19	25
Honorius III.	—	1216	—	1227	6	216	221
Honorius IV.	—	1285	—	1287	6	326	329
Hormisdas	—	514	—	523	2	279	309
Hyginus	—	139	—	142	1	24	—
Innocent I.	—	402	—	417	1	289	327
Innocent II.	—	1130	—	1143	6	26	49
Innocent III.	—	1198	—	1216	6	183	214
Innocent IV.	—	1243	—	1254	6	239	253
Innocent V.	—	1276	—	1276	6	301	302
Innocent VI.	—	1352	—	1362	6	482	490
Innocent VII.	—	1404	—	1406	7	91	98
Innocent VIII.	—	1484	—	1492	7	317	326
Innocent IX.	—	1591	—	1591	7	474	—
Innocent X.	—	1644	—	1655	7	482	483
Innocent XI.	—	1676	—	1689	7	486	489
Innocent XII.	—	1691	—	1700	7	491	492
Innocent XIII.	—	1722	—	1724	7	497	498
John I.	—	523	—	526	2	312	318
John II.	—	532	—	535	2	333	340
John III.	—	560	—	573	2	427	440
John IV.	—	640	—	642	3	24	32
John V.	—	685	—	686	3	141	—
John VI.	—	701	—	705	3	159	166
John VII.	—	705	—	707	3	167	168
John VIII.	—	872	—	882	5	36	56
John IX.	—	898	—	900	5	77	79

John

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPE'S.

Melchiades

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPE'S.

	Election		Death		Vol.	Page	
Melchiades	—	311	—	—	314	1	87 — 92
Nicholas I.	—	858	—	—	867	4	265 — 339
Nicholas II.	—	1058	—	—	1061	5	213 — 222
Nicholas III.	—	1277	—	—	1280	6	308 — 311
Nicholas IV.	—	1288	—	—	1292	6	331 — 336
Nicholas V.	—	1447	—	—	1455	7	276 — 281
Paschal I.	—	817	—	—	824	4	187 — 200
Paschal II.	—	1099	—	—	1118	5	349 — 405
Paul I.	—	757	—	—	767	4	1 — 9
Paul II.	—	1464	—	—	1471	7	296 — 302
Paul III.	—	1534	—	—	1549	7	444 — 456
Paul IV.	—	1555	—	—	1559	7	460 — 461
Paul V.	—	1605	—	—	1621	7	476 — 478
Pelagius I.	—	555	—	—	560	2	421 — 426
Pelagius II.	—	578	—	—	590	2	445 — 460
<i>St. Peter, no Pope</i>	—	—	—	—	—	1	1 — 9
Pius I.	—	142	—	—	157	1	24 — 25
Pius II.	—	1458	—	—	1464	7	287 — 293
Pius III.	—	1503	—	—	1503	7	371 —
Pius IV.	—	1559	—	—	1565	7	462 — 463
Pius V.	—	1566	—	—	1572	7	463 — 465
Pontianus	—	230	—	—	235	1	45 —
Romanus	—	897	—	—	898	5	76 —
Sabinian	—	604	—	—	606	2	543 — 545
Sergius I.	—	687	—	—	701	3	147 — 157
Sergius II.	—	844	—	—	847	4	233 — 237
Sergius III.	—	904	—	—	911	5	86 — 87
Sergius IV.	—	1009	—	—	1012	5	144 — 145
Severinus	—	638	—	—	640	3	21 — 23
Silverius	—	536	—	—	538	2	357 — 369
Silvester I.	—	314	—	—	335	1	94 — 114
Silvester II.	—	999	—	—	1003	5	139 — 140
Simplicius	—	467	—	—	483	2	160 — 192
Syricius	—	384	—	—	398	1	223 — 271
Sisinnius	—	708	—	—	708	3	169 —
Sixtus I.	—	119	—	—	128	1	22 — 23
Sixtus II.	—	257	—	—	258	1	72 — 73
Sixtus III.	—	432	—	—	440	2	1 — 7
Sixtus IV.	—	1471	—	—	1484	7	304 — 313
Sixtus V.	—	1585	—	—	1590	7	468 — 471
Soter	—	168	—	—	176	1	29 — 30

Stephen

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

		Election		Death	Vol.		Page
Stephen I.	—	253	—	257	1	62	71
Stephen II. or III.	—	752	—	757	3	343	381
Stephen III. or IV.	—	769	—	772	4	18	39
Stephen IV. or V.	—	816	—	817	4	185	187
Stephen V. or VI.	—	885	—	891	5	60	65
Stephen VI. or VII.	—	896	—	897	5	72	74
Stephen VII. or VIII.	—	929	—	931	5	96	—
Stephen VIII. or IX.	—	939	—	942	5	99	101
Stephen IX. or X.	—	1057	—	1058	5	208	210
Symmachus	—	498	—	514	2	249	277
Telephorus	—	128	—	139	1	23	24
Theodore I.	—	642	—	649	3	32	44
Theodore II.	—	898	—	898	5	76	77
Valentine	—	827	—	827	4	219	220
Victor I.	—	192	—	201	1	35	3
Victor II.	—	1055	—	1057	5	204	20
Victor III.	—	1086	—	1087	5	313	31
Vigilius	—	537	—	555	2	365	41
Vitalianus	—	657	—	672	3	73	8
Urban I.	—	223	—	230	1	45	—
Urban II.	—	1088	—	1099	5	318	34
Urban III.	—	1184	—	1187	6	166	16
Urban IV.	—	1261	—	1264	6	263	26
Urban V.	—	1362	—	1370	7	2	1
Urban VI.	—	1378	—	1389	7	39	6
Urban VII.	—	1590	—	1590	7	474	—
Urban VIII.	—	1623	—	1644	7	479	48
Zacharias	—	741	—	752	3	311	33
Zephyrinus	—	201	—	218	1	40	41
Zosimus	—	417	—	418	1	329	35

